

# FISH AND THE MEDITERRANEAN: THE NOURISHING SEA

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## Abstract

Historians of the Mediterranean economy have generally been dismissive of the role of the fish trade both as an important source of vital food and as a financial benefit to communities which dealt on any scale with fishing, fish-farming and fish preservation for food. There are many indications that this is unjust, and that it might seriously distort our view of the Mediterranean economy and trade. This article draws attention to data which have so far been ignored in the discussion or given insufficient weight: the profits from the trade, the archaeological evidence from sites and wrecks, the sources and importance of pickling agents.

*Freighted with amber grapes, and Chian wine,  
Fine bursting figs, and tunnies steeped in brine.*  
(Matthew Arnold, on merry Grecian coasters)

From an early date the Greeks were well aware of the Mediterranean (and the Black Sea) as a unit. They wrote *periploi* about voyages along its shores without regard to the nationality or associations of the folk on the coasts. In recent years scholars have wished to focus again on the Mediterranean as a unit, to the point that articles can be written surveying the effect of the phenomenon on academic publication, even the creation of new periodicals. The movement began with P. Horden and N. Purcell where fish are given some attention, and ‘historians should not underestimate fisheries’.<sup>1</sup>

The one thing common to the whole area of the inland seas (I include the Black Sea) is water; and the one feature common to all the water is fish. Yet in the vast new Mediterranean literature it is rare indeed to encounter mention of fishing or even an article devoted to it. The reasons may be that the subject is unquantifiable, even undignified, and it is easier to go on about the corn trade, even to consider nourishment from meat, although the Mediterranean seaboard is not conspicuously well supplied with arable cornlands nor with animal pasturage, and for corn much reliance was placed on non-Mediterranean peoples, north and south. Animal meat can be dismissed as a local and intermittent luxury, and at any rate has a

<sup>1</sup> Horden and Purcell 2000, 194; and in general 194–95, 576–77.

special status since the killing for consumption of any animal bigger than a hare becomes a matter for sacrifice and the gods are involved. It is also *par excellence* 'heroic' in Homeric terms, where fish, vegetables and fruit are not allowed to play any part in an heroic diet.<sup>2</sup> Only in Egypt did fish play a serious role in religious life, and could be mummified; in the Classical world their non-edible role was slight and scattered, but not negligible.<sup>3</sup>

But fish were available everywhere, in quantity, easily caught, easily preserved, and nutritionally very valuable. Where the question of food in antiquity has been addressed by scholars one generally finds fish excused, and the observation that the fish stocks of the Mediterranean were poor compared with the North Atlantic. But the North Atlantic can supply fish for the whole of modern Europe; the demands on Mediterranean fish in antiquity were far more modest; and Mediterranean fishermen ventured beyond the Pillars of Hercules at any rate. Modern experience is no good guide since the sea is now over-fished, stocks threatened, and interest taken only in a very restricted range of species.

There are some exceptions to this scholarly neglect, advancing research if not always elevating the status of the material, and usually based on study of food in general or of particular areas. One is the publication in 2005 of workshop lectures at Aarhus, *Ancient Fishing and Fish Processing in the Black Sea Region*.<sup>4</sup> The papers are by no means restricted to the Black Sea, and they include good accounts of the evidence from ancient literature. Another recent important collection of papers is *Ressources et activités maritimes des peuples de l'Antiquité*,<sup>5</sup> dealing more but not exclusively with the west Mediterranean. Purcell, a protagonist of 'the Mediterranean' has written a thoughtful article about the subject.<sup>6</sup> The bibliography is growing rapidly, but there is generally little enthusiasm for its broader importance.<sup>7</sup> To some extent, then, the misconceptions about the importance of fish and fishing are being answered, although we must wait to see whether the case has been digested by all scholars of the ancient economy. The purpose of this paper is not to survey

<sup>2</sup> In representations of *symposia* the red strips on tables are meat, not fish, because reclining *symposia* are in their way heroic, not everyday; cf. Boardman 2001, 246, 254.

<sup>3</sup> There is much on fishing, religion and society in forthcoming volumes of *ThesCRA*. Boeotians sacrificed eels: Athenaeus 297d; Robert 1950, 82.

<sup>4</sup> Bekker-Nielsen 2005.

<sup>5</sup> Napoli 2008.

<sup>6</sup> Purcell 1995.

<sup>7</sup> Gallant 1985 had been especially critical of the resources. He has been answered in varying degrees by many; see particularly a good account of prehistoric fishing, Powell 1996, especially 12–15; also on Bronze Age fishing, see now Theodoropoulou 2007. Due account has to be taken also of river fishing, especially in the north and in Anatolia; for prolific lake-dwelling fishing in Thrace, see Herodotus 5. 16.

the whole field, or waters, but to draw attention to various facts and features which seem not hitherto to have entered the discussion, or have been barely remarked, but which may be very relevant to the issue, as well as a few observations about evidence and arguments already adduced.

In antiquity far fewer fish were thrown back by fishermen, because they were not what was being looked for, than they are today. The range of edible species in the Mediterranean is in fact enormous – virtually everything except the mammal dolphin, which has too much mercury in it to make it safely edible, although even dolphin remains have been found in circumstances which suggest that parts could have been eaten, and Xenophon (*Anabasis* 5. 4. 28) has the Mossynoikoi in north-east Anatolia pickling dolphin steaks in jars and using their fat like olive oil. Sharks, including the Great White, and, in the west, sperm whales of up to 51 tons weight, are and were swimming Mediterranean waters too.<sup>8</sup> Given that the Mediterranean was no more than a shallow gulf off the Atlantic it is not surprising that its fish stocks were less prolific and more limited, but they were by no means scanty.

Fish bones are too frail easily to survive to be excavated, so one prime source of knowledge about what was eaten is missing – but not wholly. Several of the more careful excavation reports do mention fish remains. In all this we need the guidance of an archaeologist with scientific knowledge of the fauna of antiquity, and D.S. Reese's many articles on these matters are a major source. To take an almost random example of the sort of information available: a Neolithic site in Palestine is unusual in yielding well-preserved heaps of identifiable fish-bones. Far from revealing a few popular and predictable choices of fish it yielded many different species, several mainly ignored for food in recent times, yet they clearly formed for its population part of what was a very rich and nutritive diet; prominent were trigger fish, groupers, drums, sea bream and mullet. In the words of the publishers: 'the variety of species in the Mediterranean compensates for what it lacks in quantity'.<sup>9</sup>

It is easy to get the idea that the long passages in Athenaeus about fish at dinner are a good guide to what was eaten. It is no guide at all to the general diet, since much of it concentrates on the finer and often rare species available around Italian shores, prized for their rarity. They had to be eaten fresh, which was no easy matter to be arranged without masses of ice for packing; and once dried or pickled they cease to be delicacies. Our *deipnosophist* is a poorer guide to what most people ate, yet even he included a lengthy passage about salt fish, its varieties and relative merits, quoting several authorities.<sup>10</sup> Ancient writers are otherwise a poor source for us

<sup>8</sup> Reese 2005. For sharks, see Reese 1984.

<sup>9</sup> Galili 2004.

<sup>10</sup> Athenaeus III 116d-121c; Wilkins 2005; and importantly on Galen who also expatiated on salt fish, see Grant 2000.

and most have no truck with the commonplace. Clearly, fine fresh fish was regarded as a delicacy and correspondingly very expensive; dried or salt fish was for the multitude and cheap, very cheap, therefore undignified, but it was an essential source of good nourishment and a means of survival. In the Roman period especially production of a fish sauce (*garum*) was very brisk and an important trading commodity for the lower end of the market.<sup>11</sup>

The value of the fish trade, salted or dried fish rather than fresh, in terms of the economy of towns rather than of the fisherman and his family, is another matter. That it could be very important is attested in various ways or by various recorded episodes. Of course the fish tanks built on Mediterranean shores, notably in Spain and on the northern Black Sea coast, attest considerable expenditure of time and effort into supplying what must have been a very ready market for salt fish. These have been much explored and published and were clearly commercial enterprises of considerable importance for the local economy. But there are other hints at the importance of the fish trade to individual cities apart from its contribution to local nutrition.

Tunny gives good value for weight of flesh; they move around in shoals and can be enticed inshore where they can be surrounded and caught fairly easily.<sup>12</sup> Aeschylus used them as a simile for the Persians caught in the waters of Salamis by the Greeks (*Persai* 424–426). A famous occasion of a bumper haul occurred at Corcyra (Corfu) in the earlier 5th century BC (Pausanias 10. 9. 2). The oracle at Delphi advised them how to make the most of the catch which was so great that they dedicated the value of a tithe of its value at Delphi (and at Olympia). At Delphi the dedication was a more than life-size bronze statue of a bull, the base of which is still prominent there.<sup>13</sup> Statues of such a size are not cheap and it likely that the tithe amounted to at least a talent (we do not know the nature of the dedication at Olympia). The implications of this profit, from sale of the pickled tunny not home consumption, for the economy of the island must have been very considerable.<sup>14</sup> Galen remarked that pickled tunny had a better flavour than fresh!<sup>15</sup>

There are other indirect sources of information about the value of the fish trade. It is common knowledge that a state's major source of wealth may be indicated by

<sup>11</sup> Curtis 1991. Notable in the west: Neville 2007, 168–70; Lagostena *et al.* 2007.

<sup>12</sup> Aristotle said they kept to the right shore because their right eyes were better sighted (Athenaeus 301e).

<sup>13</sup> Bommelaer 1991, 103–04. The bull was made by Theopropos of Aigina but his inscription there is of another monument.

<sup>14</sup> Horden and Purcell 2000, 194: 'an unexpected and erratic gain'; but one that must have been often repeated at lesser scale.

<sup>15</sup> Grant 2000, 182; 174–86 on fish quality.



the device it places on its coins – silphion for Cyrene, corn for Syracuse, etc.<sup>16</sup> Many of the Black Sea cities place a fish in this position, of different recognisable varieties.<sup>17</sup> In the Roman period Histros' main income was from fishery. The Bosphorus was a particularly busy place because the tunny migrated through it in March/April of each year to spawn, the males and young returning over a longer period thereafter. There was therefore a constant procession of valuable and profitable fish offshore throughout the year and Cyzicus in particular took advantage of this. Tunny (not corn, despite its access to Mysian cornfields) appears as the regular emblem on its coins over centuries, and must have been a major, if not the major, source of income for the city.<sup>18</sup> That there was some sort of trade association for the commerce may be indicated by a dedication there to Poseidon and Aphrodite Pontia.<sup>19</sup>

The seriously lucrative trade in fish was not in fresh fish, which had to be consumed within very few days, but in dried or salted fish, the production of which was certainly the process practised in the major sources where there are fish-tanks for mass production. Salt was as vital a commodity in antiquity as it is today; not for nothing is the major centre of the south European Early Iron Age at Hallstatt – Salt City. The sources of salt in antiquity have been well explored by others, its 'World History' being capably treated in a volume by M. Kurlansky.<sup>20</sup> I would simply add the observation that in the Roman world even Hercules could be recruited as sponsor: Hercules Salarius.<sup>21</sup> And that for Athens the Black Sea (especially the Sea of Azov) was no less a source of salt fish (*tarichos*) as of corn (Strabo 7. 4. 6). Salt fish may lose both weight and nourishing property with time but was a staple for all. Aristophanes has the general Lamachos pack, in a hurry, just salted thyme, onions and salt fish – *tarichos* (*Acharnians* 1097–1101).<sup>22</sup> And looking away from the watery Mediterranean for a moment to the steppes of north Central Asia, it has been remarked that even there up to 50% of the protein required was probably available from river fish.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>16</sup> One might wonder whether the Aeginetan 'turtle' coins carry a similar connotation. Aegina was probably a prime trader with the Black Sea in the Archaic period.

<sup>17</sup> Stolba 2005.

<sup>18</sup> Napoli 2008, 353–68. In Bekker-Nielsen 2005 more note is taken of its trade in corn from Mysia, but it is a fish not corn that is chosen for the city's coin emblem.

<sup>19</sup> Robert 1950, 94–97.

<sup>20</sup> Kurlansky 2002. See also Carusi 2007; Horden and Purcell 2000, 195–97.

<sup>21</sup> *LIMC* Supplement 2009, 245.

<sup>22</sup> I am much indebted to Nick Sekunda for a copy of his notes on *tarichos*, especially as military fare.

<sup>23</sup> O'Connell *et al.* 2003; and see Curtis 2005; Gavriljuk 2005.

Rock salt is not the only preserving medium. Sources are well distributed and were diligently sought out and exploited in antiquity for the fish farms and for all local consumption. Natron (sodium salt) is especially efficient, and in Egypt it was the principal medium for the embalming of bodies. There was and is still a plentiful supply, more than thirty miles of a whole broad valley of it with eight large lakes in Wadi el-Natrun, west of Cairo, south of Alexandria and Naucratis. There is now evidence that natron was also exported, and in quantity, into the Mediterranean world. The 'Elephantine palimpsest' is a document written on the back of what had been the official record of the coming and going of ships, and their cargoes and chargeable taxes, far away from Elephantine and necessarily on the Mediterranean coast, in 475 BC.<sup>24</sup> The ships are from 'Ionia' – no doubt Milesian – and from Sidon in Phoenicia. The cargoes imported were mainly of manufactured goods – pottery, furniture and the like; but without exception the ships then left Egypt laden only with natron (not corn), the purpose for which on this scale at this date could only be for pickling – in this volume it could hardly have been simply for Greek laundries, its other possible use; certainly not ballast at this distance from the sea. It was clearly a major element in the return trade from Egypt, and reflects strongly on the importance of the use to be made of it commercially, as well as its monetary value to the merchant or his patron.

The Neolithic finds in Palestine have been mentioned. There are very many of later centuries which add to our knowledge both of the ubiquity and volume of the fish trade, and the sources. Thus, Nile perch in some numbers are identified in Late Bronze Age Cyprus, indicating that Egypt was a source for more than corn and natron.<sup>25</sup> It is also becoming more and more common to find reports of fish remains found in trade amphorae from wrecks. Such amphorae are generally regarded as indicative of trade in oil or wine, but it is unlikely that all such found with pickled or dried fish in them were reused, and the special amphora types made to carry pickled fish from the Black Sea and in the Mediterranean in the Hellenistic and Roman periods have been studied by A. Opait.<sup>26</sup>

Of all the dining table foodstuffs and platter of classical antiquity only fish was accorded a special shape – the 'fish plate': flat to carry the fillets, with a drooping edge and a central cavity for a 'dip'. They were made in plain black in many places from the 5th century BC on, and in Attica and in various workshops in South Italy they were also decorated with the fish themselves. Study of the varieties of fish shown on them indicates an enormous variety of types which might have appeared

<sup>24</sup> Yardeni 1994.

<sup>25</sup> Reese 2008, 196.

<sup>26</sup> Opait 2007. See also now Mattioli 2009.

for consumption on the plates. Most accounts of the plates have been devoted to hands and groups of artists, but H. Metzger has obligingly listed for us all the identified varieties of fish.<sup>27</sup> This can lead one to reflect on the importance of fish as a motif in the arts of the Mediterranean in general in and since the Bronze Age, and Greece/Rome in particular: from the Minoan 'Marine Style' decoration of vases, to the tub-coffins decorated with waves and fish within, for the Bronze Age; then the ubiquity of fish as main or subsidiary patterning on Geometric vases, their careful depiction as witnesses to marine episodes in later narrative art (Europa on the bull, various Nereids, etc.) to very lavishly decorated mosaics of the Roman period depicting myth or everyday life, especially in Italy and from North Africa. Fish and shells were regular offerings for the dead; there is a graphic early example on an Attic Geometric vase where shells and fish are being brought to the dead and the corpse itself is to be fed a fish.<sup>28</sup> They were an integral part of the visual as well as the gastronomic experience of the whole Mediterranean world, and no other source of food engaged the artists to the same degree.

If, of course, the case here is accepted, or at least a major part of it, it makes nonsense of the popular recent academic exercise of estimating the size of local populations in terms of hectares of arable land available.

### Postscript on Corn

The question of the corn trade, notably that with Athens, since Athens tends to dominate thoughts on ancient history and trade, is bedevilled with problems, some imaginary, such as have beset consideration of the fish trade.

Before the Classical period two major sources of corn might be identified for the Aegean world – one is Egypt, the other the Black Sea, or at least anything beyond the Hellespont since the Mysian cornfields were always prolific. The Black Sea trade is widely discounted until a later date, and much of this may be justified, but it is possible that the wrong questions are being asked. A lot can be made to turn on Herodotus' remark about Xerxes at Abydos observing 'corn ships, which were passing through the Hellespont from the Euxine, on their way to Aegina and the Peloponnese' (7. 147).<sup>29</sup> Herodotus was no fool and he would not have made the remark if the phenomenon had not been characteristic of the time and place. It is easily dismissed as trade simply for Aegina, but this would hardly have attracted his attention, and the island was small and not short of arable land. More to the point

<sup>27</sup> Metzger 1990, based on the lists in McPhee and Trendall 1987. Cf. Boardman 2001, 256.

<sup>28</sup> Boardman 1966.

<sup>29</sup> On this and the corn trade with the Black Sea, see Tsatskheladze 2008; 2010.

is that Aegina was the major trading state of the Late Archaic Greek homeland, the only one already established with an *entrepôt* at Naucratis in Egypt, and quite plausibly with comparable interests in the Black Sea. If so, the corn its ships carried was not for Aegina alone, or indeed the Peloponnese alone. Indeed, I am sure that the fact that Aegina had attacked Athens in the later 6th century would not have inhibited Aeginetans from selling corn to Athens, if there was a demand, or Athenians from buying it.

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# GREEK-LEVANTINE CULTURAL EXCHANGE IN ORIENTALISING AND ARCHAIC POTTERY SHAPES

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## Abstract

This paper offers several observations on the phenomenon of Levantine influence on Greek pottery shapes of the Orientalising and Archaic periods. The evidence suggests that Levantine influence upon Greek pottery is of greater importance than is currently thought. The article focuses upon pottery shape as an indicator of foreign influence, but also demonstrates that the cultural exchange seen in the Mediterranean before the Classical period was a complex phenomenon in which there was a flow of ideas, practices and influences involving the Aegean, the various cultures of the Levant, Anatolia and Egypt. The blending of Mediterranean and Near Eastern cultures that we call Hellenism after Alexander had, in fact, been going on in a limited manner for centuries. This can be demonstrated in terms of pottery shapes: the so-called eclectic nature of Phoenician material culture can be seen all over the eastern Mediterranean from Syria to Egypt and to some extent in Greek pottery as well. In the Aegean, Eastern sources are clear for the discoid lip of Corinthian perfume vessels, the sack-shaped olpe and alabastron, and for the various types of Archaic lekythoi and East Greek vessels.

## Introduction

The archaeology of the Orientalising and Archaic periods in Greece has traditionally emphasised the study of the decorative arts, particularly in the study of Greek pottery. Such a tendency is easily explained as arising directly from the character of the archaeological record of these periods: the Orientalising revolution is, after all, easily visible in Protocorinthian pottery, whose marked change in decorative style is emblematic, and may serve as a kind of shorthand for the broader socio-cultural changes of the period. However, it has been pointed out that identifying the Oriental in the Orientalising revolution can be difficult in other areas of Greek cultural production.<sup>1</sup> The transmission of cultural ‘borrowings’ from Levantine contexts into Greek societies did not, as is well known, occur in the form of direct adoption: while the Oriental influence upon Greek material culture is undeniable, tracing Orientalising elements back to their non-Greek (Oriental) ‘originals’ is equally well known to be extremely difficult and often impossible. This is most clearly illustrated by the decoration of Early Protocorinthian pottery, to the extent

<sup>1</sup> Burkert 1992, 6.

that its break from prior styles was radical and the source of inspiration is obvious, but that clear Eastern examples of its signal iconography are unknown. It is such examples of the inspired, interpretive character of Greek adaptation of Levantine culture, as opposed to strictly patterned emulation, that can strongly affect the manner in which the Orientalising period as a whole is interpreted as an era of cultural revolution, and under what circumstances it can be imagined to have unfolded.<sup>2</sup>

Given the division between Geometric and Orientalising decoration, it is perhaps understandable that ceramic studies based upon alternate categories of evidence have been slow to emerge.<sup>3</sup> However, this somewhat exclusionary emphasis upon *décor* is also expressive of a more general tendency in the study of Levantine influence upon Greek material culture. Even when scholars have embraced the idea of Levantine influences in Greek art, a certain restrictedness becomes apparent; W. Burkert's hypothesis that the Greeks were influenced not only in their art and crafts, but also in their religion and literature, by Eastern models is not widely taken up despite its convincing argument.<sup>4</sup> The influence of the Levant, it seems, is artificially constrained by academic convention, and the discourse surrounding the extemporising, 'Hellenising' character of Greek borrowings from the East appears to operate upon the assumption that a cultural core of essential Greekness remained unassailable and unchanged throughout the Orientalising period. The normal approach to Protocorinthian–Corinthian pottery, and Greek pottery generally in the Orientalising period, is especially symptomatic of this, in the sense that when we look at pottery, we look for Orientalising *decoration*, while the vessels themselves are thought to continue to be very much in the Greek tradition, unchanged despite the superficial layering of Levantine influence.<sup>5</sup>

This paper takes the example of these Levantine influences on Greek pottery shapes in the Orientalising and Archaic periods and shows that they were quite extensive. It demonstrates how Greeks tapped into a wider Oriental source; while not becoming part of the greater Levantine material cultural entity, Greeks were able to partake of its diversity. It is of importance that these influences, coming from the Levant, are in contrast to the absence of clear Eastern templates for Orientalising ceramic *décor*, since the transmission of certain ceramic forms from the

<sup>2</sup> One should note similar procedures of adaptation in the Phoenician pottery repertoire (see, for example, Briese and Docter 1992; 2002; Vegas 2005).

<sup>3</sup> This is probably a product of the perceived dramatic difference evident between the Geometric and Orientalising in the Corinthian style, but it is well to remember that no such sharp division occurs in other styles – such as the Protoattic.

<sup>4</sup> Burkert 1992; West 1997.

<sup>5</sup> Neeft 1987, 23–29.

Levant appears to have occurred in a far more direct manner. The immediate value of this observation lies in the support it provides to Burkert's hypothesis that Levantine influences upon the Greek Orientalising period exceeded the realm of the 'purely' decorative – support, moreover, in the form of clearly derived shapes whose movement from East to West can be reconstructed without reliance upon intermediate evidence.<sup>6</sup> This in turn potentially contributes to the understanding of the Orientalising phenomenon as it unfolded. The evidence suggests that the transmission of Eastern influence upon decoration and of Eastern influence upon shape occasionally took place in two distinct modes, the one highly adaptive and the other more directly adoptive. Thirdly, attempting to focus upon shape in the Orientalising period potentially opens up several lines of further inquiry.<sup>7</sup> Shape is generally dealt with as a second-order category of meaning in the archaeological record, a factor that underpins the construction of ceramic typologies but which is not assigned the same depth of significance as decoration. This is not difficult to grasp: the iconographic and symbolic properties of decorated pottery offer a much richer window into their cultural context of production, while shape presents itself as a comparatively inert property of function, literally an otherwise blank ground-ing for decoration. It is an ontological difference that must be taken into account as well when reviewing scholarship on the relation (or disjunction) between Orientalising decoration and the vessels that bear it. However, it is true that the higher potential significance of 'function' lies in its reference to culturally embedded practices, more ephemeral than the pottery itself and more complex than basic human activities of cooking and eating; there is a level at which mixing, pouring and drinking vessels cohere, for example, into the symposium. In terms of the Orientalising period, then, the transmission of shapes is a potential indicator of Levantine influences upon not just Greek pottery decoration, but upon the performative identity practices with which certain pottery shapes are associated.

### Greece and the Levant from the 10th to the 7th Centuries

The orthodox starting point for any exploration of Levantine influence upon Iron Age Greece has recently been in Euboea and the Dodecanese: trading connections were set in motion 'first by the Phoenicians and then by the Euboeans'.<sup>8</sup> Although such a statement is very much open to debate, it is clear that the earliest and most sustained contact between the Aegean and the East after the fall of Mycenaean

<sup>6</sup> S. Morris 1992.

<sup>7</sup> Briese 1998; 2000; Briese and Docter 1994.

<sup>8</sup> Burkert 1992, 21.



civilisation involved Euboeans and Levantines.<sup>9</sup> Numerous finds of Eastern material at Lefkandi support this, and several significant points can be made about these objects. First, the material is Levantine and Cypriot of the 10th to 8th centuries. Second, as J.N. Coldstream points out, 'these oriental luxuries imply more than a single chance visit; their contexts, spread as they are over a whole century, surely indicate regular commercial exchange'.<sup>10</sup> Third, the Lefkandi finds coincide with a time of revival in the Aegean bronze industry after a lapse during the earlier part of the Greek Dark Age.<sup>11</sup>

Objects from the East were being brought to Lefkandi as early as the 10th century,<sup>12</sup> but these imports were soon to have a wider distribution in the 9th century with Eastern material turning up at four other Aegean sites: the Kerameikos cemetery at Athens, with its group of rich aristocratic graves; the northern cemetery at Knossos and Teke tomb J in Crete; the Seraglio cemetery at Cos; and Kommos.<sup>13</sup> However, in the 8th century, the situation seems to have changed. The valuable Levantine material was no longer circulating in the Aegean, particularly metal vessels, but there were large amounts of amulets and scarabs.<sup>14</sup> Such objects had always been part of Levantine exchange and are found mainly in sanctuaries, but also at other sites such as Aigina.<sup>15</sup> Few have attempted to explain why the nature of imports changed thus in the 8th century. It is possible that we have not found the so-called 'valuable' objects because they were no longer being buried; on the other hand, it is also probable that with contemporary changes in the structure of societies, possibly as a result of foreign contacts, such gifts were no longer necessary. I. Morris suggests that by 800 'Greeks had come to terms with the east ... feeling little need to impress one another by piling up Syrian bowls or Egyptian figurines in their graves'.<sup>16</sup> In addition, the division of 'Phoenician' activity suggested by I.J. Winter between larger-scale ventures and small-scale tramping may also have obtained in the Aegean.<sup>17</sup> Finally, it is quite possible that the earlier distribution of material reflected a form of gift-giving that acted to establish trade,

<sup>9</sup> There is a wide and growing number of scholars who see the Phoenician–Euboean relationship to have been at least initially co-operative, rather than Phoenicians leading Euboeans all over the Mediterranean. See Boardman 2001; 2006; Docter and Niemeyer 1994; Fletcher 2004; 2006a; Ridgway 2004.

<sup>10</sup> Coldstream 1982, 265.

<sup>11</sup> Coldstream 1982, 265.

<sup>12</sup> Coldstream 1988b, 91; Lemos 2002, pl. 106.1; Popham 1995; Popham *et al.* 1982, 169–71; Popham and Lemos 1995.

<sup>13</sup> Coldstream 1982.

<sup>14</sup> Gorton 1996.

<sup>15</sup> Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985; S. Morris 1984, 92–96.

<sup>16</sup> I. Morris 2000, 254.

<sup>17</sup> Winter 1995, 253.

after which the Levantines had no need to actively solicit aristocratic (or other) patrons: they had become accepted bearers of Eastern material in the Aegean.<sup>18</sup>

In addition to this, there is considerable evidence for a probable relationship between Levantines and East Greeks. In the Aegean this dates back into at least the 9th century, when Eastern material is found in several sites, not only in Euboea, Athens and Knossos, but also on Rhodes and Cos. The latter two are of particular interest. Not only have Eastern luxury items been found in Coan graves, but also black-on-red ware that dates from the mid 9th century.<sup>19</sup> On Rhodes a large variety of Levantine luxury items from the late 8th and 7th centuries has also been recovered, including ivories, tridacna shells and gold and silver jewellery.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, Ezekiel also offers evidence that the Dodecanese was one of the chief trading partners of Tyre (*Ezekiel* 25:14–17). Above all, there is the argument of Coldstream for ‘Phoenician’ settlement at Ialysos, ‘held by later Rhodian historians to be the most important *Phoenician* settlement’.<sup>21</sup> While Levantine settlement at Ialysos was probably always on a very small scale, there is no doubt that Rhodes served as a regional production centre for Levantine goods, including ‘trinkets’ and luxury items in faience, scarabs, incised vessels and anthropomorphic unguent vases.<sup>22</sup>

Dunbabin described the evidence for Levantine settlement in Greece as ‘artistic and difficult of interpretation in historical terms’.<sup>23</sup> If we interpret that Rhodes was central to the exchange of ideas that we call the Orientalising Revolution, it might therefore be objected that Rhodes presents us with something of a paradox: it was one of the first lands to receive Oriental settlers and yet one of the last to experience an ‘Orientalising’ movement in art.<sup>24</sup> However, if what is being suggested here is true, that Rhodes was a meeting place between East and West and that Greek and Levantine traders were using the island as a supply point for Eastern exotica and products, such a situation becomes understandable. The development of a Rhodian ‘Orientalising’ style would have been delayed simply by the fact that Rhodes seems to have been more of an emporium than a production centre in its own right. This early evidence for Levantine interaction with East Greeks – particularly

<sup>18</sup> There is also the possibility that Levantines had co-opted locals into carrying their wares, evidence of which can be found in *Ezekiel*. The question has been dealt with at length by Lipiński 1985.

<sup>19</sup> Coldstream 1969, 2–3.

<sup>20</sup> Coldstream 1969; Kourou 2003.

<sup>21</sup> Italics added. Coldstream 1969; Ridgway 1993, 113. Although Coldstream’s suggestion has been questioned (for example by Jones 1993), his arguments are still persuasive.

<sup>22</sup> Coldstream 1969; Markoe 2000, 171; Rathje 1976, 98–99. Rhodes is also the only site in the Aegean where we find the most distinctive Phoenician glass beads, the so-called ‘bird-beads’ (Frey 1982, 33–34).

<sup>23</sup> Dunbabin 1957, 49.

<sup>24</sup> Coldstream 1969, 5.

in the Dodecanese – is followed up by substantial evidence for trade in the 7th century on islands such as Samos, Chios, Rhodes and many other islands of East Greece and the Cyclades and, it will be noted, Perachora.<sup>25</sup>

This brings us to the question of any possible relationship between Levantines and Corinthians. In their paper on this very question, S. Morris and J. Papadopoulos have suggested that ‘the Corinthian pottery industry – both the production and distribution of the pottery itself and of the commodities that it contained – were, to a large extent, determined and defined by Phoenicians’.<sup>26</sup> The hard evidence they present, in terms of actual Levantine material, is almost entirely Late Archaic and Classical in date, but the Orientalising influence, the existence of the hero Melikertes, as well as the myth of Medea all point to a close interaction with Levantines. However, the contention that Phoenicians largely ‘determined and defined’ the Corinthian pottery industry is probably going too far. That Levantine influences can be seen operating in Corinth is undeniable, but we must be wary of asserting a sort of Phoenician economic hegemony based upon ambiguous evidence about Levantines carrying Corinthian pottery.<sup>27</sup> This is an insufficient basis to claim either that Levantines exercised ‘determinative’ control over distribution, or that, in turn, this suggested control could have retroactively ‘defined’ production by structuring the demand market.

The distribution of material in the West, however, does not support the idea, strenuously argued by Morris and Papadopoulos, that Corinthian material was in the greater part carried by Levantine traders. That some Corinthian material was indeed carried by Levantines cannot be doubted, especially in light of its common appearance in tombs in Levantine colonial centres; however, the large distributions of Corinthian material in South Italy and in Sicily, in areas where hardly any Levantine imports appear, do not lend credence to the contention that Levantine traders were dominantly responsible for distributions of Corinthian material. Of particular note is Salento, the southernmost part of Puglia, and all of Puglia itself apart from Taranto, in which not a single Levantine object from 1000–500 BC has been found. Conversely, the presence of large quantities of Levantine imports does not always entail equal quantities of Corinthian materials: quite the opposite. A case in point is offered by almost any Sardinian site from the 7th or 6th centuries, where among a wealth of Levantine material there are, in fact, only quite small quantities of Corinthian pottery, which are in fact outnumbered by East Greek

<sup>25</sup> Fletcher 2004, appendix II.

<sup>26</sup> S. Morris and Papadopoulos 1998, 252.

<sup>27</sup> Although we may agree that the presence of Corinthian pottery at Phoenician sites does not mean that such pottery was carried by Greeks, the implication that appears in S. Morris and Papadopoulos’s article (1998) that such pottery must have been carried by Phoenicians is equally untenable.

vessels.<sup>28</sup> At Tharros, for example, where one finds enormous quantities of Phoenician material both luxury and trinkets, only four pieces of Corinthian pottery have been published.<sup>29</sup> At Sulcis, the total is a much higher 54 pieces of Corinthian, but this is still a tiny quantity in comparison to the amounts of Phoenician pottery.<sup>30</sup> Of course, it is possible that Levantine traders were tramping their cargoes, and on their way to Etruscan and Sardinian – not to say Sicilian and North African – destinations, were disposing of Corinthian wares in sites in Magna Graecia. This, however, seems an overly ingenious explanation.

### Cultural Exchange and Levantine Influence in Greek Pottery Shapes

It is probable, therefore, that we may dismiss the idea of Levantine ‘control’ of the Corinthian pottery industry. At the same time, however, the extent of Levantine influence on Greek pottery, and on Corinthian pottery in particular, has been underrated. This may appear an incongruous assertion, in light of the acknowledged wealth of Eastern influences in the Protocorinthian period, but the adoption of Phoenician shapes in Greek pottery has rarely been accorded the importance that it deserves. Decorative influences from the Levant in Greek art are very well documented thanks to the work of scholars such as S. Morris and Burkert;<sup>31</sup> however, decorative motifs are easily adopted from outside sources, while the shapes of vessels on the other hand tend to be conservative and slow to change.<sup>32</sup> This is most clearly demonstrated by early Orientalising decoration in Protocorinthian pottery. Those decorative motifs that scholarship terms ‘Orientalising’ are acknowledged to have come from the East, probably from Phoenicia and North Syria, and occurred most noticeably in Corinthian pottery in the Early Protocorinthian style.<sup>33</sup> However, these early decorative influences from the Levant were seen on typical Greek ceramic forms: the aryballos (revived from earlier geometric forms, it must be admitted), oinochoai, kotylai, amphorae. One sees virtually no Levantine influences in Early Protocorinthian pottery shapes.

The exception is the Dodecanese. On Rhodes, for example, there is no doubt that Levantine shapes were made as early as the 8th century, though the argument seems to have become focused upon whether these vessels can be used to indicate

<sup>28</sup> Ugas and Zucca 1984.

<sup>29</sup> Hölbl 1986.

<sup>30</sup> Bernardini 1988; Ugas and Zucca 1984, 114.

<sup>31</sup> Burkert 1992; S. Morris 1992.

<sup>32</sup> Shanks 1995; 1996.

<sup>33</sup> Amyx 1988; Benson 1989; Cook 1972; Payne 1931; Rassmussen 1991, 63–65.

an actual Levantine *presence*.<sup>34</sup> The desire, however, to produce an Oriental unguent bottle – which, as Coldstream pointed out, was not otherwise represented in the Greek pottery of the period – indicates that the contents of these vessels and the practices involved in their use had become familiar enough to Greeks to justify their imitation and production.

**The Beginnings: Levantine Influences in Early Orientalising**

Even before the influx of Oriental influences that came at the end of the Geometric period, the traditionally Greek assemblage of shapes is disrupted by a major exception: the plate. Just what was happening with the production of plates in Late Geometric and Early Protocorinthian Greece has been discussed by several authors, but is still in need of research.<sup>35</sup> There is evidence that Levantine consumers affected Greek pottery production as early as the Late Geometric in Corinth, East Greece and the Cyclades since plates from these sources have been found in the Levant at a time when Greeks do not appear to have been using the shape in any quantity.<sup>36</sup> On Pithekoussai the evidence from the Gosetti dump is informative. In this dump, which seems to consist of discarded domestic pottery, there are a few Euboean plates, no Corinthian plates, but a mass of locally made plates – thousands of sherds.<sup>37</sup> A number of the red-slipped plates and bowls from Pithekoussai have also been identified as probably being produced at Carthage.<sup>38</sup> Although the excavators of Pithekoussai estimated the Levantine population there to be about 15%, we have rather too many plates for such a small number of Levantines.

	Euboean 3% of total	Corinthian 16% of total	Local 81 % of total	TOTAL
Pouring	67%	27.60%	34.50%	34%
Drinking	32.70%	72.40%	34.20%	41%
Eating (i.e. plates)	0.30%	None	31.30%	25%

Table 1: Pithekoussai, Monte di Vico acropolis (scarico Gosetti):  
numerical statistics from *ca.* 10,000 PC sherds (after Coldstream 1998).

<sup>34</sup> Coldstream 1969; Jones 1993; Hoffman 1997, 176–85.

<sup>35</sup> Callipolitis-Feytmans 1962; Peserico 2002; Rieger 1992–93.

<sup>36</sup> Coldstream 1988a, 39–41.

<sup>37</sup> Coldstream 1998a.

<sup>38</sup> Docter and Niemeyer 1994, 111.

The reasons for this early isolated influence in the case of the plate are unclear. It is not until approximately 690 BC, or the beginning of Middle Protocorinthian, that we start to see the phenomenon of Levantine influences on shape becoming more widespread, specifically those influences upon Greek commodity containers. Despite the fact that the earliest Greek manifestations of the Oriental style were in metalwork, such as those seen in cauldron attachments,<sup>39</sup> it is probably no accident that the first widely exchanged vessels showing Levantine influences were commodity containers. The Orientalising period container *par excellence* was the aryballos.<sup>40</sup>

There has been a long history of discussion about the shape of Protocorinthian aryballoi. As far back as 1912, H. Lorimer proposed the Cypriot aryballos as the inspiration for the Early Protocorinthian globular form, but since that time various scholars from H. Payne to E. Gjerstad, and including S. Benton, T.J. Dunbabin, V. Desborough and Coldstream have discussed Cypriot versus Geometric origins.<sup>41</sup> In the end we can say that the form of the vessel is largely based upon the Cypriot type, with many influences from the Geometric form. However, we can say this only for the globular aryballos.

Robertson pointed out that the Orientalising style first appeared on small flasks which probably contained Eastern materials, and the new Eastern decoration first appeared on those aryballoi painted by the First Outline Group.<sup>42</sup> At about this date numerous Kreis und Wellenband aryballoi were produced in the Dodecanese. There can be little doubt that the decoration of these vessels was influenced by Levantine and Cypriot motifs, even though the shapes cannot be shown to have been directly borrowed from the Levant.<sup>43</sup> However, after about 690 BC distinct changes occurred in the shape of Protocorinthian aryballoi, the great Corinthian commodity containers of the Protocorinthian period which from this date increased in number and distribution; changes that owed nothing to Cyprus, East Greece or Geometric precursors, but which did owe a great deal to Levantine prototypes. This change was the introduction of the discoid lip.

There really can be little doubt about the origin of the discoid lip of the Corinthian aryballos. Phoenician mushroom-lipped jugs had been developing just this type of lip for more than 100 years before the Protocorinthian period and there are no other pottery forms with such a lip anywhere in the Mediterranean for centuries

<sup>39</sup> Muscarella 1992.

<sup>40</sup> Rassmussen 1991. One should also note the excellent work of Giorgos Bourogiannis on foreign influences in Rhodian Geometric pottery: Bourogiannis 2009.

<sup>41</sup> See Neeft 1987, 23 for details.

<sup>42</sup> Robertson 1992.

<sup>43</sup> Neeft 1994, 23.



Fig. 1: Corinthian aryballos and Phoenician mushroom-lipped jug (not to scale).

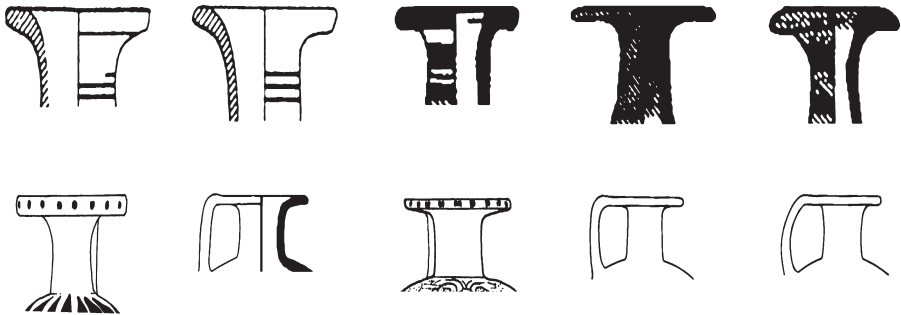


Fig. 2: Various Levantine mushroom-lips and Corinthian Middle Protocorinthian aryballos rims (not to scale).

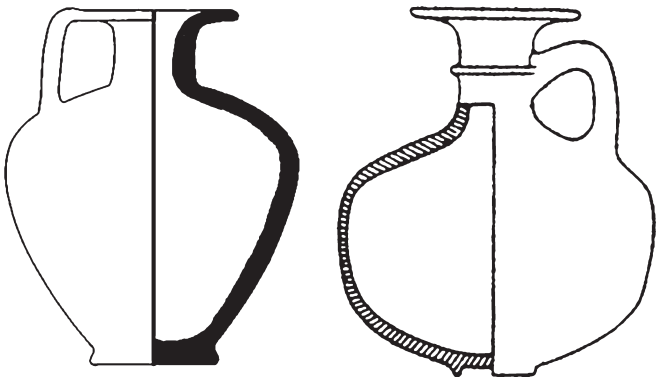


Fig. 3: Corinthian Middle Protocorinthian aryballos and mushroom-lipped jug, probably from the northern Levant.

before or after (Fig. 1).<sup>44</sup> Given that both vessels probably held oil, the relationship between the two becomes obvious. It cannot be a coincidence that a lip form, virtually unknown in the Greek tradition (unless one refers back to the Mycenaean stirrup jar), should appear in Corinthian aryballoi so soon after Levantine decorative motifs when just such a lip existed in the most popular Levantine small commodity container. Both types of vessels appear to have contained perfumed oil, both had fluted, flat and slightly tapering varieties, both are found in similar contexts, and both were distributed around the Mediterranean at the same time (with the Phoenician juglets preceding). This discoid lip, it is worthwhile stressing, began closely resembling the flat edge that was typical of Phoenician mushroom-lipped jugs around 700 BC or just after (Fig. 2).<sup>45</sup>

There is a possibility that faience vessels from the Levant may have introduced the discoid lip to Corinth, or at least added further exemplars in the adoption of the discoid lip. Faience vessels approximating aryballoi in shape are known to have been manufactured at about this date, i.e. around 700 BC,<sup>46</sup> and alabastra from the Levant could also have discoid lips. However, the more obvious ceramic correlations with the mushroom-lip seem more likely. This is particularly so in light of recent evidence of Levantine presence in the Aegean at the beginning of the Orientalising period, part of a growing volume of evidence showing that Greeks and Levantines were living together and co-operating in trade all around the Mediterranean.<sup>47</sup> It is even more likely when one notes that North Levantine examples had an even closer resemblance to the rims used by Corinthian potters in the Middle Protocorinthian (Fig. 3).<sup>48</sup>

The flow of influences was not, it must be stressed, one-way. Levantine enthusiasm for Greek pottery began in earnest during this period. This is perhaps most visible in the West where one finds Greek pottery in most Levantine settlements as early as the 8th century. At Carthage, for example, there are numerous examples of Euboean pottery as well as Attic, Corinthian and East Greek.<sup>49</sup> Most interestingly, many of these vessels are produced in the West – such as Pithekoussai – and others, such as a number of drinking vessels and some bird askoi which are clear imitations

<sup>44</sup> Fletcher 2006; Peserico 1996.

<sup>45</sup> Bikai 1978, 49.

<sup>46</sup> For example Hölbl 1979, cat nos. 857–858.

<sup>47</sup> Boardman 2006; Fletcher 2004; 2008b; Kourou 2003; Malkin 2002; Niemeyer 2003; Stampedoulidis 2003.

<sup>48</sup> An example from Pithekoussai (T.662 n.4, inv. 168619), found with a number of Lyre-Player seals and a Late Geometric Corinthian kotyle, is probably from a northern Levantine source (Buchner and Ridgway 1993, 649).

<sup>49</sup> Briese 1998; Docter 2000; Docter and Niemeyer 1994; Docter *et al.* 2005; Vegas 1997; 1999.



of Greek forms, have been shown to have been made in Carthage.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, decorative motifs on some Levantine vessels from the Chapelle Cintas at Carthage are also perceptibly Greek.<sup>51</sup> In other Levantine sites in the western Mediterranean one finds Greek pottery more often than not.<sup>52</sup> The best known examples are Sulcis, Sant'Imbenia, Motya and even Toscanos.<sup>53</sup> There are such numerous examples from Motya and Carthage, that even a cursory glance at the tombs from those sites might lead one to believe that a Corinthian or Corinthianising kotyle became a standard piece of the funerary assemblage after 700 BC.<sup>54</sup>

In the Levant Greek pottery is less visible, but there is still abundant evidence that Levantines used and appreciated its distinctive style and forms. As early as the 9th century an Attic krater was offered as a votive in the shrine at Hama<sup>55</sup> and Greek pottery has been found at numerous sites in the Levant such as Tell Rachidieh,<sup>56</sup> Tel Kabri,<sup>57</sup> Tel Hadar,<sup>58</sup> Tyre,<sup>59</sup> Ras el-Bassit,<sup>60</sup> Khalde,<sup>61</sup> Tall Sukas,<sup>62</sup> and Tell Abu Hawam, Megiddo, Samaria, Tell Abu Hawam and perhaps some from Dor as well as those from the 'Amuq Plain.<sup>63</sup> To these may now be added the Protogeometric and Geometric sherds recently discovered at Tel Rehov in the Beth Shean Valley.<sup>64</sup> As Coldstream aptly put it in regard to the Tyrians: 'the metropolitan Phoenicians were by no means averse to the use of imported Greek pottery'.<sup>65</sup>

The exchange of artefacts, particularly pottery and pottery styles, is in fact emblematic of an interaction between Levantines and Greeks that goes much further. There are definitely different patterns of material that support the proposition that Levantines were operating in co-operation with Greeks, certainly in the West. This is apparent in the nature of that material, associated goods, and in the places where they have been found. The Levantine material at Pithekoussai, for example,

<sup>50</sup> Briese 1998; 2000; Briese and Docter 1992.

<sup>51</sup> Briese 2000, 967.

<sup>52</sup> Boardman 2004.

<sup>53</sup> Bernardini 1988; 1991; Boardman 2004; Ridgway *et al.* 1997; Tusa 1972.

<sup>54</sup> For examples, see Lancel 1979; Tusa 1972.

<sup>55</sup> Braun 1982, 9; Riis 1970, 153–54.

<sup>56</sup> Doumet and Kawakabani 1995.

<sup>57</sup> Niemeier 1994; 1995; 2002.

<sup>58</sup> Coldstream 1998b, 357–59.

<sup>59</sup> Coldstream 1988a; Nitsche 1987.

<sup>60</sup> Courbin 1993.

<sup>61</sup> Saidah 1971.

<sup>62</sup> Riis 1970.

<sup>63</sup> Bikai 1978; Coldstream 1968, 302–04, 310–16; 1988a; Courbin 1993; Stern 2000, pl. IX.4.

<sup>64</sup> Coldstream and Mazar 2003.

<sup>65</sup> Coldstream 1988a, 43.

is not quite the same as contemporary material from other Levantine sites.<sup>66</sup> The mass of evidence for exchange of pottery cited above is not evidence in itself for co-operation, but the presence of Levantines at Pithekoussai, probably Greeks at Carthage and other Levantine sites, and the probable existence of Greek traders in the Levant are important indicators.<sup>67</sup> There is considerable evidence for Levantine–Euboean co-operation in their initial exploration of the Tyrrhenian; to this can be added a substantial amount of evidence for an on-going relationship between Levantines and Euboeans in the central Mediterranean.<sup>68</sup> It is striking enough that Euboean material is found at all the sites where Levantine material is found before the middle of the 8th century (with the exceptions of Vetulonia and Torre Galli in Italy) and the same is also true of Carthage. It should be worth repeating that some of the earliest material found at Carthage is manufactured at Pithekoussai.<sup>69</sup> There is little need to expound further upon this subject, already argued extensively elsewhere, but the close co-operation between these two groups of traders suggests that their methods may very well have been similar.<sup>70</sup> There is evidence that the methods of the Levantines in Sardinia did involve a certain lack of direct interaction – a certain reticence and independent existence – and a tendency to trade in a mode more or less akin to gift-giving.<sup>71</sup>

### The High Point of Orientalising: Late Protocorinthian Changes

Although by 680 BC the Levantine-inspired discoid lip for aryballoi had become standard, few other Levantine influences are to be found in Greek pottery at the same time, with the exception of the Lambros Group in Athens and the influences evident in the Dodecanese, and no significant changes occur for almost a generation.<sup>72</sup> Perhaps the only exception is a Middle Protocorinthian vessel in a form resembling that of an alabastron, but probably following Phoenician oil bottle forms (Fig. 4).

Corinthian trade in these small perfume bottles was extensive and aryballoi alone account for almost 20% of the Corinthian exports to the West in the 7th century,<sup>73</sup> and consequently they are an excellent indicator both of Corinthian

<sup>66</sup> Fletcher 2007, 14, 61–65.

<sup>67</sup> Niemeier 2001.

<sup>68</sup> Boardman 2006; Fletcher 2004.

<sup>69</sup> Rakob 1997; Vegas 1997, 351–52; 1999, 398–400.

<sup>70</sup> Boardman 2006; Fletcher 2004; 2006.

<sup>71</sup> van Dommelen 1998, 107–08.

<sup>72</sup> Briese and Docter 1994; Coldstream 1969; 1982.

<sup>73</sup> Fletcher 2007.

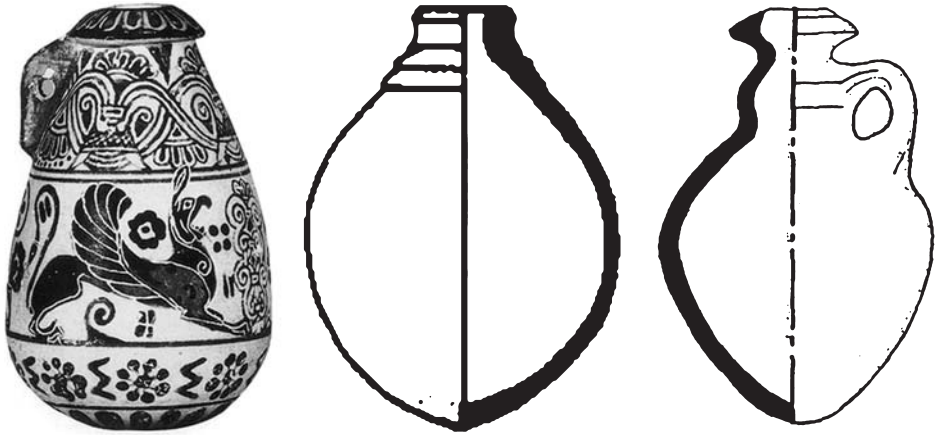


Fig. 4: Corinthian Middle Protocorinthian perfume vessel and Phoenician perfume vessels (British Museum, inv. London1860.2-I.30, from Camirus; Lehmann 1996, type 265; after Aubet 2001, 245, Mogador, 7th century) (Phoenician types are quite numerous).



Fig. 5: A Protocorinthian olpe, Chigi Painter *ca.* 640 BC.

trade and manufacturing as it was expanding in the 7th century.<sup>74</sup> As Salmon has pointed out, many vases were presumably carried for their own sakes, but utilitarian aryballoi were designed to contain perfumed oil and this indicates that there was not only an industry in perfume production in Corinth, but probably also an extensive trade involved in the supply of the necessary ingredients.<sup>75</sup>

At the same time there are changes in Corinthian trade in a more general sense around the middle of the 7th century. In the third quarter of the 7th century there was an increase in both the distribution and the number of Corinthian pots exported to the West. Moreover, in the pots themselves there is what Amyx calls 'an explosive burst of energy' into Friis Johansen's 'style magnifique': a combination of 'precise technique, perfect drawing, and rich polychrome'.<sup>76</sup> If this is combined with changes in subject matter noticeable in Transitional vases, such as the disappearance of scenes of an aristocratic bent such as elaborate battles, cavalcades, races and hunting, we have fairly clear evidence of what may be termed a second wave of Orientalising influence.<sup>77</sup> Of course this may have been due to other events to some extent, since it was around 655 BC that Corinth underwent the revolution that brought Kypselos to power.<sup>78</sup> But there is also evidence for a renewed export drive from the Corinthians after this date, the success of which may be an explanation for the deterioration in style in Early Corinthian.<sup>79</sup> It is precisely at this juncture, around the middle of the 7th century, that another phase of Levantine-inspired change occurs in Corinthian pottery shapes. This is the introduction of sack-shaped vessels: the alabastron and the olpe.

The Greeks knew of the alabastron for a long time before the middle of the 7th century. East Greek faience examples are known from the early 7th century and probably earlier.<sup>80</sup> The Near Eastern antecedents for this shape – rather than Egyptian – have been well documented, and these Levantine prototypes were also probably familiar long before the mid-7th century.<sup>81</sup> It is therefore of some interest that it was at this mid-7th-century point that the Corinthian pottery industry began to produce alabastera in large numbers. This was no development in shape, no transformation from some other form of commodity container into the alabastron: it was, instead, the appropriation of a fully Levantine shape for perfume oils. The

<sup>74</sup> Lawrence 1964, 90–91; Neeft 1987, 23–29.

<sup>75</sup> Salmon 1984, 117.

<sup>76</sup> Amyx 1988, 369.

<sup>77</sup> Amyx 1988, 372.

<sup>78</sup> Salmon 1984, 186.

<sup>79</sup> Salmon 1984, 111.

<sup>80</sup> Webb 1978, 62.

<sup>81</sup> Amyx 1988, 438; Payne 1940–62, 94–95.

view that Greek pottery alabastra were copies of Egyptian forms is palpable, but W. Culican in 1975 and Payne as far back as the 1930s showed that Phoenician prototypes should be considered much more likely.<sup>82</sup> We see that the introduction of the shape was, after all, quite abrupt. There are only a very few alabastra by the end of Middle Protocorinthian – in the Western market of Magna Graecia, for example, fewer than five examples have been found for this period<sup>83</sup> – while, of the total perfume vessels from Corinth found in Magna Graecia for the Late Protocorinthian and Transitional periods, 10% are alabastra.<sup>84</sup>

The other shape that appears suddenly at this time is the olpe. This shape is described as being a ‘round-mouthed jug invented at Corinth’<sup>85</sup> and ‘an oinochoe with a baggy outline probably derived from vessels of skin’.<sup>86</sup> There is very good reason, however, to believe that the shape was not ‘invented’ at Corinth at all, but was simply adopted from Levantine jugs, both metal and ceramic, that were common at this time. When one looks at that olpe most famous as an early example, the Chigi vase, and compares it to Levantine jugs from the same period, this becomes clear (Fig. 5). Payne came closest to this position when he said that the olpe ‘probably came to Corinth from East Greece’ because he saw similar elements in the shape; keeping in mind the strong Levantine influences in East Greek pottery, this was a very prescient view.<sup>87</sup>

Good examples of Levantine prototypes for the Corinthian olpe have been found in numerous 7th-century contexts in the Mediterranean. Two good examples are those shown in Fig. 6, from Sarafand and Akhziv. Another vessel, though lacking a low centre of gravity, is a bronze jug from Valdegamas in Portugal.<sup>88</sup> The shape of these vessels, the slightly flaring rim and the handle attachments are very close to the first Corinthian olpai. Culican points out that the sack-shaped ‘Phoenician’ olpe in its pottery form is typical of Phoenician and Punic jugs in the mid- to late 7th century; the sack-shape having a long history in Phoenicia.<sup>89</sup> He gives examples from Sarafand, Utica, Motya and even from tombs at Populonia in Etruria with Phoenician/Punic material.<sup>90</sup> Moreover, Culican noted that this shape existed in Levantine metal vessels in the 7th century, but that finding metal examples either in Carthage

<sup>82</sup> Culican 1975, 150; Payne 1940–62.

<sup>83</sup> For example Laforgia 1996, 50.

<sup>84</sup> Fletcher 2007.

<sup>85</sup> Rassmussen 1991, 58.

<sup>86</sup> Boardman 1998, 87.

<sup>87</sup> Amyx 1988, 488; Payne 1931, 299.

<sup>88</sup> Aubet-Semmler 2002, 236, fig. 5b.

<sup>89</sup> Culican 1970; 1975.

<sup>90</sup> Culican 1970, 14–15.



Fig. 6: Various Phoenician jugs from 7th-century contexts (L–R): sack-shaped olpe from Akhziv (after Dayagi-Mendels 2002, 62, fig. 4.12); sack-shaped olpe from Sarafand (after Culican 1970, fig. 3); bronze jug from Valdegamas (after Aubet-Semmler 2002, 236, fig. 5b). Vessels not to scale.



Fig. 7: Various Corinthian olpai from 7th-century contexts.

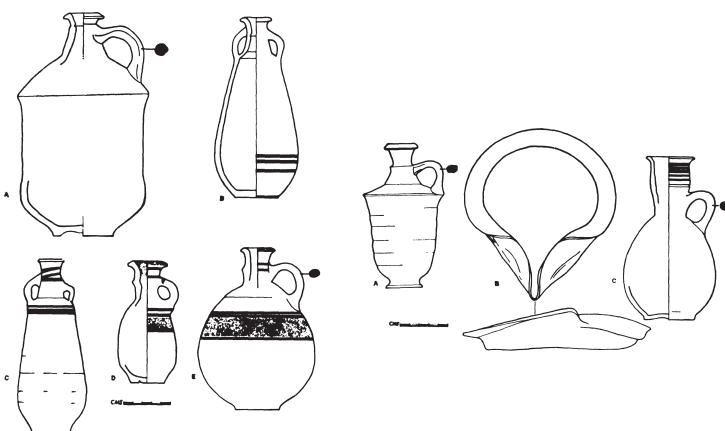


Fig. 8: Sidonian bottles in tomb groups from Sidon and Sarafand (after Culican 1975, figs. 1–2).

or the Phoenician homeland was very difficult.<sup>91</sup> The fact remains, however, that the Corinthian olpe did not develop from Greek shapes. There are olpai in the Greek repertoire, with a history going back to Middle Geometric II, but these are quite different from the Corinthian olpe.<sup>92</sup> If the shape was derived from leather prototypes, it begs the question why do olpai *always* show metallising features? The shape actually appeared quite suddenly, and at about the same time as the alabastron, at a time when Levantine sack-shaped – or to use Boardman's phrase, 'with a baggy outline' – vessels were relatively common elsewhere (Fig. 7).<sup>93</sup>

The decoration on Corinthian olpai also brings to mind Levantine metal vessels. The style of using registers is not particular to olpai, by any means, but the position, the motifs and the overall style is very reminiscent of Phoenician metal bowls.<sup>94</sup> The use of registers, moreover, is widespread in Levantine metalwork and, to a lesser extent, other Levantine luxury items in ivory and even wood. The point to be made is that the characteristic use of registers is found throughout the Levant. These are found on Egyptian bronzes, such as a bronze situla from Samos,<sup>95</sup> 'Phoenician' situlae and cauldrons such as those found in Italy at Chiusi and Praeneste<sup>96</sup> and, of course, Assyrian bronzes such as those from Nimrud and Nineveh.<sup>97</sup>

It is of considerable interest that a sustained and widespread Greek presence in the East is attested at the same time as these changes begin in Greek pottery forms. From the middle of the 7th century onwards there is convincing evidence for extensive employment of Greek mercenaries in the Levant.<sup>98</sup> Although Niemeier believes that Greek mercenaries first arrived in the Levant in the 8th century, it was in the second half of the 7th century that the phenomenon became widespread and easily visible in the archaeological record.<sup>99</sup> It is also worthwhile pointing out that these Greek mercenaries were occupied all over the Levant: the weapons and bronze greaves from Carchemish,<sup>100</sup> the wealth of material at Tell

<sup>91</sup> Culican 1981, 171–72.

<sup>92</sup> Papadopoulos 2003, 153.

<sup>93</sup> The term 'sack-shaped' is loosely used in this paper. The term specifically means that the greatest diameter is below the middle height of the vessel, but many of the examples we are discussing here are not, strictly speaking, sack-shaped. Perhaps 'saggy-bottomed' might be appropriate. The point, however, is that these vessels have a low centre of gravity, varying a great deal between individual examples, that is distinctive and easily recognisable. We shall use the term 'sack-shaped' and ask indulgence for the fact that it is not used precisely.

<sup>94</sup> Markoe 1996.

<sup>95</sup> Weber 2006, 146.

<sup>96</sup> Strøm 1971, 129–30.

<sup>97</sup> Albenda 1972; Curtis 1988.

<sup>98</sup> Niemeier 2001.

<sup>99</sup> Niemeier 2001, 24.

<sup>100</sup> Kunze 1991, 24–40; Woolley 1921, pl. 25a.

Defeneh,<sup>101</sup> the site in the Sinai called Migdol,<sup>102</sup> Me'ad Hashavyahu and Tel Kabri,<sup>103</sup> Tel Batash/Timnah.<sup>104</sup> Recent discoveries of Greek Archaic pottery, both fine wares and cooking pots, in northern Palestine show that there were probably Greek mercenaries also in the Galilee.<sup>105</sup> As Niemeier has pointed out, these mercenaries upon their return to Greece 'transferred foreign ideas and concepts to their homeland' and, one must presume, not a little in terms of material culture and associated practices.<sup>106</sup>

G. Lehmann has pointed out that it was exactly during this period that Phoenician – and Greek – trade expanded considerably in the Levant and, we might note, the rest of the Mediterranean.<sup>107</sup> He notes the increasing standardisation of Syrian pottery during this period and points to Phoenician influence as the instigator. We might go further and suggest that there was indeed a standardisation, but that it included much of the Levant. One way or the other 'without the Assyrian empire the prosperous development of Phoenicia would not have been possible [and simultaneously] the Phoenician–Greek interaction [that] transformed the Mediterranean into the predominating economic zone'.<sup>108</sup> It was in fact the Assyrians and Egyptians, by consolidating their power in the Levant and breaking down the barriers that small states imposed, who allowed the Phoenicians and Greeks to trade freely and easily in the Levant. This turns on its head the theory, still accepted by a number of scholars, that Phoenician trade in the western Mediterranean was part of a core–periphery system in which Phoenicians were more or less forced into an expansion of their trade.

### The Expansion of Cultural Exchange in the 6th Century

The growth of exchange between the Levant and Greece and the wider Mediterranean accelerated in the 6th century. In terms of Greek accommodation of Levantine pottery forms, this also expanded. Related to the sack-shaped vessels (both the *olpe* and the *alabastron*) are a group of vessels usually known as 'Samian *lekythoi*', 'Samian bottles' or 'East Greek *lekythoi*'. This category of vessel, and those Corinthian and Attic *lekythoi* derived from it, has long been known to have

<sup>101</sup> Petrie and Griffith 1888.

<sup>102</sup> Oren 1984.

<sup>103</sup> Naveh 1962; Niemeier 1994; 1995.

<sup>104</sup> Haider 1996, 75–76.

<sup>105</sup> G. Lehmann, personal communication.

<sup>106</sup> Niemeier 2001, 24.

<sup>107</sup> Lehmann 1996; 1998.

<sup>108</sup> Lehmann 1998, 32.



a 'Phoenician' pedigree.<sup>109</sup> Pfuhl saw a Cypriot influence, Johansen a revival of Phoenician mushroom-lipped jugs, and Dunbabin believed them to have Palestinian predecessors, but Culican made a cogent argument for these vessels being Phoenician and called them 'Sidonian bottles' (Fig. 8).<sup>110</sup>

It is probably difficult to sustain an argument for these vessels being particularly 'Sidonian' as Culican stated, but the number of these bottles found in Phoenician contexts, their fabric and the development of the shape within the Phoenician repertoire make Culican's arguments convincing.<sup>111</sup> The number of precedents for both the 'Samian' and the 'Deianeira' lekythoi (see below) have been increased markedly by Lehmann's study of Levantine pottery forms and it is clear that the type was to be found all over the Levant in the later 7th and 6th centuries, including sites such as Lachish, Sahab, Amman, Hazor, Megiddo, Beth Shan and Beth Mirsim.<sup>112</sup> Moreover, that these bottles are the direct ancestors of the familiar Attic lekythos shape cannot be doubted (Fig. 9).

The 'Deianeira' lekythos, on the other hand, is closely related to the Sidonian bottle but seems to be derived from a typical Levantine form: the sack-shaped juglet or bottle. It has the same – and very typical – Levantine neck-ridge, but its body is more elongated and rather than being squared off to an almost cylindrical shape it follows the sack shape that is so popular a form in Levantine pottery. The Levantine form from which it derives is illustrated by the vessel from Fig. 8e above, though this is a rather globular example. Earlier forms were more slender and are known from all over the Levant and the western Phoenician colonies (Fig. 10).<sup>113</sup>

It is of some interest that the form of these lekythoi, typical of Attic and Corinthian production in the 6th century, should be thought to have been 'the earliest shape of Attic lekythos and was derived from the Corinthian alabastron, to be in turn borrowed back by Corinth'.<sup>114</sup> These vessels have little in common with Corinthian alabastera apart from the sack shape and are clearly derived from Levantine sack-shaped juglets. An example of a Levantine juglet in just such a form is shown with the Attic lekythoi in Fig. 10. This 'imported' lekythos (on the right) was published as 'Probably East Greek',<sup>115</sup> but there are numerous examples like this one from Levantine and Cypriot sites, such as Sarafand tomb 26 (Fig. 11). It

<sup>109</sup> Cf. de la Genière 1984.

<sup>110</sup> Culican 1975, with references.

<sup>111</sup> Culican 1975.

<sup>112</sup> Amiran 1969, pls. 88, 89, 101; James 1966, Levels IV–V; Lehmann 1996.

<sup>113</sup> For example Beth Mirsim, Ain Tuba: Amiran 1969, 262, 265; Utica: Culican 1975–76, fig. 29; Sarepta: Pritchard 1988, fig. 47; Malta: Sagona 2002, fig. 276.5–7.

<sup>114</sup> Haspels 1936; Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 151.

<sup>115</sup> Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 353.



Fig. 9: Attic lekythoi.



Fig. 10: Three Deianeira lekythoi from Athens and an 'imported' lekythos (after Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 1097–99, 1667).

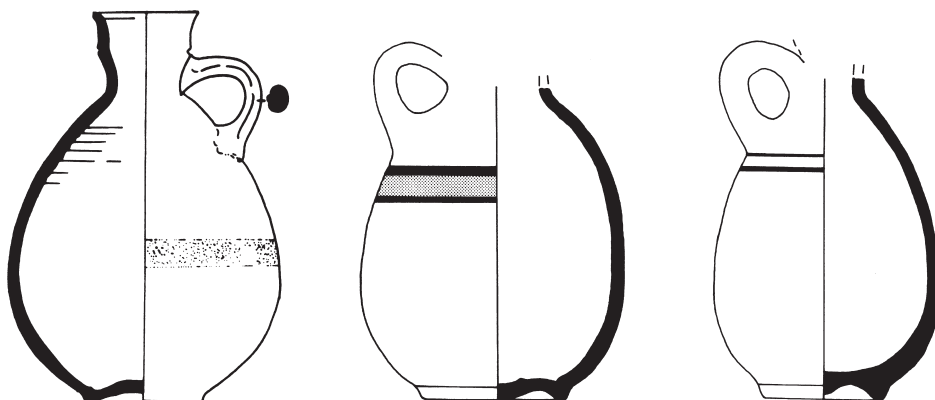


Fig. 11: Phoenician juglets from Sarafand (after Culican 1970, fig. 3).

might be noted that even the addition of bands on the upper body are the same in both Levantine and Greek examples.

Levantine influences on pottery production in centres other than Corinth were extensive in the 6th century. In East Greece – having throughout the 8th and 7th centuries been the recipients of Levantine influences in pottery – there is a marked increase in Levantine shapes in the late 7th and early 6th centuries. We have already mentioned the *Kreis* and *Wellenband* aryballoi of the early 7th century BC, and there was also extensive production in faience vessels from an early date.<sup>116</sup> However, by the late 7th and early 6th centuries Levantine shapes become more common in the East Greek repertoire – such as the so-called East Greek or ‘Rhodian’ *situlae* which may relate to jars in use in Levantine sites, *alabastra* of various kinds and plastic perfume vases.

While an Egyptian inspiration for East Greek *situlae* is widely believed to be likely<sup>117</sup> and the weight of evidence – not least that the vast majority of these vessels have been found in Egypt – supports this view, there are several indications in the shape that might suggest some influence from the wider Levant. Sabine Weber, in her excellent article on the subject, has shown how the Levantine shape of certain jars clearly inspired the East Greek *situla* form, however she did not point out that these jars were also common in wider Levantine contexts.<sup>118</sup> There are other vessels which may have acted as inspirations for the *situla* shape. The first is the simple open jar. These jars have often been found in the Levant, mainly in Palestinian contexts, with bowls as lids (see below). There are also Egyptian jars, as opposed to *situlae*, very close in shape and even Syrian jars of the period are not dissimilar (Fig. 13). Another form is that of the more common Phoenician storage jar, which is without a lid, but when compared in profile to the East Greek *situla* – with a lid – is extremely similar. The similarity in profile is dependent upon the rather large handle on *situlae* lids, which appear to be like the mouths of the Levantine storage jars. An example of just such a vessel from Tyre (probably from an early 7th-century context) with a reserved band in exactly the same place as found in East Greek *situlae* lends some credence to the idea that Phoenician shapes may have inspired the production of these vessels.

Assigning a precise location for the inspiration for East Greek *situlae* is therefore somewhat difficult. Jars from all over the Levant are similar and the fact that Weber has shown that the most likely place of manufacture ‘would be the East Dorian region’ might support the contention that these vessels had a vaguely Levantine

<sup>116</sup> Coldstream 1969; Webb 1978.

<sup>117</sup> Weber 2006.

<sup>118</sup> Weber 2006, 146–48.

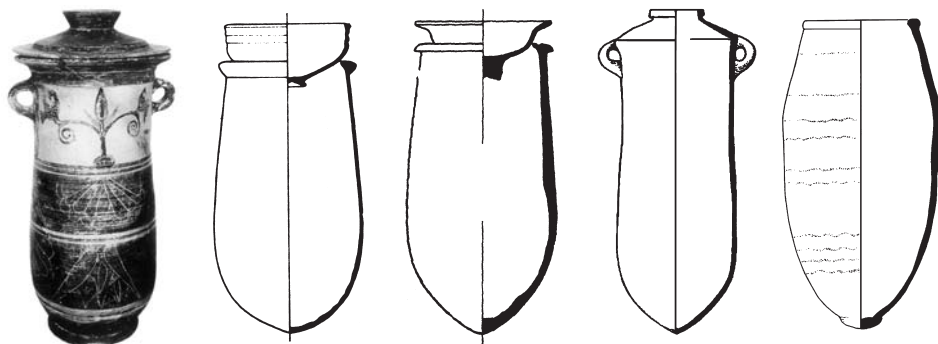


Fig. 12: A Rhodian situla from Tell Defenneh (after Boardman 1998, fig. 303); and Palestinian, Phoenician, Egyptian and Syrian jars (Phoenician funerary urns) from Tell er-Reqeish (after Culican 1973, figs. 1–2).

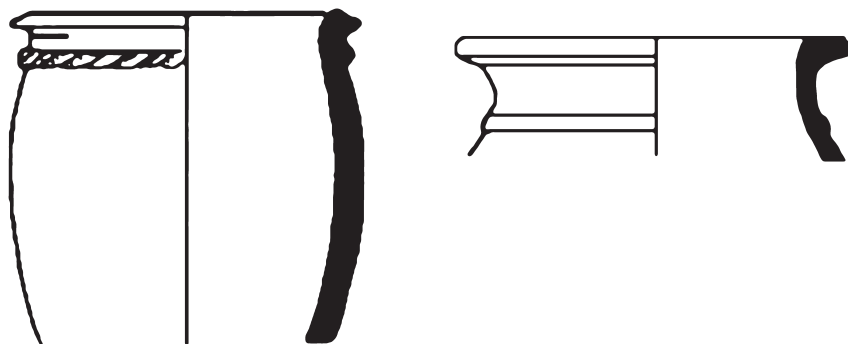


Fig. 13: Syrian jars with ridges below the rim: Lehmann's forms 349 and 362 (after Lehmann 1996, T. 57 and 63).

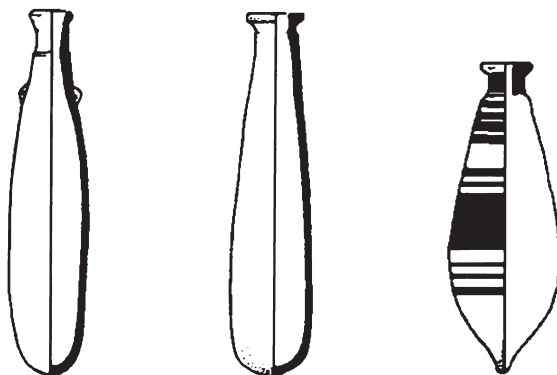


Fig. 14: East Greek and Levantine alabastera: Lehmann's forms 220 and 224 (after Lehmann 1996, T. 38 and 39).

inspiration, rather than a specifically Egyptian one.<sup>119</sup> However, it is important to note that East Greek situlae have a 'never neglected feature of all situlae of Group A–C' which is a small ridge some centimetres beneath the lip.<sup>120</sup> This is a not uncommon feature in Levantine storage jars, but not at all common in the Egyptian equivalent (Figs. 12–13).

A much more obvious connection with the Levant is seen in East Greek unguentaria, such as the so-called bucchero alabastra and the wealth of plastic vases in ceramic and faience forms. Both these forms have quite obvious precedents in the Levant. Although 'Grey ware' in East Greece is closely connected with Anatolian Grey ware dating back to the Bronze Age, the bucchero alabastra is not believed to have such a direct connection with Aeolian Grey ware.<sup>121</sup> There might be some relation between this fabric, often associated with Rhodes, and Cypriot Grey Polished ware of the Archaic period.<sup>122</sup> The form, however, can not be shown to be either Anatolian or Cypriot (Fig. 14).

The unguentaria from East Greece in plastic form had a long history, probably dating back to the beginning of the 7th century. However, it was at the end of the 7th century that 'production turned to figurines, human and animal, generally crude in workmanship; their style ... Egyptianising, unmodified by contemporary Greek'.<sup>123</sup> The Egyptianising element may, however, be overstressed, since Levantines had been manufacturing plastic vases, particularly unguentaria, for quite some time before the 6th century.<sup>124</sup>

In addition, many oinochoai appear in Greek production that imitate Cypro-Phoenician and Phoenician jugs.<sup>125</sup> This phenomenon is not well understood, nor widely known, but it may trace back to the Geometric period. Similarities between Cypriot and Greek geometric forms in the Late Geometric, particularly in Athens and Boeotia, can often be seen in oinochoai.<sup>126</sup> While specifically Phoenician influences are lacking in oinochoe forms in the Late Geometric, the Cypriot long-necked and spherical bodied form can be seen – and has no precedent in Greek geometric forms. Nevertheless, by the later 7th and 6th centuries, Levantine forms both in their Phoenician and Cypro-Phoenician manifestations have an effect upon Greek forms of oinochoai (Fig. 15).<sup>127</sup>

<sup>119</sup> Weber 2006, 150.

<sup>120</sup> Weber 2006, 147.

<sup>121</sup> Cook and Dupont 1998, 135–36.

<sup>122</sup> Fortin 1996; Gjerstad 1948.

<sup>123</sup> Cook and Dupont 1998, 140.

<sup>124</sup> Lancel 1979, pls. LXXXVI–VII.

<sup>125</sup> Kourou 2003, 260.

<sup>126</sup> For example Berlin 4506, Tübingen 2657, Louvre CA1821, Hanover 1958.60.

<sup>127</sup> Fletcher 2008a.



Fig. 15: Greek and Phoenician oinochoai: Skyros; Cyprus (Fletcher 2008a); Akhziv (after Culican 1975–76, fig. B; Fletcher 2008a).

In the 6th century the processes that had begun in the 7th century accelerated and developed, both in terms of Greek–Levantine interaction and the increasing domination of the Mediterranean economy over Syria, Phoenicia and Palestine.<sup>128</sup> Greek mercenary and trade presence in the Levant increased,<sup>129</sup> while ‘Phoenician’ hegemony in the economic affairs of the Levant increased. It was the Persian conquest of the former Assyrian and Babylonia territories that had the greatest effect in expanding interaction and trade. The Achaemenids developed a flexible and competent administrative and economic mechanism for the government of their territory and, most importantly, their dominance was characterised by well-developed transport systems and accessibility to markets.<sup>130</sup> In the 6th century Greek material finds its way inland to such an extent that in many Syria sites almost ‘all fine wares were imported from Athens’ and Phoenician and Greek amphora are found together in the same assemblages.<sup>131</sup> While this process of Greek–Levantine trade expansion certainly continued in the following centuries,<sup>132</sup> the conflict between Levantines and Greeks in the western Mediterranean in the 6th century and the attempt by the Persians to conquer Greece in the 5th century certainly interrupted to some extent the free mingling of cultures until Alexander’s time.

<sup>128</sup> Lehmann 1998.

<sup>129</sup> Niemeier 2001.

<sup>130</sup> Lehmann 1998, 32.

<sup>131</sup> Lehmann 1998, 32.

<sup>132</sup> For example Paspalas 2000a–b.

## Conclusions

The influence of the East upon Western culture through its Greek origins is widely acknowledged, even though debate can be reignited by contentious works. The most obvious form that such influence took was in decorative styles in the so-called Orientalising Revolution in the late 8th and 7th centuries BC, but this was also the period in which Greeks and other cultures in the Mediterranean learned writing from the East (from Phoenicians and Syrians) and adopted myths, elements of social practices, technologies and even banking from the same sources. While there is a tendency to study the transmission of these influences and changes as being from East to West, there is increasing evidence to support a case for cultural interaction – a state of cross-cultural transmission in which give and take was normal. Cultures in the Mediterranean learned from the East, but Eastern cultures also learned from the West. The role of the Greeks has also been a favoured realm of study, often at the expense of both Levantine and indigenous cultures. Our sources for Greek thought and material culture are often, of course, better, but the increasing amount of evidence we have for the Phoenicians and for the indigenous cultures of the Mediterranean make it timely to study the more complex models of cultural interaction.

Although we have dismissed the suggestion made by Morris and Papadopoulos that ‘the Corinthian pottery industry ... [was] determined and defined by Phoenicians’ as probably going too far, the weight of evidence is beginning to suggest that that part of their argument which claimed a Phoenician presence in Corinth (and in Greece generally) may have been insightful.<sup>133</sup> The emulation of Levantine pottery shapes in Corinth, as well as the subjects painted or inscribed upon pottery, the existence of the hero Melikertes, as well as the myth of Medea, not to mention the alphabet itself, all point to a close understanding of Levantine ways.<sup>134</sup> There is also an increasing weight of evidence for Phoenician presence in the Aegean which is not just stylistic but includes evidence for actual burials.<sup>135</sup> This paper is an attempt to show that Levantine influence in pottery production was great and extended beyond the decorative. In East Greece and in Crete the influence was steady, but when it began in Corinth it was followed by waves of change in pottery shape. The first was in the perfume industry with the adoption of the Phoenician discoid lip, then in the middle of the 7th century there was the adoption of sack-shaped vessels such as the *olpe* and *alabastron*. However, in the 6th century the adoption of sack-shaped vessels and Cypro-Phoenician *oinochoe* shapes was seen throughout Greek pottery production: in Corinth, Athens, the Sporades, the Cyclades and East Greece.

<sup>133</sup> S. Morris and Papadopoulos 1998, 252.

<sup>134</sup> S. Morris and Papadopoulos 1998, 252.

<sup>135</sup> Kourou 2003; Stampolidis 2003.



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## BEYOND THE TANAIIS: TACITUS AND QUINTUS CURTIUS

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### Abstract

Due to the confusion between the Don and the Sir-Daria in some ancient sources, Tacitus' account of the Roman campaign against Mithradates VIII of Bosphorus might have been inspired by the episode of Alexander's crossing of the 'Tanais' reported by Quintus Curtius. Tacitus highlights the importance of the first Roman victory beyond this river: this land was considered the limit of the known world, as was also the case of Britannia, whose conquest was also described by Tacitus. If we admit a Claudian date for Curtius' work, the favourable image of Alexander's victory over the Sacae given by this author could have evoked the emperor's triumph over Mithradates, who was of Achaemenid descent.

In an interesting article published in 2004, B. Bosworth remarked upon the close relationship between Curtius Rufus' *Historiae Alexandri Magni*, and the work of Tacitus, whom he may have influenced to a considerable degree. One of the aspects proposed by Bosworth is the analogy between Agricola's campaign in Britannia, and Alexander's struggle against the Scythians on the Tanais (Curtius 7. 7. 1–7. 9. 19).<sup>1</sup> In both cases, the subject is a war at the limits of the known world, against virtuous and fierce peoples. In each case there is a speech in which the ambition of the conquerors is criticised: both Alexander and Rome want to gain control of the whole world, fighting against unconquered peoples, who live in poor and inhospitable territories and who are prepared to defend their freedom rather than live under a foreign power. In Curtius' account, an old Saca ambassador reproaches Alexander; in the case of Tacitus, Calgacus, the Caledonian chieftain, delivers the speech (Curtius 7. 8. 12–30; Tacitus *Agricola* 30–32).<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, there is another passage in Tacitus which is quite similar to the content of Curtius' Scythian speech: it is the account of Claudius' campaign against Mithradates VIII of Bosphorus (Tacitus *Annales* 12. 15–21; Cassius Dio 60. 8. 2).<sup>3</sup> It

<sup>1</sup> Bosworth 2004, 555–59.

<sup>2</sup> Bosworth 2004, 555–58. See also Ballesteros-Pastor 2003, 30 n. 34, 32. On Calgacus' speech, see in particular Clarke 2001, 103–12. Furthermore, a relationship between Tacitus *Agricola* 38. 2 and Curtius 9. 9. 1 has been detected: Wolfson 2008, 65–74.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny *NH* 6. 17; Petrus Patricius *FHG* IV 184–185, fr. 3; Levick 1990, 157–58, 230 n. 25. The chronology of this war has been discussed (see Goroncharovskii 2003; Saprykin 2005, 174–75).



was, moreover, a struggle east of the Tanais and against tribes considered to be of Scythian origin. Towards AD 45/6, Mithradates had rebelled against Rome and had re-established his rule, expelling his brother Cotys, who had been installed on the throne with Roman support. The Roman armies, having achieved a victory over Mithradates and the Sirakoi, his allies, passed in their march near the Tanais.<sup>4</sup> Eunones, king of the Aorsi, who had given refuge to Mithradates, requested Claudius' clemency for the defeated king of Bosporus. The emperor then deliberated between sparing Mithradates' life or fighting in the lands of Scythians and Sarmatians: unknown regions, with impassable roads, warlike kings, wandering peoples and unproductive lands. All this represented great peril and little benefit.<sup>5</sup> The dilemma is similar to that proposed by the old Saca to Alexander: war against the Scythians is uncertain, and the profit obtainable from a poor nomadic people does not justify so great a risk.<sup>6</sup>

Tacitus' passage on this Roman campaign also has an epic tone, as noted by P. Wuilleumier.<sup>7</sup> This is reflected above all by the express mention of the River Tanais, a mythical frontier that marked the limit between Asia and Europe and was, to some extent, the end of the *oikoumene*.<sup>8</sup> Alexander believed that he was crossing this same river for his struggle against the Scythians, because he confused the Tanais (Don) with the Iaxartes (Sir-Daria).<sup>9</sup> It is interesting to observe that

<sup>4</sup> Tacitus *Annales* 12. 17: *exercitus Romani, quem incruentum et victorem tridui itinere afuisse ab amne Tanai constitit*.

<sup>5</sup> Tacitus *Annales* 12. 20: *At Claudius (...) dubitavit tamen, accipere captivum pacto salutis an repetere armis rectius foret. Hinc dolor iniuriarum et libido vindictae adigebat; sed disserebatur contra suscipi bellum avio itinere, inportuoso mari; ad hoc reges feroces, vagos populos, solum frugum egenum, taedium ex mora, pericula ex properantia, modicam victoribus laudem ac multum infamiae, si pellerentur* (cf. Cassius Dio 37. 3. 2). Both the Sirakoi and the Aorsi were considered to be Scythian tribes by Strabo (11. 2. 1). However, some authors said that they lived in Sarmatia: Pliny *NH* 4. 80, 6. 16–17; Solinus 15. 18; Ptolemy *Geographia* 3. 5, 7. 10. This confusion between Sarmatians and Scythians was common among late Hellenistic and Roman authors (Nicolai 1984, 113–25; Olbrycht 2001, 442–43). Sirakes was a Scythian name: Polyaeus 7. 11. 12, 8. 26; Olbrycht 2001, 443 with n. 134. The Aorsi and the Sirakoi had lived formerly in the region of the Aral (Olbrycht 2001, 443–47).

<sup>6</sup> See, for instance, Curtius 7. 8. 22: *Transi modo Tanain; scies, quam late pateant, numquam tamen consequeris Scythas. Paupertas nostra velocius erit quam exercitus tuus (...). Rursus, cum procul abesse nos credes, videbis in tuis castris*. In a similar sense, cf. Justinus 2. 3. 10–12.

<sup>7</sup> Wuilleumier 1976, 58 n. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Flor. 1. 39. 6: *terminum gentium Tanain*; Horace *Carmina* 3. 10. 1: *extremum Tanain si biberes*. Augustus tried to highlight Roman dominion over the whole world with the explicit mention of the peoples beyond the Tanais: *RG* 31: *nostram amicitiam appetiverunt per legatos Bastarnae Scythaeque et Sarmatarum, qui sunt citra flumen Tanaim et ultra reges*; Cresci Marrone 1993, 115; Olbrycht 2001, 447. On Augustus' rule over the Maeotis and the Hyrcanian Sea, see also Virgil *Aeneid* 6. 798–799; Horace *Carmina* 3. 4. 36. For further references to Augustan propaganda on Roman dominion over the Scythians, see Ballesteros-Pastor 2003, 37 n. 71.

<sup>9</sup> This mistake was noted in antiquity (Plutarch *Alexander* 45. 5; Strabo 11. 7. 4; Pliny *NH* 4. 69; Solinus 49. 5; Bosworth 1980, 377–78). This confusion may be due to the image of the world in

Tacitus states that the legions were three days' journey from the Tanais – a distance which, it seems, was indicative of the nearness of these limits of the world. Pompey, as Plutarch says, also stopped his march three days from the Hyrcanian Sea (Plutarch *Pompeius* 36. 1).<sup>10</sup>

It is difficult to use this analogy between Tacitus' account and the speech of Curtius as a valid argument to date the *Historiae Alexandri Magni* to the time of Claudius.<sup>11</sup> However, if we admit this chronology, it may be possible that Curtius would have established an association between the Roman emperor and this episode of Alexander's history. It is interesting to observe how Curtius, after the harsh warnings of the Scythian delegation, describes the Macedonian raid across the Tanais in surprisingly favourable terms: Alexander's aim is only to win glory by defeating an unbeaten people.<sup>12</sup> In fact, it seems as though the king was adopting an attitude proper to the Scythians, that is, the search for glory and honour, rather than the desire for power and wealth.<sup>13</sup> Alexander sets the Saca prisoners free, showing his *clementia* towards the defeated enemy;<sup>14</sup> in the same way, Claudius allows Mithradates to travel safely to Rome, where the ruler lived for 20 years until his death (Tacitus *Annales* 12. 21; Plutarch *Galb.* 13. 4, 15. 2).

This positive view of Alexander also agrees with the fact that in Curtius' passage on the Macedonian raid beyond the Tanais several aspects have been detected that seem difficult to believe, and that, furthermore, they differ greatly from Arrian's account of this same episode.<sup>15</sup> Beside the differences on tactical matters, it is interesting to note that Arrian (*Anabasis* 4. 4. 5) tries to diminish the Macedonian victory over the Scythians, saying that Alexander had only defeated some brigands. On the contrary, Curtius wanted to present Alexander as triumphant over this people.

Alexander's times (see Bosworth 1996, 81–82). There was a similar landscape on the banks of both rivers (Bosworth 1995, 27; Geus 2003, 238).

<sup>10</sup> This distance may not have been real (Wirth 1983, 32 n. 97).

<sup>11</sup> For a general review of the problem of Curtius' date, and a defence of his work being written under Claudius, see principally Atkinson 1998, 3451–55; and further André 1998, 26; Dion 1998, 74; Atkinson 2000, 319; 2009, 2–14. Other scholars have proposed a date in the time of Vespasian (see Fugmann 1995; Baynham 1998, 201–19; Bosworth 2004, 566).

<sup>12</sup> Curtius 7. 9. 17–18: *Invictos Scythas esse crediderant; quibus fractis, nullam gentem Macedonum armis parem fore confitebantur. Itaque Sacae misere legatos qui pollicerentur gentem imperata facturam; moverat eos regis non virtus magis, quam clementia in devitos Scythas. Quippe captivos omnes sine pretio remiserat, ut fidem faceret sibi cum ferocissimis gentium de fortitudine, non de ira fuisse certamen.*

<sup>13</sup> Justinus 2.3. 7: (Scythae) *nihil victores praeter gloriam concupiscunt; cf.* 1. 1. 2: (Vezosis and Tanaus) *nec imperium sibi, sed populis suis gloriam quaerebant.*

<sup>14</sup> Curtius 7. 9. 18; Arrian *Anabasis* 4. 5. 1. A similar attitude is seen in Curtius (7. 10. 4–9) in relation to the Sogdian prisoners. On Claudius' *clementia* in Tacitus, see further Syme 1958 I, 414–15; II, 497.

<sup>15</sup> In particular, it is hard to believe Curtius' description (7. 8. 7, 7. 9. 2–4) of the Macedonian tactic of crossing the river (Rickly 1975; see further Bosworth 1995, 27–28).



As in the case of Britannia, Scythia was at the end of the world; their inhabitants were poor but brave.<sup>16</sup> As with the conquest of Britannia, Claudius might have exalted his triumph in the East, not only as worthy of comparison with Alexander's exploits, but also as *primus inventor*, because it was the first military success of Rome beyond the Tanais.<sup>17</sup> Thus, it is not unlikely that Tacitus would have thought to link the struggle of Alexander against the Sacae and the campaign of Claudius against the Scythian tribes.<sup>18</sup> Let us also remember that Mithradates was declared to be a descendant of the Achaemenid line.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, the Roman emperor had triumphed over the same dynasty that Alexander had defeated some four centuries earlier.

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<sup>16</sup> On this image of the edges of the *oikoumene*, see in general Romm 1992, 45–77. On the Scythians, see Hartog 1980, 23–25. On Britannia, see Stewart 1995; Clarke 2001, 104–08. It must be noted that in Britannia there was a river called the Tanaus (Tacitus *Agricola* 22. 1), and this was also the name of a mythical Scythian king (Justinus 1. 1. 6). Tacitus mentions in both campaigns the problem of piracy, characteristic of the barbarian countries located in the limits of the known world. (Tacitus *Annales* 12. 17; *Agricola* 28. 2; cf. Clarke 2001, 110).

<sup>17</sup> Koestermann 1967, 137. Pliny (*NH* 6. 14) states that the Tali, a people who lived near the Caspian Sea, were known in Rome for this war against Mithradates. The campaign of Agricola is also regarded as the first time in which the Romans reached some parts of northern Britannia (Tacitus *Agricola* 10. 4). On the importance of the geographical discoveries made by the Roman armies, see Mattern 1999, 26–29.

<sup>18</sup> There may have been a relationship between Claudius and Alexander with regard to the conquest of Britannia (Dion 1988, 74). This success of Claudius was exalted as the extension of the Roman dominion to the end of the world (Melmoux 1990; Richard 1998; Barrett 2000).

<sup>19</sup> Tacitus *Annales* 12. 18. 2; cf. Plutarch *Alexander* 60. 14; Koestermann 1967, 138. On the Achaemenid lineage of the Mithradatids, see Bosworth and Wheatley 1998. This was also noted by Sallust (*Historiae*. fr. 2.73M), whose description of the Black Sea was probably consulted by Tacitus for his account of this campaign against Mithradates (Syme 1958 I, 354; Koestermann 1967, 140). The whole passage has a clear Sallustian influence (Syme 1958 II, 706, 730).

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# THE LAST PAGAN TEMPLE AT ARMAZTSIKHE

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## Abstract

This paper provides a detailed architectural description of the late Roman temple discovered in 1996 at Armaztsikhe (Bagineti) in the ancient capital of Caucasian Iberia, Mtskheta, set in its local context and with comparisons drawn from further afield.

In 1996, the year in which excavations resumed,<sup>1</sup> a temple was unearthed on the lower terrace of the ancient capital of Caucasian Iberia, Armaztsikhe<sup>2</sup> (modern Bagineti in Mtskheta) (Figs. 1–2). The context included such subsidiary structures as a long, partitioned passage, a wine-cellar (or barn) with 16 pithoi for storing wine dug into the ground, a system of longitudinal corridors, a room in the north-western corner, etc. A six-apse temple is the main feature: it lies on the periphery of the area and its eastern side runs along the edge of the terrace. The temple is only partly preserved but its remains enable us to give an idea of the structure as a whole (Figs. 3–5).

The temple is almost square in form (17.5 x 18 m), its walls are 1.5 m thick, and the entrance doorways lie opposite each other in the north and south walls. Into this rectangle, the six apses are inserted, paired east and west, single north and south. A narrow, squarish corridor runs from the south-west apse to a gallery, with an opening through its north-west corner leading into the wine-cellar. Another corridor, parallel to the north wall, runs westward from the north apse to a small chamber in the temple's north-western corner. Its function is unclear; it was probably the temple's treasury. In turn, this chamber connects through a doorway to a narrow, longitudinal corridor, running parallel to which is a wider area, separated from the corridor by a thick wall (1.75 m) that continues the alignment of the temple's north wall.

<sup>1</sup> Excavations of the area between 1943 and 1948 had revealed structures from antiquity and the early mediaeval period (Apakidze 1963, 21–22; Kipiani 1991, 34–35). Work recommenced in 1996 under the late A. Apakidze (Director), V. Nikolaishvili (Field Director) and S. Kedia (architect). I did not participate in the excavation but I have been kindly offered the opportunity to study and publish the material.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo 11. 5. 3; Pliny *NH* 6. 30; Ptolemy 5. 10. 3. On Armaztsikhe, and on the excavation of Mtskheta in general, see Tsetskhladze 2006–07 (with extensive bibliography).

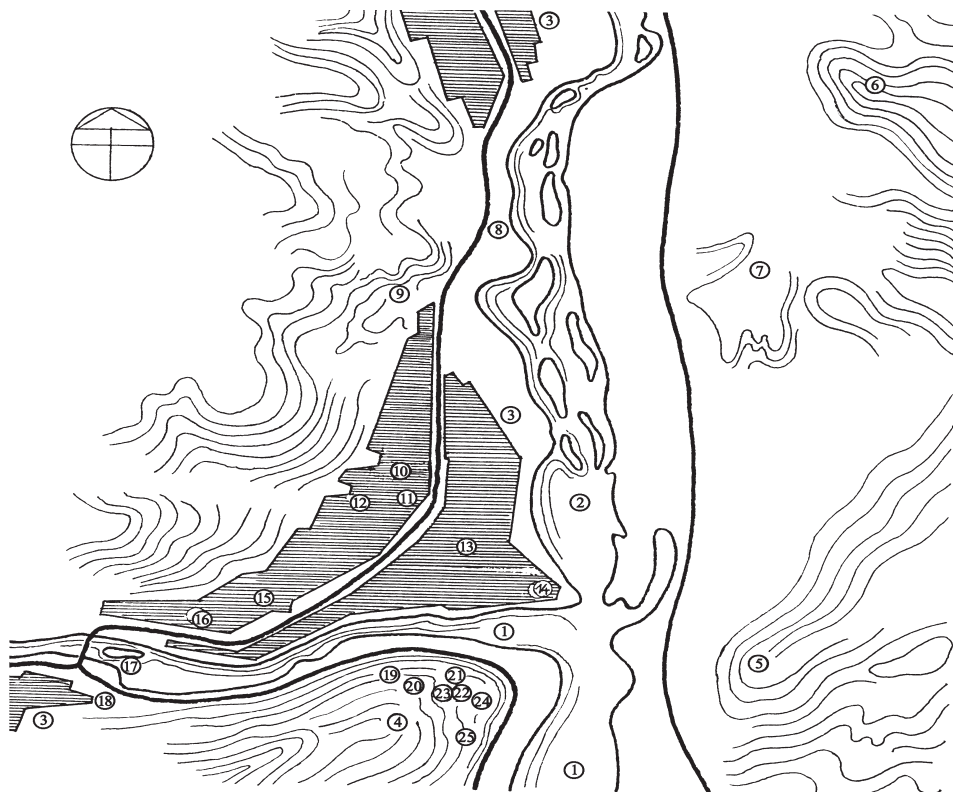


Fig. 1: Mtskheta and surrounding territories.

(1). Mtkvari (Kura/Cyrus) river; (2). Aragvi (Aragus) river; (3). Mtskheta town; (4). Armaztsikhe (Bagineti); (5). Djvari monastery; (6). Tsitsamuri; (7). Tsitsamuri rural settlement (2nd–3rd centuries AD); (8). Bebristsikhe and ancient fortification remains; (9). Samtavro (settlement and cemetery); (10); Samtavro convent, King Mirian's basilica, late Roman remains; (11). Northern gateway of Mtskheta citadel (early mediaeval); (12). 'Barbareti' church; (13). Svetitskhoveli, King Vakhtang Gorgasali's basilica ('Holy of Holies'), late Roman architectural details; (14). Aragviskari, 'Antioch', Stepantsminda; (15). West side of fortifications of Mtskheta citadel (early mediaeval); (16). 'Gethsemane' church (early mediaeval), remains of early Christian structures, cemetery; (17). Ancient bridge ('Pompey's bridge'); (18). Stone tomb (late Roman); (19)–(20). Roman baths; (21). Six-apse temple; (22). 'Column Hall'; (23). Byzantine cistern; (24). Early Christian single-nave church (ruins); (25). Ancient fortification walls.



Fig. 2: View of Armaztsikhe (Bagineti) from the Djvari monastery.



Fig. 3: General view of the excavation.





Fig. 4: Details of excavation and remains.

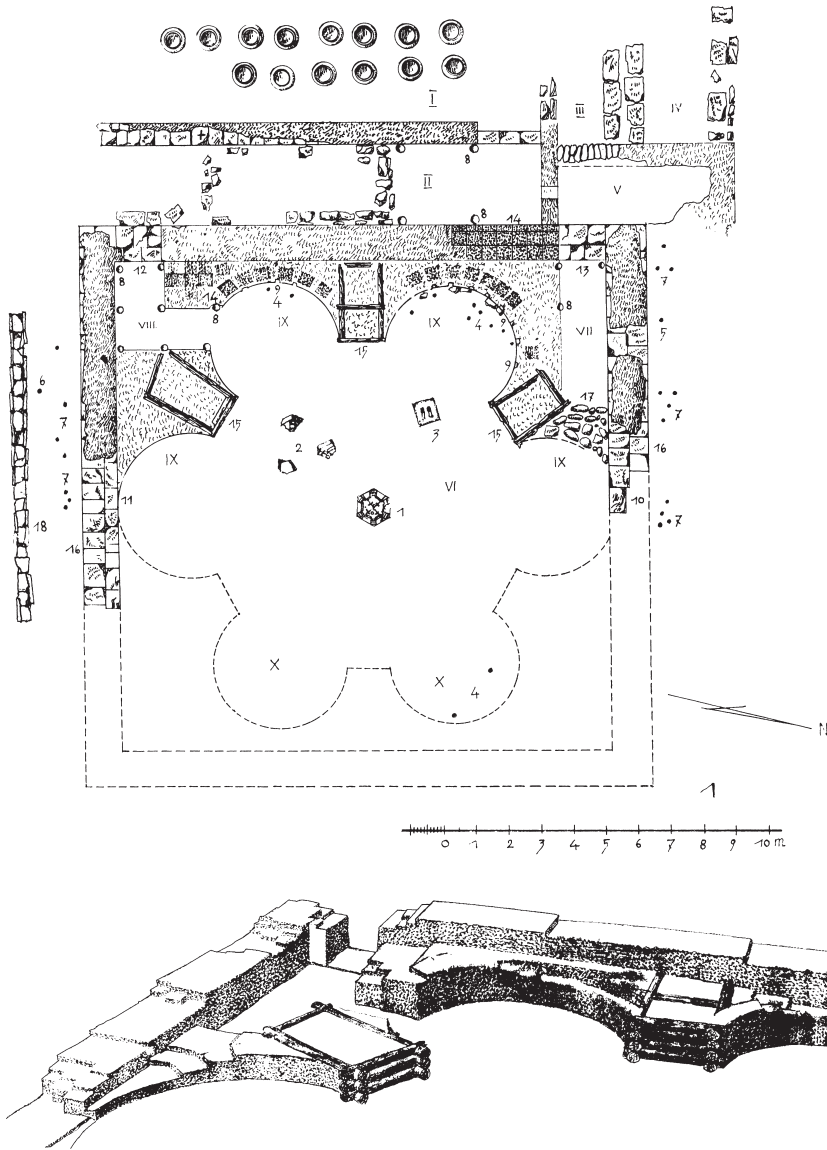


Fig. 5: Plan of six-apsed temple.

1. I. Wine-cellar; II. Corridor; III-IV. Lengthwise corridor; V. Chamber (Treasury?); VI. Temple area; VII-VIII. Corridors; IX Apses; X. Supposed apses. (1). Base of central column; (2). Fragments of capital of central column; (3). Pedestal of sculpture; (4). Corinthianised capitals and fragments of same; (5)-(6). Pilaster capitals; (7). Denticles; (8). Wall grooves supporting posts; (9). Wall grooves supporting posts in apses; (10). North entrance of temple; (11). South entrance of temple; (12)-(13). West doorways of temple; (14). Courses of adobe brickwork; (15). Timber posts between apses; (16). Socle of sandstone block; (17). Interior substructure of temple – cobblestone pavement; (18). Ditch. 2. Socle and masonry of part of temple.

There are two rows of pithoi, eight in each, dug into the ground of the wine-cellar. This type of pithoi is typical of late Roman–early mediaeval Caucasian Iberia. The north and south sides of the temple are bordered, at a distance of 1.6 m, by ditches made of sandstone slabs.

A column had been erected in the centre of the temple. Its base has been found *in situ*. The plinth is an equilateral hexahedron, according with the six apses of the temple, though the temple itself diverges from the base and a capital (either fragmented or unfinished) scattered over the south-western part of the interior in that the radii of the west and (supposed) east apses are 2.10 m, while the north and south measure 2.25 m. The east side of the temple structure is completely washed away. A socle of sandstone quadrates with masonry of adobe bricks above is preserved to a height of 2 m (Fig. 5.1).

Some elements of woodwork are preserved at the joints of the apses and support-bearing posts made of courses of logs. The floors of the south-west apse and the corridor leading to the gallery are plastered with lime mortar 2–3 cm thick.

The interior surfaces of the gallery walls bear the imprints of columns, in the form of circular grooves of 30 cm diameter and a depth of 20 cm arising, as do both parts of the corridor leading from the south-west apse to the gallery and the opening from the north apse to the chamber. Similar but rectangular grooves were found at the lower levels of the apse walls, and the remains of wood found along the grooves' inner surfaces suggest that the apses were internally columned. Nine small complete Corinthianised capitals were found within the area, plus many more fragments, several of which were in the eastern part of the temple along with traces of the supposed eastern pair of apses (Fig. 5).

I have already mentioned the capital (more an impost) of the central column. Two pieces of similar capitals were found outside the temple building but within the temple area, to the north-west and south-east. The north and south areas of the temple were covered with similar sandstone details: dentils forming the components of a cogged frontage frieze. The pedestal of a sculpture was found in front of the north-west apse, though not *in situ*. Unfortunately, no fragments of the sculpture itself have been discovered anywhere.

It is obvious that the temple was destroyed, but were this as a result of a battle, it is implausible that any complete tiles would remain. Here, however, the bulk of tiles are unbroken (see below). Moreover, we have a column base *in situ* and a capital (impost), although the column itself is missing. It seems very likely that this was made of wood but it would not have perished without leaving traces beneath the adobe debris – we have, after all, timber support-bearing posts and the remains of wood in the grooves of the wall columns.



The building area of the temple was perfectly levelled without disturbing the virgin soil. Two courses of well-dressed, sandstone quadrates, set on a special, band-like underlay of sandstone flakes and joined edge to edge by a thin layer of lime mortar, form a socle, which acts as a doorsill at the entrances to the temple. The interior substructure of the temple was made of specially selected flat cobblestones, which were laid out and then plastered with clay and adobe.

The courses of adobe bricking built over the bordering socle are two-and-a-half bricks wide (the bricks measure 45 x 45 x 10 cm; half-bricks, 22.5 x 45 x 10 cm). The apses are framed with bricks of the same size. In some places the bricks were laid slantwise or even quite randomly. The spaces between the apse frames and the inner surfaces of the walls were filled mainly with pressed clay, as were the areas of support-bearing posts. The logs used for the support-bearing posts, the main

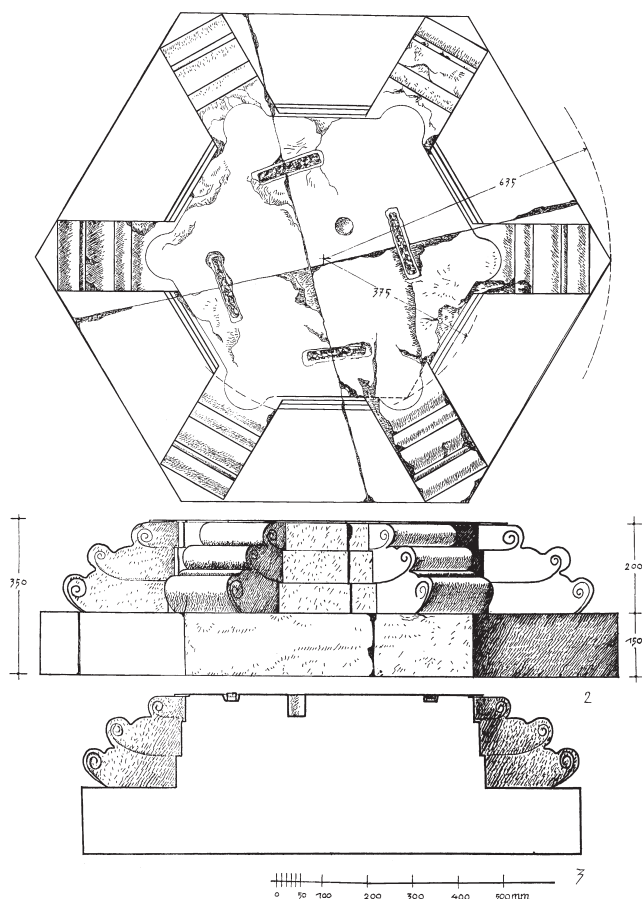


Fig. 6: Base of central column. (1). Plan; (2). Front; (3). Section.

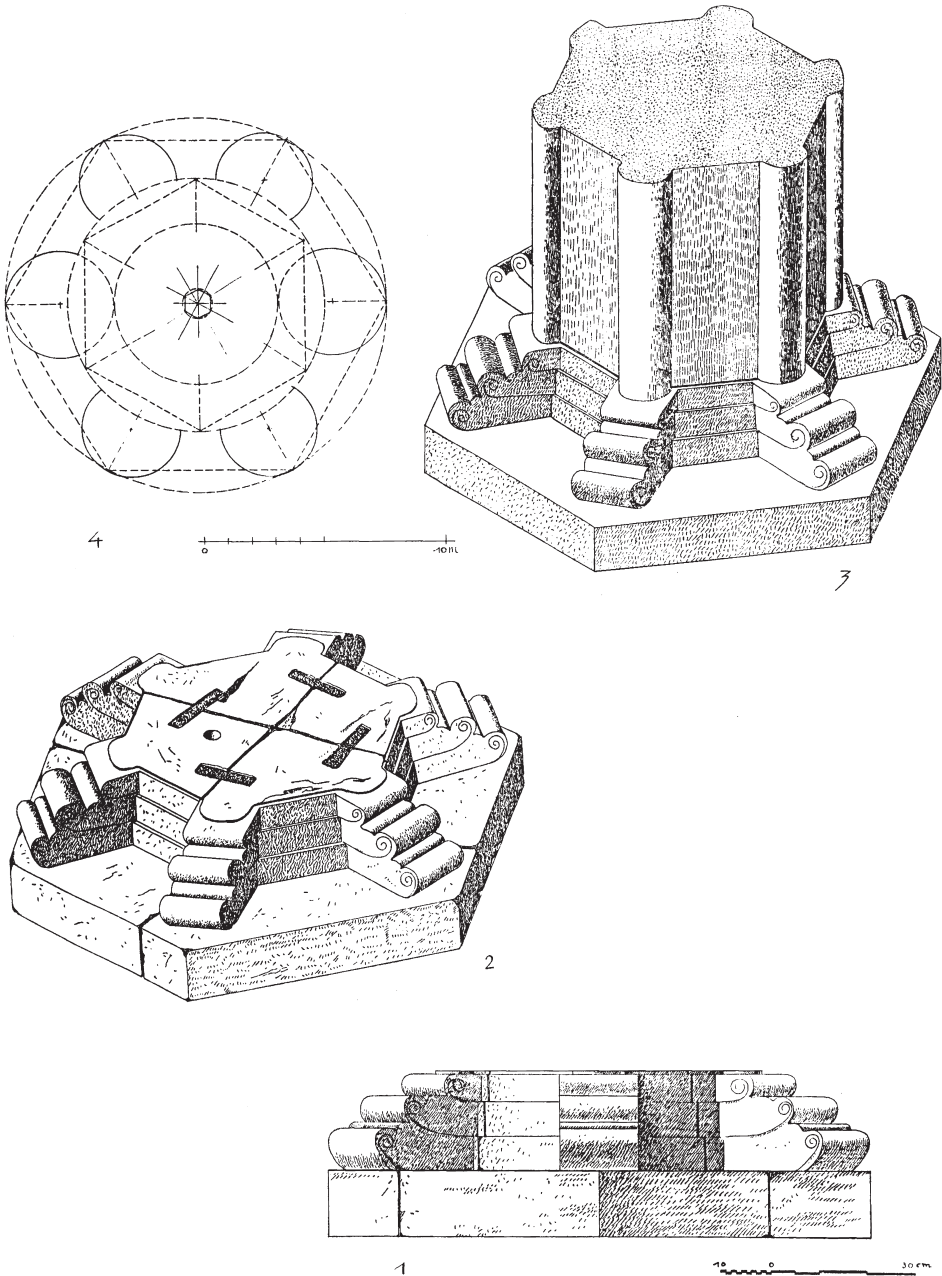


Fig. 7: (1). Profile of central column; (2). Axonometric projection; (3). Base and fragment of column (reconstruction); (4). Geometric scheme of the temple.

load-bearing element of the superstructure, were firmly bonded to each other with notched joints of a quarter of their diameter.<sup>3</sup>

## Architectural Details

### *Column Base*

I have already mentioned the column base, an equilateral hexahedron 1.27 m in diameter (Figs. 4 bottom, 6). It consists of four pieces which, following Greek practice, are connected to each other with iron crumps, the ends of which are embedded into special mortises and welded with lead (Fig. 7.2). It is clear that a slab of 1.27 m diameter was first divided into four quadrants and then into a hexahedron using a simple correlation. The height of the base is 35 cm. Its surface is a hexahedron, though the corners are not stressed. There are semicircular projections where the sides of the hexahedron must cross one another, i.e. the end of the column was of unusual shape; accordingly, the column itself had to be made hexahedral with semicircular pilasters (Fig. 7.3). The diameter of the column is that of the circle traced around the hexahedron – 75 cm. The decorative aspect of such a column is undeniable but, in this case, the column functions as a structural element of the building.

The body of the base has the form of a hexahedral prismatoid. Its facets (Fig. 6.3) are fractured into three steps – cascades of wide, three-staged volutes descending from the top of the plinth towards the corners, whose sides are decorated with deep, scratched-out spirals (Figs. 6.2, 7.1). The deep circular hole in the surface of one piece of the base is for a wooden dowel used to fix the column. The hole could not be in the centre of the base because this is where the corners of all the base pieces joined.

### *Capital (Impost)*

The capital (impost) too is an equilateral hexahedron with the same radius as the base, though of different height – 47 cm (of which, abacus 12 cm). The dado of the capital, like that of the base, is fractured into three steps, which are reminiscent of an Ionic architrave fascia (Figs. 8–9). The volutes of the capital may even be called brackets; i.e. artistically, there is an absolute coincidence with the volutes of the base though reversed. The pattern of beaded design decorating the volutes (a decorative motif of granules and pirouettes, not an architectural pattern) is a simplified version of the astragal decoration, which is the most telling indication of

<sup>3</sup> Kipiani and Amashukeli 1995, 7, pl. 1.

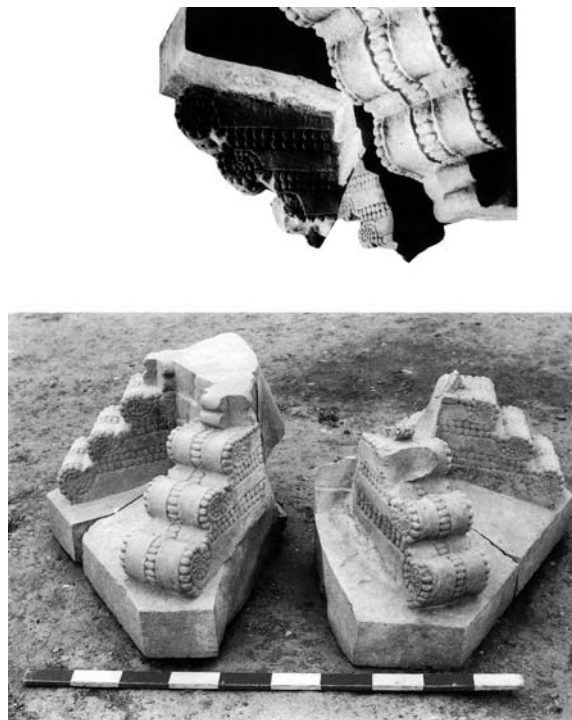


Fig. 8: Capital (impost) of central column.

Roman taste.<sup>4</sup> The beaded compositions here make bows of volutes, a pattern borrowed entirely from the Ionic order. The profiles of the volutes are divided lengthwise with beaded patterns – a corner of the capital is here interpreted as is profile (Fig. 9.2) and a side, in fact fractured, as a face (Fig. 10). The profiles of the volutes coincide exactly with the balusters of Ionic capitals.

There are small consoles at the base of the capital, each of them fractured into two vertical 'leaves' and with the form of a volute base. The diameter of the neck of the capital is 60 cm, i.e. 7.5 cm smaller than the base of the column.

### *Central Column*

Although the central column here has not been found, it may be regarded as an example of a structural feature that had grown into a decorative motif. The base and capital are in absolute accord with each other, and this impressive artistic and constructive dialogue between them is perfectly supported by the shaft. It is extremely

<sup>4</sup> Beads without spaces. See the volute decorations of the Arch of Titus (late 1st century) (Durm 1905, 411, fig. 458).

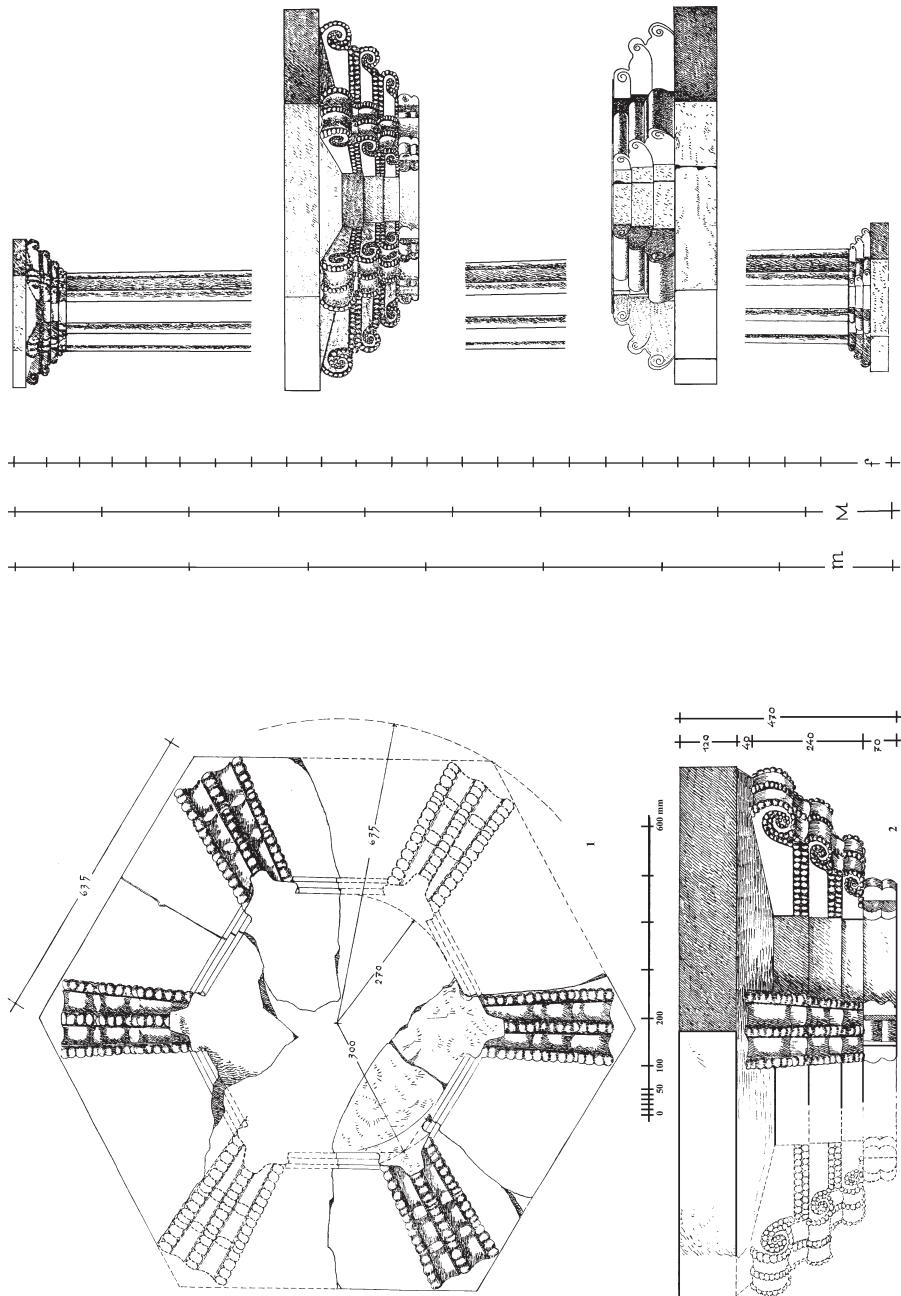


Fig. 10: Reconstruction of central column and front of base and capital.

Fig. 9: Capital (impost) of central column. (1). Plan; (2). Profile.

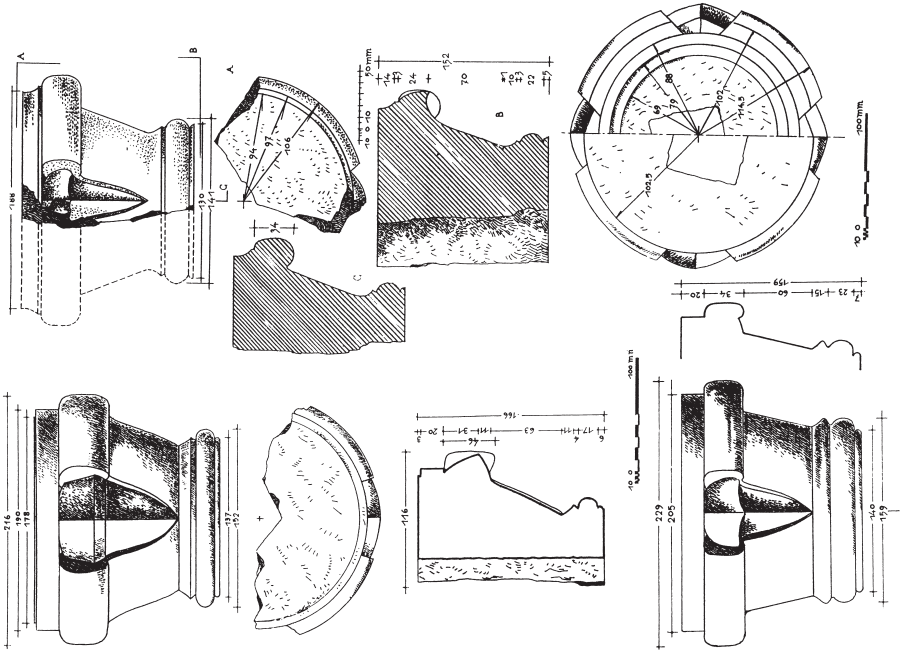


Fig. 12: Corinthianising capitals.

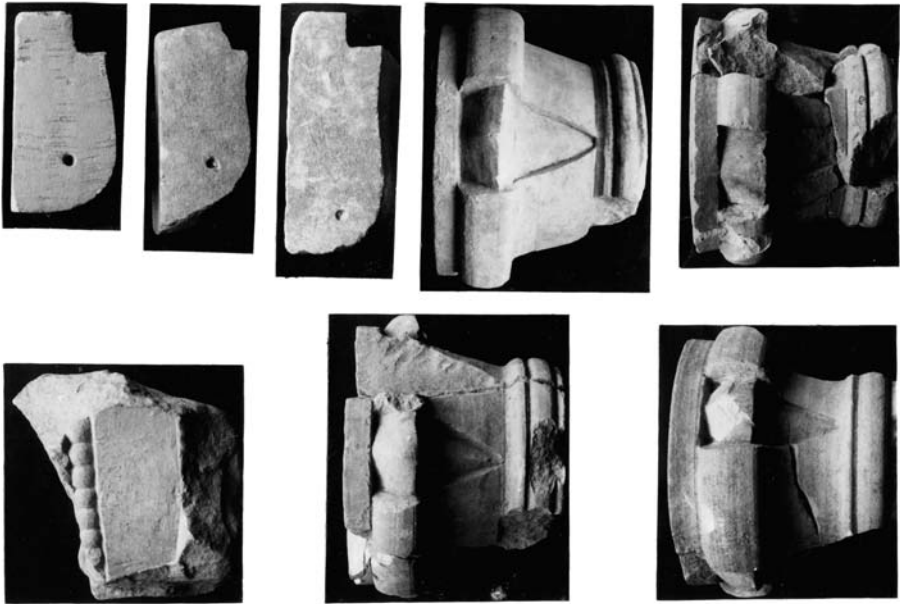


Fig. 11: Corinthianising capitals.



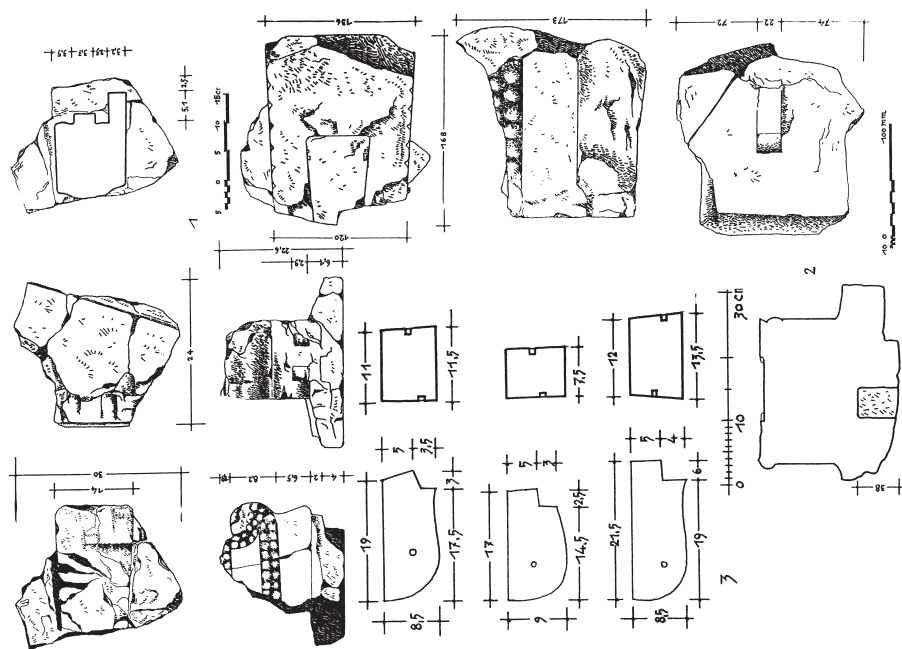


Fig. 14: (1)–(2). Fragments of pilaster capital; (3). Dentiles.

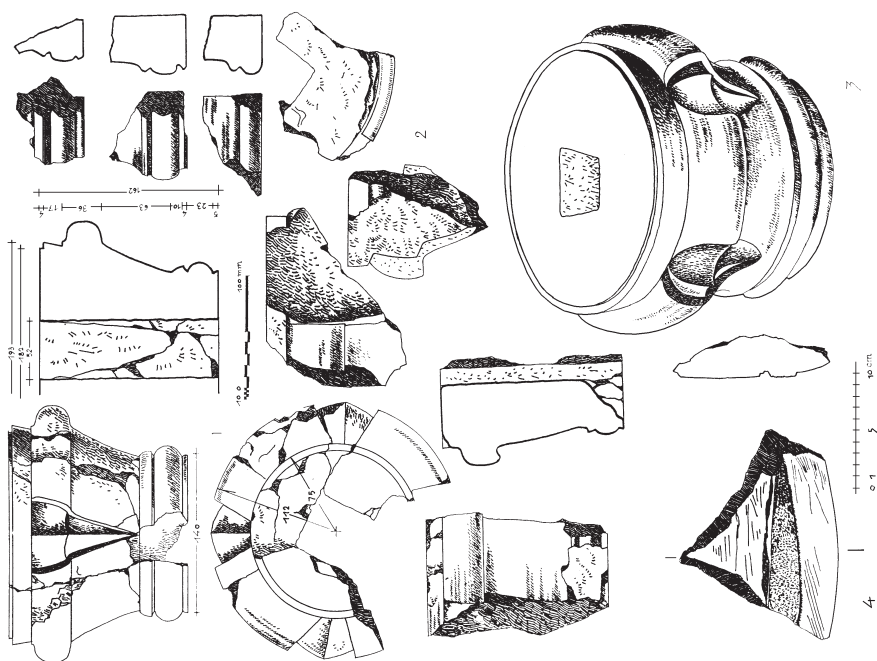


Fig. 13: (1). Corinthianising capital; (2). Fragments of capitals; (3). Axonometric projection; (4). Architectural detail with traces of power saw.

difficult to find another such example. At least, I am unable to recollect any more of less close parallel to the base or capital (Fig. 10). We can, of course, talk about reflecting the constructional nature of timber in stone and add some parallels from Georgian<sup>5</sup> and Near Eastern<sup>6</sup> practice, especially as some are quite impressive. It is also possible to suppose that a stream of water was a primary symbol of a column,<sup>7</sup> or even a later echo of the transformation of Ionic columns in the Achaemenid period (for example, the supports of double-protome capitals on which a mutual dialogue of stepped volutes is evident as well).<sup>8</sup> But what is most important here is how we understand an architectural order: if as both a strict system of construction and an aesthetic category at the same time, then, in the case of the column, we will have a precise architectural order; but when considered in respect of the architectural schools evidence in Caucasian Iberia in antiquity, it becomes a problem in need of detailed study.

### *Corinthianised Capitals*

Corinthianised capitals are circular, strictly geometrical details, and not at all standardised (Figs. 11–12, 13.1–2). The diameters of the abaci vary from 185 to 195 mm, their heights from 150 to 170 mm, and those of the smaller details also vary. They are identical artistically and typologically but none of the patterns is entirely coincident. These capitals were to crown the columns placed parallel to the curves of the apse walls to hold up the apse roofs. They have transverse and vertical grooves, which means that the props erected on the abaci had to hold cross beams rested upon them. All the details were made on a bench with the use of a power-driven saw, which is why the patterns are not accurate. It is also possible that the architectural details were made in the building area. Scores of flakes with traces of a powered saw (Fig 13.4)<sup>9</sup> and much building waste were found inside the temple, further sign that construction of the building was never completed.

Two fragments of badly damaged and rubbed capitals (Fig. 14.1–2) were found outside the temple, hence the greater damage than to objects found under adobe debris within; their decoration is exactly the same as that of the capital of the central column. The presence of mortises on one shows that it was composite, not monolithic. Holes in their bases indicate that these capitals were attached to the main structure with the help of iron crumps.

<sup>5</sup> Sumbadze 1984, pls. 7, 9–10, etc.

<sup>6</sup> Viollet-le-Duc 1937, 8, fig. 9.

<sup>7</sup> Durm 1905, 544.

<sup>8</sup> Pope 1965, fig. 22.

<sup>9</sup> Precht 1991, 178–80.



*Fragments of Cornice*

The 38 pieces of moulding/corncing that were found are similar to one another: sandstone dentils of a coggled moulding, an average of 8 cm high, with the profile of an echinus (Fig. 14.3). They each have opposed circular holes on the sides for clamps to affix them to wooden details. Such is the positioning of the holes that the surfaces of the intermediate wooden details must have been inclined. The rears of the dentils are cut away for fixing them to (long) wooden beams (Fig. 14.3). It seems unlikely that the dentils were ever installed as they seem unfinished.

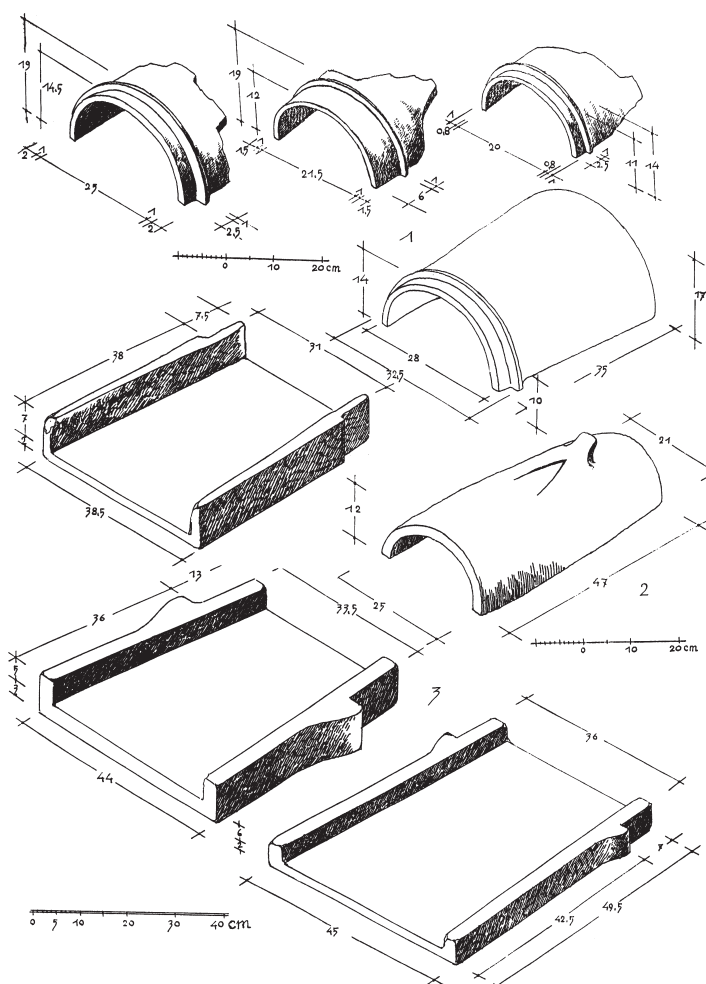


Fig. 15: (1). Conch-grooved tiles; (2). Grooved tiles; (3). Tiles with upturned sides.

## Tiles

Three different types of tile were discovered, most of them complete: grooved tiles, tiles with upturned sides and ridge tiles, these last seldom found (Fig. 15).<sup>10</sup> Grooved tiles with horn-like additions (index pins) are typical of Caucasian Iberia for late Roman to early mediaeval times (Fig. 15.2).<sup>11</sup> Tiles with upturned sides differ from one another in size, the form of their sides and the shape of their trapezoid forms. This is to be expected: the central structure of the temple and its pyramidal roof consisted of six triangular sections (Fig. 15.3). The dimensions of the conch-grooved tiles all differ, but each of them has a perfectly formed rim (index pin) at 2.5–6 cm from their narrow end (Fig. 15.1).

## Geometric Scheme and Measurements of the Temple

I have already noted that an equilateral hexahedron is a basic geometric form for the base and capital of the central column. Their forms correspond explicitly with the hexahedron of the temple interior, i.e. to the hexahedron inserted in the circle lining the centres of the support-bearing posts that separate the apses. But the hexahedron connecting the edges of the apses is far from equilateral: it is a hexahedron of the golden mean, thus the large diameters of the north and south apses are related to the distance between them (Fig. 7.4), i.e. with the centre of the temple, according to the principles of the golden mean.<sup>12</sup>

The diameter of the column base is 75 cm (= 2.5 Roman feet), and this unit (M) forms the basis for every element of the temple. The distance between the centre of the temple and the west column, i.e. the radius of the central circle, is 5.10 m (17 ft). The radii of the north and south apses are 2.25 m (7.5 ft; 3 x M); the width of the walls is 1.15 feet (1.5 x M); the side of an adobe brick is 45 cm (1.5 ft). The radius of the outer circle of the temple, i.e. the distance between the centre and the west apse walls, is 7.80 m (26 ft; 10.4 x M). The temple is 18 m long, which equals 60 ft (24 x M). The radius of each small apse is 2.10 m; that equals 7 ft (2.8 x M).

The main problem here is to assess the height of the central column. The difference between the surface diameter of its base and the neck of its capital is 7.5 cm, and the slenderness of the column itself makes me suppose that it was 7.5 m high (see below). This is 25 ft, i.e. 10 x M (Fig. 10). It turns out that besides the modular and metrical unit we have an artistic one, perhaps approximate – namely, the pedestal.

<sup>10</sup> Ridge tiles are rare finds: all tiles discovered during excavations of burnt and destroyed buildings were very fragmented, and any remaining fragments of ridge tiles were mistaken for those of other types. Moreover, because of their dimensions, ridge tiles break easily. On ridge tiles found in Georgia, see Kipiani 1991, 4–6.

<sup>11</sup> Džneladze 1997, 3–5, etc.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Jacobson 1986, 22.

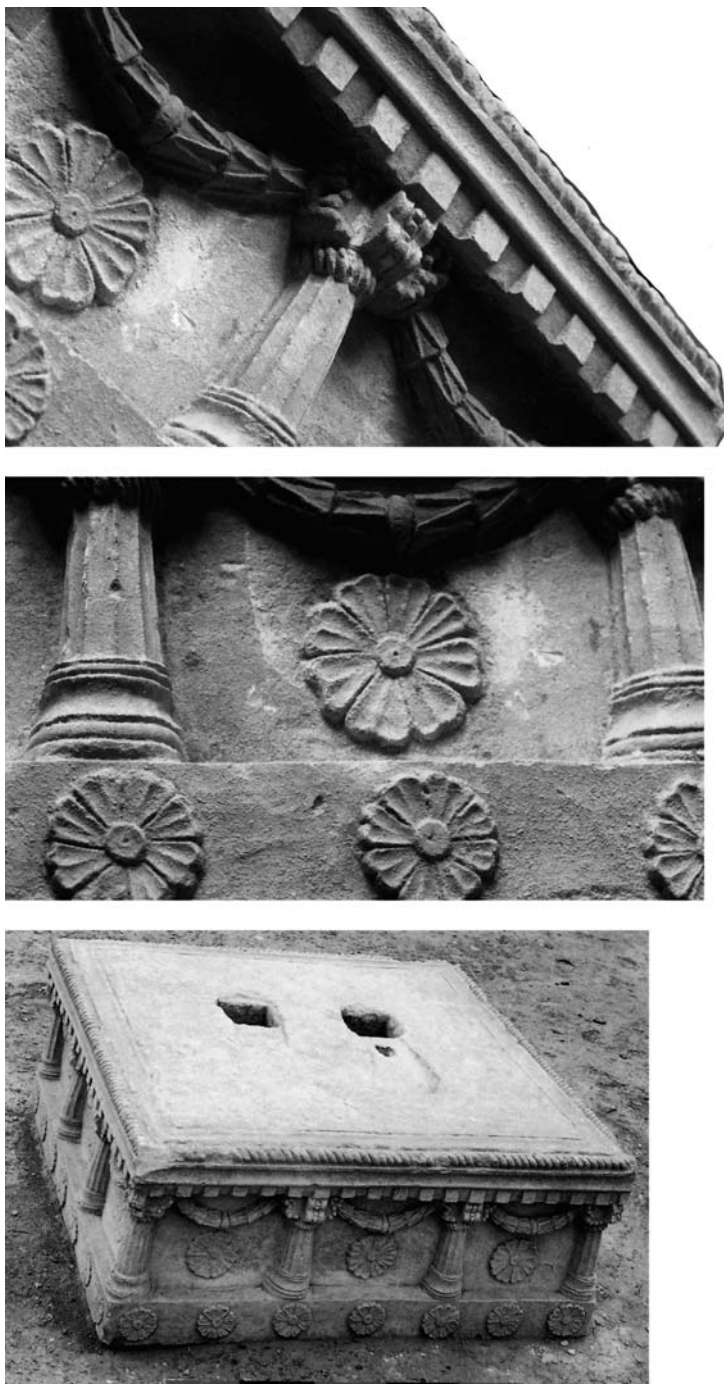


Fig 16: Pedestal of sculpture.

### Pedestal (Figs. 16–18)

This was in front of the north-west apse but it had definitely been displaced. Its form is that of a low, rectangular prism made of limestone (height: 30 cm; length: 72 cm; width: 70 cm). Its height is one Roman foot but its width coincides with the width of the temple itself ( $70 \text{ cm} \times 25 = 17.5 \text{ m}$ ), and its length with the length of the temple by the same multiplier ( $72 \text{ cm} \times 25 = 18 \text{ m}$ ). Thus, from the height of the pedestal we can derive the height of the column ( $30 \text{ cm} \times 25 = 7.5 \text{ m}$ ).

All four faces of the pedestal are homogeneous and packed with architectural detail. Pilasters are made on a stylobate decorated with seven rosettes on each side. Bases are of the so-called Attic-Asian type so widespread in the Hellenised East.<sup>13</sup> Fluted columns are crowned with capitals of the same style as those on the central column of the temple and completely coinciding with the capitals of the pilasters described above. The necks of the capitals are in the form of a wide guilloche design; the geometrical garlands between the pilasters are typical of late antiquity. The fluted shaft of the column is beyond doubts in the Ionic tradition. The same may be said about the pitch of the frontal volutes on the corner capitals and about the cogged cornice, which duplicates the denticulation I had supposed for the temple itself – the inclination of intermediate surfaces between the dentils. Three good-sized rosettes are carved within each space between the pilasters, all eight-petalled except for a six-petal example on the back of the pedestal, the shape of the petals clearly of Near Eastern inspiration, and each divided into two by a low midrib.<sup>14</sup> Such rosettes were very popular in Georgia in antiquity.<sup>15</sup>

The pedestal is a striking specimen of combined Ionian and Near Eastern tradition: placing colonnades on small architectural pieces is the former,<sup>16</sup> which became widespread throughout the Hellenised Near East;<sup>17</sup> and the line of rosettes as a repetitive motif is equally characteristic of the East as a whole.<sup>18</sup> Generally, all Eastern dynasts and deities stand on pedestals decorated with rosettes.<sup>19</sup>

As to our example, it was actually used as the pedestal of a Greek-style (Hellenistic) sculpture. Feet chased into its surface point to this. The sculpture rested on its

<sup>13</sup> Guillaume 1983, figs. 3–4, 6.

<sup>14</sup> Wilber 1937, 24.

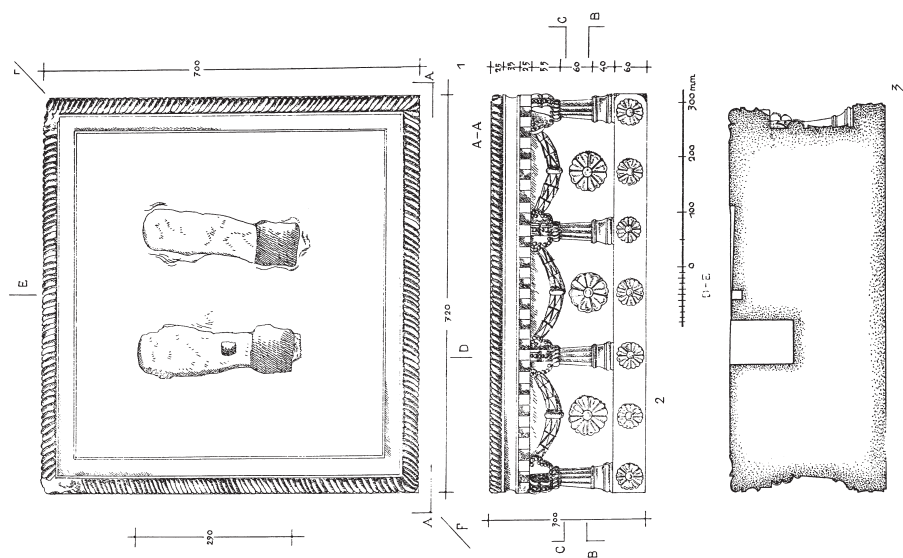
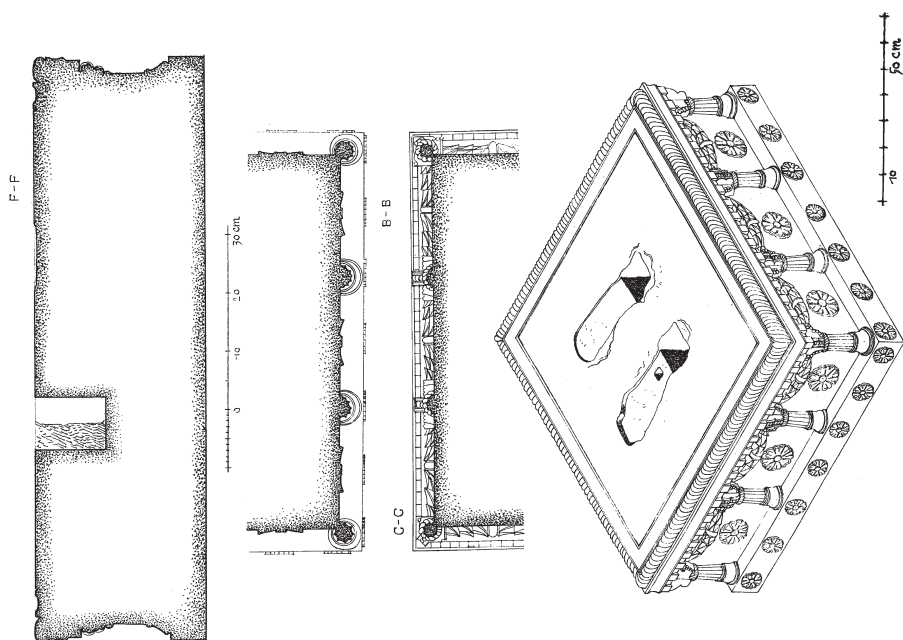
<sup>15</sup> For example the Corinthian capitals from Vani (2nd century BC); Sarkine (Grdzeli Mindori) – a rosette on the dado of an Ionian capital; and Armaztsikhe – frieze with a lion and rosette on it (1st century BC–1st century AD); etc. See Kipiani 1987, pls. 26–27, 14, 16; 1993, pls. 34–35.

<sup>16</sup> Demangel 1932, 200, figs. 55–56.

<sup>17</sup> See, for instance, the decorated front sides of stupas (Marshall 1951, pls. 28–29, 46, 73, etc.).

<sup>18</sup> For example, friezes of rosettes in Achaemenid Iran, on Jewish sarcophagi, on ossuaries, architectural details from India, etc. (Nylander 1970, fig. 48a; Levit-Tawil 1994, 180–82; Rowland 1935, 490–91, fig. 1a–c).

<sup>19</sup> Marshall 1951, pls. 223, 225.157.



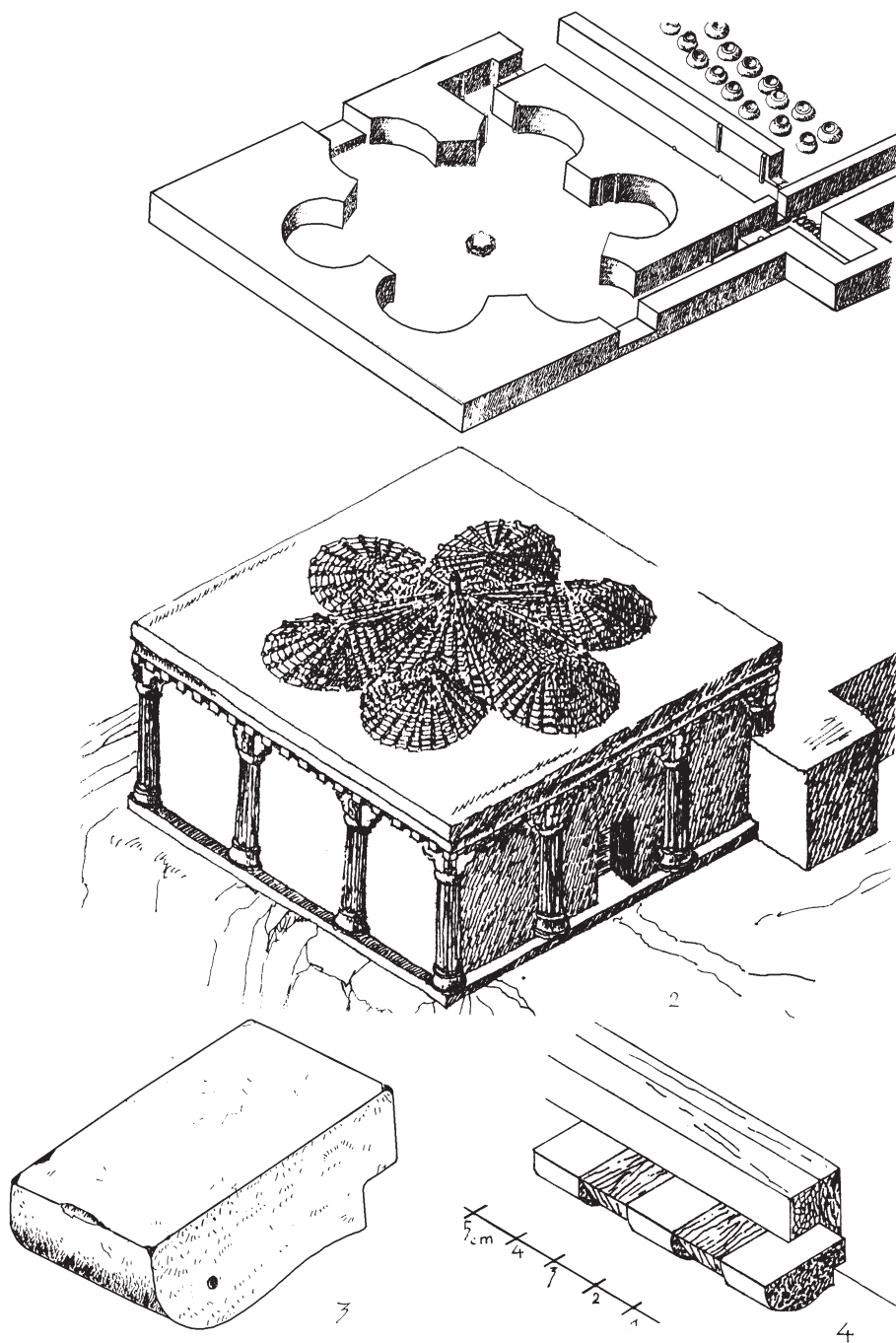


Fig. 19: (1)–(2). Reconstruction of temple and axonometric projection; (3)–(4). Reconstruction of denticle, and axonometric projection.



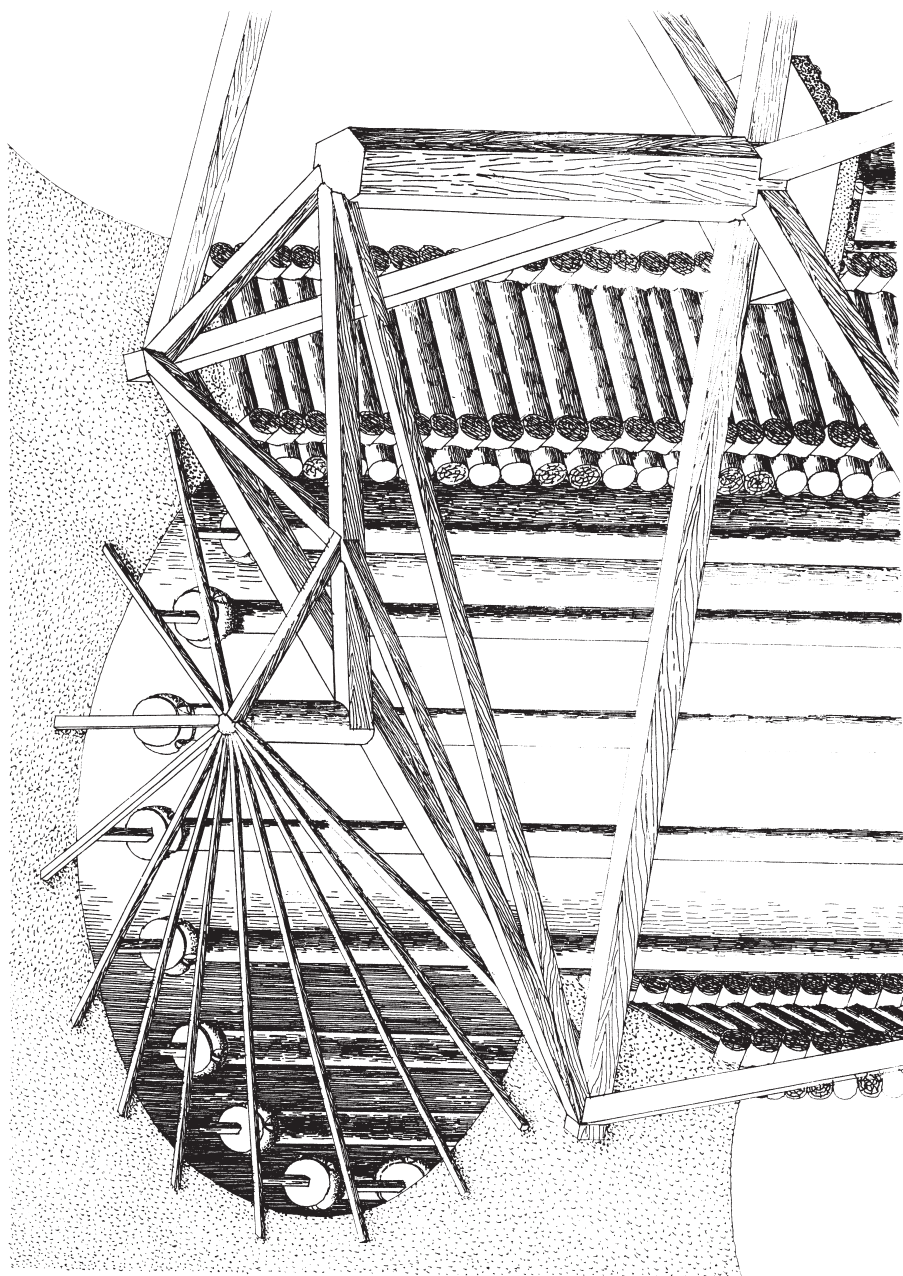


Fig. 20: Reconstruction of roofing system in central area of temple and apse.

left foot (*standbein*): the depression is deeper than the right and it also has a special rectangular hole for attaching the frame of the sculpture; the right foot is a little aft and set aside, i.e. it was lighter (*spielbein*). The mortises for the feet are 29–30 cm long – the length of the feet themselves must be conjectured on account of the puddling/spillage required for the bronze melted into the mortises. If we take Polykleitos as our basis,<sup>20</sup> the height of the sculpture would have been about 1.80 m.

The temple has many peculiar features, and the pedestal is no exception. The damaged mortises are such that it is as if the sculpture had been shaken and removed by a metal tool. Were the sculpture bronze, then patinated remains of bronze would undoubtedly have been found in the mortises and holes had the sculpture stood there for a month or more. If it had been marble, then marble flakes would have been found here.<sup>21</sup> Nothing was. To me, this suggests a bronze sculpture had stood on the pedestal, but just for a matter of days.

I am not inclined to the idea that the pedestal frontages completely mirror the temple itself, but to reconstruct it after the model provides an illuminating experience (Fig. 19.1–2).

### Construction Scheme

The apses make of almost exactly two-thirds of the circle. I have already noted that the mortises cut into the adobe could have been used to hold wooden brackets which strengthened the wall-supporting posts with Corinthianised capitals. There had to be a dozen such posts inside each apse. There would have been a beam resting on the top of each post and each beam was necessarily inclined from a certain centre-point. The essential point is that here we are presented with an attempt to combine two different traditions. A Roman multi-apse space was inserted into a rectangle. The roof of the temple could not have been entirely covered in tiles: this was impossible because of the central column, the corners of whose base and capital were directed towards the support-bearing posts.

It is now that the function of the capital volutes (corbels) and column pilasters becomes clear: each pilaster is an independent support for the corbels. The corbels (an aggregation of the volutes) follow the beams from the surface of the abacus towards the support-bearing posts. It was necessary to erect a post in the centre of the abacus, and from the top of this post rafters could be lowered, forming a section combined with the section of the apse etc. (see the reconstruction in Fig. 20).

<sup>20</sup> Vipper 1972, 180–81.

<sup>21</sup> As with those from the statue of the goddess on the gateway of ancient Vani (Lordkipanidze 1979, 199).



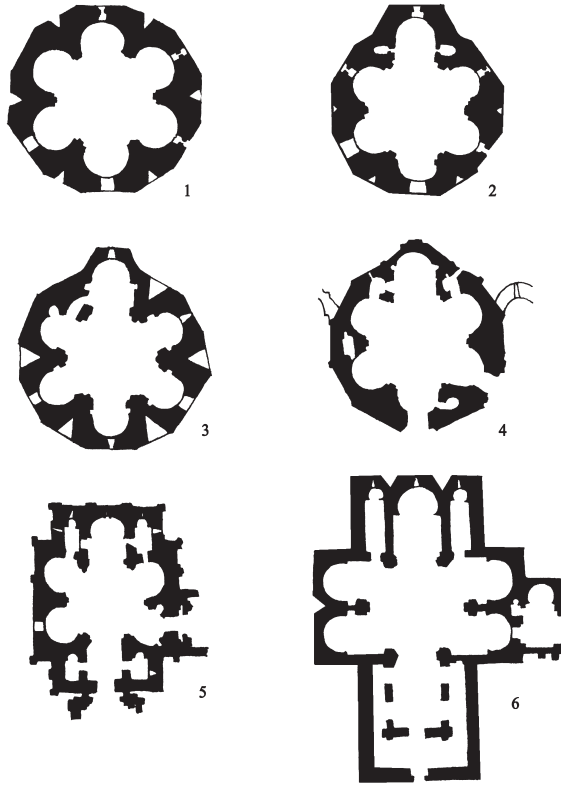


Fig. 21: Plans of Georgia's six-apse churches. (1). Gogiuba; (2). Kiagmis Alti; (3). Bochorma; (4). Katskhi; (5). Nikortsminda; (6). Kumurdo.

Reconstruction of the temple and its separate elements is somewhat hypothetical, underlining that we have an unfinished structure: I have sought to reconstruct an architectural idea, not a realised and destroyed building.

Structures with multiple apses are associated with the style of the emperor Hadrian and were widespread throughout the Roman empire and countries culturally and politically connected with it from the 2nd century AD onward. Six-apse buildings were rather rare in the whole of late antiquity,<sup>22</sup> and none of them was furnished with a central column. The temple at Armaztsikhe differs completely from supposedly similar Roman buildings and it cannot serve as an exemplar of a particular type of architecture. The idea of the multi-apse form had, of course, been borrowed from the Roman world, but the execution was according to traditional

<sup>22</sup> For example; the burial of Calventius on the Appian Way (Mikhailov 1973, 657, fig. 226); the Asclepion in Pergamum, 3rd–4th centuries (Ziegenaus 1981, pl. 81); and an early mediaeval baptistery at Zara/Zadar in Dalmatia (Khatchatrian 1962, 53, no. 354).

Caucasian Iberian building practice and techniques: this, the interior rosette, is not seen on the exterior, which seems to be general Near Eastern practice.<sup>23</sup>

That the building serves a cultic purpose is undeniable. It seems that it served as an intermediate gateway, a temple-propylaeum,<sup>24</sup> through which one might enter part of the city: the northern entrance at Armaztsikhe leads towards the lower gateway.

There is the strong impression that the temple was never completed. Why not? One may suppose that this was because of the radical changes in political and religious orientation that were in train in the country. Georgian written sources include information about Iberia's adoption of Christianity and King Mirian's decision to reorientate the country to the West rather than the East. *Moktsevai Kartlisai* ('The Conversion of Kartli to Christianity')<sup>25</sup> informs us that, though elements of the Armazi pantheon had perished as a result of St Nino's zealous prayers, King Mirian did not consider that it had vanished completely and sought in some form to restore it, suggesting that Nino serve Armazi, i.e. become a priestess of Armazi. But very soon the king changed his mind and began to build a Christian church in the centre of Mtskheta, at 'Paradise' (the royal garden).

It must be acknowledged that 'Paradise' is a very complex site from a stratigraphical point of view: an 11th-century cathedral, Svetitskhoveli, now sits upon it. In 1978, some 2nd-century Corinthianised capitals were found,<sup>26</sup> an ancient water pipe in 1997–98,<sup>27</sup> and a very interesting rich burial of the 3rd–4th centuries AD in 2002.<sup>28</sup>

So, King Mirian built a Christian church, the 'Holy of Holies', within an area of ancient buildings and burials. And the type of church was more than unusual: it contained seven pillars, 'and they erected six pillars but the seventh, the largest and most surprising, they were unable to erect in the centre' (Leonti Mroveli 111–112).<sup>29</sup> *Moktsevai Kartlisai* says the same: '... and when they tried to erect the seventh [pillar], the king and his people did their best but failed' (Chelistian version 138).

A construction with seven pillars, one of them in the centre, is impossible to consider as Christian church. It appears that King Mirian built the 'Holy of Holies'

<sup>23</sup> For example the 'Round temple' at Nisa, where it is found inside but is not seen on the exterior (Pugachenkova 1958, 100–02).

<sup>24</sup> This is a common feature of ancient Georgian buildings – the temple-propylaeum at Vani; the large temple of Tsikhia-Gora acting as a gateway; the main temple at Dedoplist Mindori, which served as a gate for the cultic complex and was the route through to its main area (see Kipiani 2000, 10–11, 35–36, 41, 70).

<sup>25</sup> Edition by I. Abuladze (Tbilisi 1963).

<sup>26</sup> Kipiani 1997, 61–64.

<sup>27</sup> Mandjgaladze 1998, 12.

<sup>28</sup> Apakidze *et al.* 2004, 104. It contained a unique desk-set.

<sup>29</sup> In *Kartlis Tskhovreba* ('The Georgian Chronicles'), edition by S. Kaukhchishvili, vol. 1 (Tbilisi 1955).

according to a scheme familiar to him: a hexahedron. The written sources concentrate on the moment when the seventh pillar was miraculously lifted up, then lowered and settled on its own stump, ‘...and they felled a fir tree and they made a pillar of it’. The point is: for which hexahedron did they fell the tree – the pagan or the Christian? Normally, it is impossible to use a suddenly felled tree trunk as a pillar. Like any other timber, it needs to be dried and seasoned, which takes a long time. Moreover, the pillar miraculously erected itself inside the ‘Holy of Holies’, and ‘it was awful to watch it’, in the words of the chronicler. The scene was amazing because the pillar was the central post inside a six-apse church. This astonishes not just me. There is only one other explanation – that the pillar had been the central column of the Armaztsikhe temple, and it was then relocated to the Christian church along with an unchanged geometrical scheme.

The provisional use of schemes for pagan temples in building churches in the earliest stages of Christianity seems to me to be a quite natural development, particularly since the canonical arrangements for the new religion were neither settled nor universal in those countries which had adopted it. In answer to King Mirian’s request, the emperor Constantine I sent a group of priests to Caucasian Iberia. They brought with them a new conception and model of what a church should be. The first Christian basilica was built in Mtskheta in the Makvlovani area, as is attested archaeologically.<sup>30</sup>

One more thing needs to be taken into consideration. Georgia is the only Christian country distinguished by six-apse churches (Gogiuba, Kiagmis Alti, Bochorma, Katskhi, and in modified form at Kumurdo and Nikortsminda) (Fig. 21); in Armenia there is only one, Anisi, a replica of Gogiuba. It is, of course, very difficult to reassert that a six-apse scheme is borrowed either from pagan temples or from the early Christian churches (though attested archaeologically and chronicled in the written record), but the idea of the hexahedron was common in Georgia for a very long time, and there is no point denying this.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Kipiani 2003.

<sup>31</sup> Translated from Georgian by M. Kapanadze.

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# IRANIANS AND GREEKS AFTER 90 YEARS: A RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF SOUTHERN RUSSIA IN ANCIENT TIMES\*

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## Abstract

This introductory essay places Rostovtzeff's interpretative model of northern Black Sea archaeology in the context of contemporary historical imagination in Russia and Europe. The discussion focuses in particular on Rostovtzeff's approach to Graeco-Scythian metalwork, as pioneered in his 1913 article on 'The conception of monarchical power in Scythia and on the Bosphorus', and the possibilities which religious interpretation of the objects' figured scenes offered in developing the narrative of cultural fusion between Orientals and Occidentals best known in the West from his *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (1922). The author seeks to bring out the teleological tendencies of this account, largely concerned with explaining Russia's historical identity as a Christian empire between East and West.

*I think that it is good for people to read Rostovtzeff,  
even where he isn't quite up-to-date.*  
(C. Bradford Welles)

Western specialists of northern Black Sea archaeology have a particular reason to welcome the recent proliferation of print-on-demand publishing. Not so long ago, the most influential synthesis of the region's history and archaeology in the Classical period, Michael Ivanovich Rostovtzeff's *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (Oxford 1922), realised exorbitant prices on the antiquarian book market, beyond the reach of most students and many university academics. Its status as a bibliophile treasure was assured by the fact that, in contrast to Rostovtzeff's other major works, *Iranians and Greeks* had never been reprinted by his preferred publisher, Clarendon Press at the University of Oxford. The explanation of this surprising circumstance emerges from the Rostovtzeff papers held at the publisher's archive.

\* An earlier version of this paper was presented in November 2009 at a *journée d'études* on 'Archéologie dans le Bassin de la mer Noire' held by the University of Lausanne and is due to appear in French in the conference proceedings. I thank the conference organisers Pascal Burgunder and Michel Fuchs for their generous hospitality and stimulating discussion. The fact that the appearance of this article actually pre-dates the anniversary featuring in the title is testimony to the competence of Gocha Tsetskhladze, who encouraged me to submit the translation of Rostovtzeff's essay for publication in *AWE*. Needless to say, the author should be considered the ultimate source of all errors and misjudgments which this article may contain.

The idea of producing an expanded edition of the book, originally mooted in 1965, was rejected after lengthy consultation, chiefly due to Peter Fraser's advice:

This book is of course important as is everything by R., but even at the time of publication it suffered from considerable defects which R. explained in detail in his Preface. It was written in America, or England, from material left behind in Russia, largely from memory, and must represent essentially the conclusion R. drew from the material available up to ca. 1914. Unlike the two *Soc. and Econ. Hist.* books, *I. and G.* was very much a pioneer work on material then available, and not a new synthesis based on well-digested evidence, much of which had already been integrated into a general picture by Mommsen (in the case of the Roman book). As a pioneer work, it is more subject to the verdict of the time.<sup>1</sup>

The decision was met with obvious disappointment by Rostovtzeff's student C. Bradford Welles, who had been one of the advisers to the Clarendon Press. Fraser's point that *Iranians and Greeks* was outdated provoked Welles's claim, cited in the epigraph of this article, to the effect that the publishers had overlooked a certain pedagogic quality in Rostovtzeff's work, which was of timeless appeal.<sup>2</sup> Sadly Welles failed to define this humanistic content any closer; nor did Fraser reveal precisely in which sense he thought the reception of *Iranians and Greeks* to have been clouded by contemporary factors.

With the book's ninetieth anniversary approaching, reconsideration of the meaning and significance of Rostovtzeff's work from the perspective of current historiography on the northern Black Sea region would not seem misplaced. The discipline is in particular need of critically reappraising its debt to Rostovtzeff for, in contrast to his social and economic histories of the Roman empire (Oxford 1926; 2nd ed. 1957) and the Hellenistic world (Oxford 1941), *Iranians and Greeks* established an analytical framework that has retained its paradigmatic status to this day, informing current interpretation of the region's archaeological legacy almost by default. The central idea of this paradigm is neatly encapsulated in the book's title: Rostovtzeff conceived the historical development of the northern Black Sea area in terms of the meetings and interactions between two clearly distinguished culture groups, the eponymous Iranians and Greeks. His chosen task as an archaeologist was to classify the region's cultural remains according to these dominant population groups, assess the balance of mutual influences among them, and trace the development of new cultural forms reflecting the mixed outlook of their *milieu*.

<sup>1</sup> Letter, 9 December 1966, OUP archive, Rostovtzeff papers, LB4837, *Iranians and Greeks*. I thank Dr Martin Maw for granting me access to the documents. The transcripts appear in the present article by permission of the Secretary to the Delegates of Oxford University Press.

<sup>2</sup> Letter, 4 February 1967, OUP archive, Rostovtzeff papers, LB4837.

The idea was not exactly new: in 1913 the Cambridge scholar Ellis Hovell Minns had published a vast repertory of northern Black Sea antiquities, which classified the material generally in similar ways.<sup>3</sup> Yet Rostovtzeff's use of the term *Iranians* rather than *Scythians* points to an important conceptual difference between the two authors. While Minns's classification of local material culture derived from the ethnic terminology of the ancient sources, Rostovtzeff identified his material with a category which was of modern origin. The difference, however trivial it may seem, had far-reaching consequences. Unlike Minns, whose book is essentially a systematic collection of archaeological and textual sources, Rostovtzeff had selected a set of categories which enabled him to sustain a comprehensive historical narrative – a feat widely acknowledged among contemporary readers, including Minns.<sup>4</sup>

The aim of this essay is to examine the conceptual apparatus that allowed Rostovtzeff to extract meaning from objects. I argue that his history of cultural interaction between *Iranians* and *Greeks* was in fact largely one of religious interaction between *Oriental* and *Occidental*, gleaned from the visual evidence of Graeco-Scythian metalwork. Its success as an authoritative historical description rested, as we shall see, on Rostovtzeff's ability to connect the figured scenes of Graeco-Scythian art with contemporary ideas of Oriental religiosity and thus to integrate northern Black Sea archaeology with an overarching narrative of Hellenism and cultural fusion between East and West. An essay on the subject provides an appropriate introduction to Rostovtzeff's 1913 article on 'The conception of monarchical power in Scythia and on the Bosphorus', where he applied his method of religious interpretation for the first time to finds from the northern Black Sea region. The study marks an important broadening of Rostovtzeff's intellectual scope, previously dominated by the agrarian structure of Rome and the Hellenistic East on the eve of its integration into the empire. It is hoped that the translation of an earlier, Russian-language stage in the gestation of Rostovtzeff's ideas will assist the reader in gaining a clearer understanding of his vision of northern Black Sea history.

*Iranians and Greeks* was also largely and inevitably a history of the Bosphoran kingdom, for only Classical Bosphorus offered the range of sources required to endow his story of cross-cultural collaboration and integration among the region's

<sup>3</sup> Minns 1913.

<sup>4</sup> Minns stressed this point when he recommended Rostovtzeff's book for publication with OUP: '... My book does not really clash with R.'s because it costs £3.3.0, also it was put together just too soon to get the benefit of wide generalizations (largely due to R.) recently arrived at, and also of important finds published or made too late for me. R. is therefore in a position to give an account of the archaeology and history of our region in broad outlines bringing out its important reactions with the Mediterranean and Oriental worlds, illustrated with pictures of objects different from those in my book.' Letter, 28 December 1919, OUP archive, Rostovtzeff papers, LB4837.



diverse inhabitants with the depth and intensity he longed for. According to Rostovtzeff, the Bosporan kingdom of the Spartocids:

Grew out of a compromise between the native population and the Greek colonists. For the natives, the ruling dynasty was always a dynasty of kings, since it was kings that for centuries they had been accustomed to obey. The Greeks, in order to preserve their dominant position and the foundation of their economic prosperity, were obliged to abandon their civic liberties and to take for their chiefs the Hellenized barbarians who ruled the native population. For the Greeks, this form of government was a tyranny, although the official style of the tyrant was the constitutional title of archon. [...] Peculiar to the structure of the Bosphoran state is the historical evolution... an Ionian Greek city transforming itself into a Greco-Maeotian state with the Greeks in a privileged position, and gradually changing into a Hellenistic monarchy in which the two elements are confounded, the natives becoming Hellenized and the Greeks gradually adopting the spirit and the habits of the natives.<sup>5</sup>

If the mention of 'Greek privilege' and 'Hellenisation' does not live up to the standards of our post-colonial world, Rostovtzeff's stress on reciprocal relations and mutual influence is distinctly modern and was certainly revolutionary at the time. Before Rostovtzeff, the Bosporan kingdom had featured chiefly in synthetic histories of Greece and the Greek colonial expansion, with focus on constitutional questions. In accordance with the political terminology attested in the Greek literary sources,<sup>6</sup> scholars such as August Boeckh and Karl Brandis identified Bosphorus as a tyranny or monarchy whose rulers had arrogated the traditional civic powers of the *demos* through some unrecoverable process and concealed their autocratic privileges through the constitutional 'fiction' familiar from 4th-century BC Bosporan epigraphy: *arkhontes* of the Greek cities subsumed under Bosphorus and Theodosia and *basileis* of the non-Greek tribes in the Taman peninsula and on the shores of Lake Maeotis.<sup>7</sup> Although the non-Greek names of the Spartocids were understood to indicate non-Greek descent, Bosporan state-formation was thought of as a purely internal process, consistent with the schemata of Greek political theory and developments elsewhere in the Greek world, notably Sicily and Heracleia Pontica. The non-Greek setting of Bosphorus was appreciable at best as an antagonistic force which disrupted the 'normal' course of Greek civic culture and gave to Spartocid rule that antiquated or traditionalist character stressed by Karl Beloch and Benedikt Niese:

<sup>5</sup> Rostovtzeff 1922, 71–72.

<sup>6</sup> Notably Aeschin. 3. 171, with further references and discussion in Vinogradov 1980, 82; Hind 1994, 495–96; Moreno 2007, 170, 254–55.

<sup>7</sup> Boeckh: *IG* II (1842), 99; Brandis: *RE* 5 (1897), 760–62.

Ähnlich wie auf Sicilien lagen die Verhältnisse am anderen Ende der hellenischen Welt, in den Städten am Pontos. Zwar einen Feind wie Karthago hatten die Griechen hier nicht zu fürchten; denn die Perser haben sich um die Gebiete an der Südküste des Schwarzen Meeres nur wenig bekümmert, und die pontische Nordküste lag überhaupt ausserhalb ihres Machtbereiches. Dafür aber waren die griechischen Städte am Pontos zu einem unablässigen Kampfe gegen die Barbaren des Innern gezwungen, die, so oft sie auch besiegt werden mochten, immer wieder aus ihren Steppen oder ihren Bergen hervorbrachen; und dieser Kampf wurde immer schwerer, je mehr die hellenische Kultur auch bei den Urbewohnern Eingang fand. Das Ergebnis war auch hier eine Militärmarchie.<sup>8</sup>

Diese Herrscher sind nicht Monarchen in unserem Sinne; sie sind vielmehr die erblichen und lebenslänglichen Archonten der griechischen Städte, die im übrigen nach ihrer alten Verfassung verwaltet wurden; es ist das alte griechische Stadtkönigtum, das sich hier in eigentümlicher Form erhalten hat.<sup>9</sup>

This text-based account was not exclusive to Western scholars or indeed historians. Indicative in this respect is a series of studies by the Russian Ernst von Stern of Odessa, published between 1906 and 1915, just before Rostovtzeff elaborated his conception of Bosporan archaeology. Not unlike his Western colleagues, von Stern described the Spartocid state as a kind of living anachronism harking back to the Mycenaean and the heroic age. Its innate conservatism was abundantly clear from the monuments of early Bosporus, particularly the elite *kurgans* around the capitals Panticapaeum and Phanagoria:

Es finden sich in derselben [Bestattungsart] unzweifelhaft griechische Elemente, aber, abgesehen von den attischen Vasen und den sonstigen Erzeugnissen der griechischen Kunst, nicht Elemente aus den im gleichzeitigen Griechenland herrschenden Sitten und Gebräuchen, sondern Elemente aus einer längst verschollenen Kulturepoche. Es ist das Griechenland der ägäisch-mykenischen Periode, des heroischen Zeitalters, welches Analogien bietet. Die Verwandtschaft der Kertscher Grabanlagen mit den mykenischen Kuppelgräbern ist schon oft betont worden...<sup>10</sup>

Rostovtzeff's explanation of Bosporan statehood and culture, as it is best known from his *Iranians and Greeks*, proposes nothing less than a radical inversion of this one-sided process of acculturation envisioned by his predecessors. To Rostovtzeff the ruling class of Bosporus was not just a heterogeneous mix, the combination of native elements with the Greek colonial aristocracy, but a genuine fusion of mentality and

<sup>8</sup> Beloch 1922, II.2, 132.

<sup>9</sup> Niese 1893, I, 412.

<sup>10</sup> von Stern 1915, 196–97; 1909, 147–48.

identity in which if anything the native element predominated.<sup>11</sup> He inferred this profound transformation from a series of related figured scenes appearing in Graeco-Scythian metalwork of the 4th century BC. The scenes' shared focus is on the exchange of a drinking cup, either between two men in Scythian dress or more commonly between an un-bearded figure in Scythian dress and a seated woman, wearing a heavily draped long garment and a tall headdress [Pl. II]. Of key importance was the scene in the lower register of an embossed triangular gold plaque, probably from a headdress of the type worn by the woman in the relief, which had been excavated in the Karagodeuashkh *kurgan* on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus [Pl. II.1].<sup>12</sup> In Rostovtzeff's view the subject was of a religious nature – the supreme goddess of the Bosporan pantheon offering holy communion to the king and thereby conferring royal powers in accordance with Iranian notions of monarchy and divine legitimacy:

The religious scenes are mainly concerned with Scythian ideas about the connexion of the royal power with divinity. The chief subject is the rite of the holy communion, a rite which occurs later in the Irano-Pontic cult of Mithra, and which played a considerable part in the Christian religion.<sup>13</sup>

It is difficult to overestimate the novelty of Rostovtzeff's approach and the impact it had on later scholarship. The intriguing idea that Graeco-Scythian metalwork could yield glimpses of the very ideological foundation of society in the northern Black Sea region encouraged his successors in the field to go considerably beyond his example, seeking out traces of mythology and religious world views through comparison with modern as well as ancient parallels, such as the custom and epic of 'traditional' Caucasian peoples. For all its success and longevity, the methodological premises of Rostovtzeff's approach to visual sources invited very little critical attention.<sup>14</sup> In fact, Rostovtzeff pronounced his identifications of gods and religious scenes not on the basis of iconographical comparanda or chains of transmission that linked Graeco-Scythian metalwork to a contemporary corpus of Iranian sacred imagery. Instead of objective evidence what we find as a unifying logic behind Rostovtzeff's thesis is a complex theory of migration and syncretism. Its primary building blocks come from Greek literature, in particular Herodotus' account of the

<sup>11</sup> Rostovtzeff 1922, 76–77.

<sup>12</sup> The date of the piece is indicated by an Athenian black slip askos from the *kurgan* burial; see Lappo-Danilevskii and Malmberg 1894, 48–49, fig. 20; cf. Pfrommer 1990, 276, n. 2488.

<sup>13</sup> Rostovtzeff 1922, 104.

<sup>14</sup> Among the few exceptions are V.Y. Zuev's and I.A. Levinskaya's commentary on Rostovtzeff's 'Iranskii konnyi bog i yug Rossii', in Heinen 1993, 164–67 and Mordvintseva 2008. Unfortunately, the very relevant conference paper by Heinen (2006) came to my attention after I had submitted this essay to the publisher.

Scythian sojourn in Asia (1. 103–106. 4. 1) and his description of an otherwise patriarchic Scythian pantheon headed by a goddess with the ‘un-Iranian’ name Tabiti (4. 59). Like many other scholars of his and our time, Rostovtzeff concluded that the Scythians had arrived as one of several successive waves of Indo-European or Iranian invaders, preceded by the Cimmerians and followed by the Sarmatians, who entered the northern Black Sea area from the east and gradually assimilated to the society and religion of the native population as they took up a sedentary life-style.<sup>15</sup> The native population, composed of Maeotians, Sindians and Sauromatians, were matriarchic in social and religious organisation: hence the hybrid Scythian pantheon described by Herodotus, and hence the prevalence in the Bosporan cities of cults to the goddesses Aphrodite, Artemis and Demeter, in each of which Rostovtzeff recognised an *interpretatio Graeca* of one and the same Mother Goddess of the indigenous population.<sup>16</sup> He saw this native matriarchy also reflected in the myth recounted by Herodotus (4. 1–4) of the abduction by the Greeks of the Amazons from Themiscyra and their subsequent settlement and intermarriage among the Scythians on the shores of the Sea of Azov.

The linguistic derivation of the Scythians from Iran, and their passage through Asia, are controversial in matters of detail which are of no concern to our discussion. The notion of a universal matriarchy that had supposedly prevailed in a deep pre-Indo-European past, on the other hand, is a relic of 19th-century social sciences. It originated in Johann Jakob Bachofen’s peculiar mix of classical philology and Victorian anthropology which experienced a rehabilitation of sorts, at the time Rostovtzeff was writing, through Arthur Evans’s imaginative publications on Knossos.<sup>17</sup> In theory one could simply discount this anachronism and let the matriarchy which Rostovtzeff envisaged in prehistoric Bosphorus stand as an independent phenomenon – were it not for the fact that he insisted on the presence of *the* (pre-Aryan) Mother Goddess with such tenacity as to entangle his thesis in serious internal inconsistencies. The inconsistencies are especially clear, as Josine Blok noted, in his interpretation of the Amazon myth, which he wanted to be simultaneously an aetiology for the gynaeocracy of the Sauromatians (the offspring of Graeco-Amazonian intermarriage) and a reflection of an actual historical situation, the cultural continuum uniting the northern Black Sea shore with the southern shore and the world of the Orient. In other words, he wanted to understand the myth concurrently as a Greek explanation of barbarian custom and as an authentic recollection

<sup>15</sup> Rostovtzeff 1922, 38–43.

<sup>16</sup> Rostovtzeff 1922, 32–34, 106–07. He treated the same subject in a separate article in French: Rostovtzeff 1921, 462–81.

<sup>17</sup> Wesel 1980; Stocking 1987, 204–06, 317; Hutton 1997; Borgeaud 1999; Gossman 2000, 109–200; Gere 2009, 75–104.

of the diffusion of the Mother Goddess cult from the Asian homeland of the Amazons.<sup>18</sup> Blok concluded that Rostovtzeff's awkward manoeuvres resulted from the fact that he wanted to demonstrate *something else*, the nature of which she was, however, unable to discern.

In the absence of any objective explanation for Rostovtzeff's reappraisal of Bosporan statehood along religious lines, we may safely turn to the psychological forces that animated his work. The past twenty years have seen a surge of studies on the particularities of Rostovtzean historiography, with focus on his social and economic histories written as an émigré scholar in the United States.<sup>19</sup> It has become a commonplace that Rostovtzeff's undoubtedly traumatic experience of the Bolshevik revolution, and his subsequent emigration in 1918 to England and the United States, altered his outlook fundamentally, making him overly susceptible to historical parallels and to writing ancient history from the standpoint of the social dilemmas of late tsarist Russia. Notable in this regard is how he attributed the burgeoning of ancient civilisation in the Hellenistic kingdoms to the happy concurrence of enlightened monarchy and an enterprising bourgeoisie, and the dissolution of the Roman empire to the exacerbating class struggle between city and countryside under the increasingly despotic rule of Diocletian and his successors. Written in Oxford immediately after his departure from Russia, *Iranians and Greeks* was Rostovtzeff's first English-language book and remains his most frequently cited work on the subject in Anglo-American scholarship. If the book has barely featured in Western studies on Rostovtzeff, then this is not least because its conception goes back to a pre-Revolutionary original in Russian, *Ellinstvo i iranstvo na yuge Rossii* ('Hellenism and Iranism in South Russia'), and is accordingly considered a carefully nuanced and dispassionate work of scholarship, uncontaminated by the dogmatic disposition surfacing in his later works.<sup>20</sup>

The Russian original of 1918 was the product of a frenzied attempt at distilling the main conclusions of his extensive research on northern Black Sea archaeology into a concise book of popular appeal and contemporary relevance.<sup>21</sup> And it was a work of its time in every respect. Like its English-language successor, *Ellinstvo i iranstvo* described the northern Black Sea region as an ecological zone characterised by the fertility of the steppe belt and the high degree of connective potential between land and sea through the great river routes. The region's natural properties conditioned its diverse inhabitants over the millennia to enter symbiotic relation-

<sup>18</sup> Rostovtzeff 1922, 33–34; with Blok 1995, 94–98.

<sup>19</sup> Most notable are Andreau 1988, i–xlvii; Wes 1988, 207–21; 1990; with review article by Shaw 1992.

<sup>20</sup> For example Bowersock 1993, 191.

<sup>21</sup> On the history of the book and its English version, see Zuev 1993; Bongard-Levin 1999; 2005.

ships, ideally between a militarised nomadic elite controlling the steppe and a sedentary culture along the waterways which exploited the agricultural wealth of the region and established commercial and cultural ties with remote centres of the ancient world. In antiquity the symbiosis had achieved its exemplary expression in the cultural relations between Scythians and Greeks in the Bosporean kingdom. Unlike its English-language successor, *Ellinstvo i iranstvo* did not require a final chapter on the emergence of the Russian state on the Dnieper.<sup>22</sup> To Russian readers, familiar with Russian historiographical traditions, it was perfectly obvious that Rostovtzeff sought to establish multi-ethnic collaboration and imperial centralisation as inevitable facts of life in Russian lands.<sup>23</sup> The English version spelled out this point in a supplementary chapter, which extended the book's scope to the establishment of the Rus principalities in the 9th and 10th centuries AD, following the arrival in the region of a new warrior elite, the Varangians, who naturally adopted the region's deep-rooted traditions:

Thus they founded in South Russia a state of the same type as the Germans [i.e. the Goths] before them, and naturally inherited from them their towns, their trade relations, and their civilization. This civilization was not, of course, a German one, but the ancient Greco-Iranian civilization of the Scythians and the Sarmatians, slightly modified.<sup>24</sup>

As I have argued elsewhere, Rostovtzeff's understanding of long-term history anticipated some of the chief features of the Eurasian school founded by members of the Russian émigré community in Sofia and Prague, among them Rostovtzeff's student and protégé, the formidable George Vernadsky.<sup>25</sup> With the Eurasianists Rostovtzeff shared the premise that Eurasia was an independent cultural sphere providing the natural conditions for the growth of vast and politically integrated empires. The various ethnic groups that had dominated this region through the ages were disposed by nature to perpetually recreate what was in fact one and the same trans-historical manifestation. The political tendencies of this approach to Russian history, and the patriotic needs it satisfied among its proponents, need no comment. Yet Rostovtzeff's Eurasia differed from that of the Eurasianists proper in one important point. In contrast to the Eurasianists he could never accept the Bol-

<sup>22</sup> Rostovtzeff 1922, 210–22; published separately in Rostovtzeff 1925.

<sup>23</sup> Rostovtzeff's treatment of the beginnings of the Rus, adopting the perspective of Slavonic court literature, places him firmly in the camp of the monarchical tradition of Russian historiography going back to Nikolai Karamzin's magisterial history of the Russian state. On Karamzin, see Mazour 1975, 8; Vernadsky 1978, 48–55.

<sup>24</sup> Rostovtzeff 1922, 219.

<sup>25</sup> Meyer 2009.

shevik regime as a reincarnation of Eurasia's timeless destiny. To Rostovtzeff, continuity in Eurasian history entailed a concrete continuity in culture, continuity which the Bolshevik coup had interrupted to catastrophic effect. To demonstrate this continuity was the central goal of Rostovtzeff's works on northern Black Sea archaeology, as he stated programmatically in the preface to *Ellinstvo i iranstvo*.<sup>26</sup>

The evidence that encouraged Rostovtzeff to set his aspirations on such lofty goals came from the detailed and apparently closely studied records of local society in Graeco-Scythian art, which permitted him to write a long-term historical narrative compatible with the conventions of contemporary scholarly discourse. In accordance with these conventions he described what were in effect prehistoric societies through the lens of such historical categories as political organisation, ideology and above all, as we have seen, religious belief. In order to demonstrate cultural continuities convincingly within this historicising paradigm, he was required to connect significant aspects of the iconographical repertoire of Graeco-Scythian metalwork with specific cultural occurrences described in ancient texts on the one hand and with practices surviving in observable form in modern society on the other.

In light of his ulterior goals, Rostovtzeff's focus on scenes of communion, as he called them, is by no means accidental. As a subspecies of the near-universal practice of ritual commensality, communion had featured prominently in comparative religious history as it was studied especially from the 1890s onwards. Comparative study of ancient religions mostly meant at the time tracing the pre-Christian roots of Christianity among the religious currents of the Hellenistic world. The discipline derived its urgency implicitly from the feeling that institutional religion, steeped in dogma and self-interest, was losing its relevance in the modern age or had become a hindrance to the progress of liberal society. As contemporary expectations dictated that 'true' religion was religion that cared for the individual and the soul in this life and beyond, it became important to discover this salvific component in early Christianity.<sup>27</sup> A turning point was Johannes Weiss's *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes* (Göttingen 1892) which demonstrated on the basis of Jesus' words in the Bible that his ethics were entirely dependent on his apocalyptic expectations – the approach of a final judgment, rather than the coming of an ideal human community. This insight opened a whole new field of enquiry for Weiss's successors of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* in Göttingen.<sup>28</sup> Once the supposedly original word of Christ had become distinguishable from a religion of law, the task

<sup>26</sup> Cf. the re-edition Rostovtzeff 2002, 7.

<sup>27</sup> Graf 2007, 58–59.

<sup>28</sup> On the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*, see Lüdemann 1996; Kippenberg 1997, 113–24.



suggested itself naturally of identifying original and secondary traits in the theology and ritual of Christianity by placing them in the comparative religious context of the Hellenistic mystery cults and what became known as 'late Judaism' (that is, the folk Judaism of the *apocrypha* and the *pseudepigrapha*). In the so-called culture wars of late 19th-century Europe, which pitched the demands of secularised society against the traditional prerogatives of the Church, comparative study descended easily into tautology, aimed at substantiating (according to one's personal convictions) either the original and revealed character of Jesus' 'essential' eschatology or the dependence of Christian mystery concepts and rituals on one or another source (more often Hellenistic than Jewish).

As Jonathan Smith has shown in his classic work, such instrumentalisation of the comparative method produced almost inevitably flaws in its application, such as the assumption that similarities in religious belief or practice presupposed genetic relationships or shared origins.<sup>29</sup> Communion is a case in point. In the first decade of the 20th century the similarities between Christian communion and the collective meals of initiates in mystery cults had been explored by several influential scholars, such as Albrecht Dieterich, Richard Reitzenstein and Alfred Loisy.<sup>30</sup> The similarities had of course already been noted by the Christian writers Tertullian (*De praescr. haer.* 40. 4) and Firmicus Maternus (*De errore* 18. 2), and with rather predictable results their modern successors approached the problem from a similar standpoint, using the descriptions of the apologists as a major source in reconstructing initiation banquets. Depending on where one's allegiances were, one could stress either the correspondences in ritual practice and terminology, and, impliedly, the continuity in sacramental meaning (i.e. the mystical association with divinity), or the dissimilarity in belief – the idea of theophagy in the Eucharist, which was almost certainly unique to Christianity.

Rostovtzeff appears to have become aware of these controversies indirectly, through the work of Franz Cumont. This much is clear from Rostovtzeff's publications of his last years in Russia, especially his extended essay translated in the present issue of *AWE*, 'The conception of monarchical power in Scythia and on the Bosphorus' (1913), where he examined Graeco-Scythian metalwork for the first time from the point of view of ancient mystery religion.<sup>31</sup> Franz Cumont's *Les Mystères de Mithra* features by far as the single most frequently cited work.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> J. Smith 1990.

<sup>30</sup> Dieterich 1903; Reitzenstein 1904; Loisy 1911–12; with Alvar 2008, 413–17. For the relationship between early Christian and Hellenistic mystery concepts in general, see Nock 1972; Wiens 1980.

<sup>31</sup> Rostovtzeff 1913.

<sup>32</sup> Available to him in the German translation of 1904.

Cumont's approach must have been supremely attractive to Rostovtzeff, for a variety of reasons. Cumont was the first scholar to develop a coherent account of Mithraic ritual and theology – a feat he accomplished by combining systematic study of the iconography and epigraphy of Mithraic dedications with inferences from texts. Crucially his textual repertoire included not only the obligatory fragments from the writings of the Christian apologists but also the Zoroastrian sacred books, which had become available in translation through Max Müller's seminal series *Sacred Books of the East* (Oxford 1880–97). In order to connect Roman evidence with Sasanian or later Zoroastrianism he had to adopt a strictly diffusionist approach and hypothesise a diaspora of Persian Magi as a vehicle for the spread of Mithraism through the Roman empire. In some sense Rostovtzeff took this diffusionist position simply to its logical extreme: in keeping with the Cumontian model, the broadly conceived Iranian origins of the Scythians seemed justification enough to connect even earlier archaeological evidence with late antique sources and by extension to identify generic images of feasting *ipse facto* with a Zoroastrian holy communion. The illiterate culture of the Scythians became therefore explicable by reference to the religious dogmas of a mysterious Aryan past.

But Cumont realised another breakthrough, no less important to Rostovtzeff. Cumont's synthetic account of Mithraism reconciled rigorous scholarship of the highest scientific standards of his day with a grand narrative that was both inoffensive to traditional Christian sensibilities and attractive to those who had come to see in a positive light the redemptive and esoteric aspects associated with pagan mystery cults. Sure enough, Cumont upheld the conformist idea that the spread of Hellenistic mystery cults was a necessary precondition (a *praeparatio evangelica*) for the revelation and ultimate triumph of Christianity.<sup>33</sup> Yet the pagan mystery cults, however defective in comparison with the Christian faith, were nevertheless held to be the source of the spiritual component that was at the time increasingly perceived as essential religiosity.

In the tense spiritual atmosphere that had gripped Russia's educated elite in the aftermath of the failed Revolution of 1905, this understanding of religious history had something utterly compelling about it. In those years it rapidly dawned on the moderate sectors of the intelligentsia that the overthrow and transformation of the old order, which many of them had previously longed for, required the mobilisation of social strata whose interests were irreconcilable with their own. The moral and material chasm separating the peasantry from the refined culture of Moscow and St Petersburg seemed insurmountable, regardless of the level of com-

<sup>33</sup> See especially the penultimate chapter of Cumont 1956, 127–48 ('Mithraism and the religions of the empire').

passion and anthroposophic effort the metropolitan elites were ready to expend. Revolution would spell the inexorable destruction of Russia's tiny dots of urban culture and with them the country's wellspring of progress – a price few of the intelligentsia were prepared to pay.<sup>34</sup> The feeling of impending doom was aggravated among those (Rostovtzeff included) who had gained first-hand experience of state affairs as members of the liberal parties and representatives in the Duma, but who were daily confronted with a remote and unyielding collusion between court and bureaucracy. Realising the dilemma of their own position, a critical number came to view the revolutionary fervour that had sustained the political agitation of 1905 as blind fanaticism, driven by the unthinking acceptance of the materialist and atheist ideologies emanating from the West. Religious healing and the quest for elemental feeling came to be viewed as viable alternatives to the dogmas of state and church, and the scientific determinism of the modern age. Exemplary for this break with the ideals of the revolutionary intelligentsia and their substitution by spiritual self-reflection was the notorious *Vekhi* ('Landmarks') collection published in 1909 by prominent former Marxists, among them Petr Bergardovich Struve, deputy of the Second Duma and a fellow member of Rostovtzeff's in the Constitutional Democratic (Kadet) party.<sup>35</sup> But the intellectual circles of Moscow and St Petersburg were generally a hotbed of religious movements, with large numbers experimenting with private prayer, esoteric religions, hesychasm, theosophy, occultism, Nietzschean philosophy, and so forth.<sup>36</sup>

The psychological setting of Rostovtzeff's last years in Russia explains the radical reorientation from his previous specialism in Roman agrarian history to Russia's Graeco-Scythian past. Whether Rostovtzeff himself was religious in the conventional sense of the term is beside the point: what is beyond doubt is that he accepted religion as a fundamental aspect of identity and authority, in Russia as elsewhere. His focus on religious questions bespeaks a long-running tendency among Russian thinkers to identify Russia in opposition to the West, as the repository of spiritual endurance and constancy. If Western Europe stood for rationalism, individualism and secularism, then Russia's sources of distinctive character were the exact mirror image – the eternal realm of instinct, religious community and mystical experience: in short, all those aspects of the inward being which had stubbornly withstood the onslaught of Peter the Great's reforms. Whenever Russia entered a period of crisis in self-perception Russian intellectuals (from the Slavophiles to the pre-Revolutionary God-seekers) were drawn to seek sanctuary in the myth of holy Russia.<sup>37</sup> The

<sup>34</sup> A context well described by Wes 1990, 59–74.

<sup>35</sup> Gershenzon 1994; with Schapiro 1955–56 and Read 1979, 106–20.

<sup>36</sup> See recently Florensky 2002; Lachman 2004; Steinberg and Coleman 2007; Graham 2009.

<sup>37</sup> For the enduring attraction of this powerful cultural myth, see Engelstein 2001.

chief objective of Rostovtzeff's work was to synthesise northern Pontic archaeology into a dynamic historical description of religious interaction for, according to the predominant understanding of religious mentality set out by Cumont, the fusion of Orient and Occident in the Hellenistic world was a precondition for the rise of Christian modernity.<sup>38</sup> The thesis that the northern Black Sea region had undergone a period of intensive interaction and mutual assimilation between Orientals and Occidentals suggested a convincing explanation of Russia's ambivalent identity between East and West – a bulwark of Christianity at the barbarian frontier, civilised but independent of the West. The notion of Graeco-Iranian cultural fusion as a process analogous in its causes and outcomes to Mediterranean Hellenism provided the fertile soil from which accounts of Christian conversion and modernisation could be seen to grow organically, despite Russia's location beyond the territorial boundaries of the Hellenistic kingdoms and Rome. Hence Rostovtzeff's categorical statement that South Russia had always been an Oriental land; hence his insistence that the supreme gods of the Bosporan kingdom were Oriental gods Hellenised in name only; and hence his lifelong friendship with Cumont and their joint excavations at Dura-Europos from 1928 – a project obviously devised to uncover the elusive link between Western Mithraism and Eastern Zoroastrianism.<sup>39</sup>

That link has of course never been found. Since Cumont's diffusionist account of Mithraism appeared not a single epigraphical or other reference to Zoroaster has come to light in the Western evidence for mystery cults, prompting the great majority of specialists to disconnect Mithraism from the 'Hellenised' Magi who were previously thought to have spread an authentic Iranian cult in the Roman empire.<sup>40</sup> Mithraism is now viewed essentially as a Roman creation, a deliberate 'Orientalising' choice requiring explanation within its Roman context.<sup>41</sup>

The decoupling of Orientalising cults in the West from genuinely Iranian religions of the Parthian East removes the historiographical cornerstone of Rostovtzeff's account of Graeco-Scythian syncretism and state-formation in the Bosporan kingdom. Three generations after Rostovtzeff the northern Black Sea region has still not produced any unambiguous evidence for an Iranian cult or religion, despite intensive research.<sup>42</sup> We are still expected to recognise the supposedly Iranian pantheon of Bosphorus indirectly, through ingenious interpretations of visual sources and ety-

<sup>38</sup> Herein Cumont was the direct descendent of Johann Gustav Droysen and his conception of Hellenism, as explained by Momigliano 1977; Payen 2006.

<sup>39</sup> Rostovtzeff 1922, ix. Bongard-Levin and Litvinenko 2003, 19–259; Bongard-Levin *et al.* 2007.

<sup>40</sup> Gordon 1975.

<sup>41</sup> Vermaseren 1981; Merkelbach 1984, 153–61; Clauss 2000.

<sup>42</sup> The (meagre) evidence for Mithraic cult in the northern Black Sea region is associated with Roman military presence, a fact which emerges clearly from Blawatsky and Kochelenko 1966.

mologies of dubious value. The chief problem of Iranising interpretations in the Rostovtzean vein is less their unverifiable nature than their complete inability to open historical vistas – a point well borne out by the way in which representations of women in Bosporan political monuments are normally treated. Following Rostovtzeff, most modern commentators have identified the women in scenes of ‘communion’, such as that in the Karagodeuashkh headdress, as representations of a native Mother Goddess.<sup>43</sup> In the absence of evidence from iconographical attributes, however, it is practically impossible to distinguish representations of goddesses from those of their cult servants and worshippers, who stylised themselves consciously after their divine patrons, both in art and life.<sup>44</sup> Conversely, the gods were thought to engage in processions and sacrifice just as do humans.<sup>45</sup> The conventional identifications of barbarian divinity and matriarchy in our pictorial corpus are based on negative inference rather than relational comparison, on the *a priori* standpoint that anything that does not fit our traditional, text-based ideas of Greek civilisation must result from external influence from an obscure Eurasian culture sphere.

The proponents of this intellectualist position are not unaware of the weakness of their claims, to judge from the resourceful ways in which the absent pictorial signifiers are made out. In the Karagodeuashkh headdress the frontal figure at the tip of the plaque is thought (following Rostovtzeff’s interpretation of 1913) to hold a cornucopia, which would elevate the scene firmly into the sphere of mythology.<sup>46</sup> Classical Bosphorus offers no parallels to corroborate the local use of the cornucopia as an iconographical attribute, religious or otherwise. Furthermore, Classical cornucopiae, most commonly associated with Hades, Heracles, Palaemon and Zeus, look nothing like the parallel ridges running horizontally across the waist of the figure in our piece.<sup>47</sup> The figure in the frontal two-horse chariot is identified as a solar deity on the basis of parallels from the Greek iconographical traditions of Apollo and Helios.<sup>48</sup> True enough, by the second half of the 5th century BC frontal chariots appeared to have been considered particularly appropriate for epiphanies of Ares, Helios and Nike, in contrast to the subject’s earlier frequency in black-figure vase painting in everyday as well as in mythological scenes.<sup>49</sup> But this shift had more to do with the eclipse of the symposion as the primary context of consumption of

<sup>43</sup> For an accessible discussion and bibliography of scholarship on the subject since Rostovtzeff, see Ustinova 1999, 113–28.

<sup>44</sup> Kron 1996, 147; Dillon 2007, 76–80.

<sup>45</sup> Simon 1953; Himmelman 2003; Connolly 2007, 104–15.

<sup>46</sup> Bessonova 1983, 107; Ustinova 1999, 123.

<sup>47</sup> *S.v.* ‘Cornucopia’ in Daremberg *et al.* 1887, I.2, 1514–17; *LIMC s.v.* ‘Hades’, ‘Herakles’, ‘Palaimos/Melikertes’, ‘Plouton’, ‘Zeus’.

<sup>48</sup> Ustinova 1999, 124.

<sup>49</sup> Compare the lists in Hafner 1938, 3–13 and 61–62.

painted pottery. Frontality was a narratological rather than an iconographical choice: its purpose was to transform the viewer from a passive observer of an unfolding story into an active participant of an event, compelling him or her to complete the missing narrative and hence determine its outcome.<sup>50</sup>

The gods of ancient visual culture participated essentially like mortals in the recurring occasions of public and private life. Given this basic correspondence, it is clearly inappropriate to interpret non-mythological scenes such as that in the Karagodeuashkh headdress theologically rather than in terms of human behaviour and interests. As a representation of social concerns the scenes in the three registers can be approached as a unity, defining the powers Bosporean women could exercise as communicators between gods and mortals. The action of the figure at the top of the plaque is indicated by her right hand, raised to her right shoulder in a gesture of prayer, and her himation stretched diagonally across her waist – a drapery scheme typical for priestesses freeing themselves temporarily from the constrictions of women's dress in Classical Greece to officiate the cult proceedings.<sup>51</sup> Wheeled transport was an integral part of ancient processions, though probably more so in life than art, where the *pompe* is usually shown after arriving in the sanctuary.<sup>52</sup> Chariots are more common in depictions of private processions, especially weddings, where the *biga* is introduced to accentuate status and hierarchies among the participants.<sup>53</sup> Regardless as to whether or not the three scenes on the plaque portray the same figure, they convey a priestly social persona through the three role-defining activities of procession, prayer or sacrifice, and feasting. If those images were to mean anything to their contemporary viewers, then the scenes must have resonated with real cult experience in Classical Bosphorus. According to the Karagodeuashkh headdress, Bosporean cult experience could involve journeys to the liminal regions beyond the city, places appropriate for rites of passage or initiation. The absence of an altar or a temple key (the identifying mark of priestesses of civic cults) corroborates a lack of architectural elaboration and distance from the *polis* and the blood sacrifices performed at its sanctuaries. The 'outdoorsy' nature of the cult is also confirmed by the lack of sympotic furniture and the foot-less drinking cups held by the figures in the lower register.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Marconi 2007, 214–22; Osborne 2009, 6–9.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. 'Prayer', in *ThesCRA* III, 105–41.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. *SyllF* 86, 421/0 BC: Chariots are prevented from approaching the sanctuary of Eleusis by a bridge over the Rheito, built purposefully too narrow for them to cross; cf. Herodotus 1. 31: Argive priestess of Hera (and mother of Cleobis and Biton) conveyed to rural sanctuary in oxen carriage; Pausanias 7. 18. 12: Maiden officiating as a priestess to Artemis at Patras rides in processional cart yoked by deer; Men., *Hypobol.* fr. 384 (Kassel and Austin 1998, VI.2): Mother of the protagonist's lover observes him from a chariot as the Small Panathenaia processes through the Agora.

<sup>53</sup> Laxander 2000, 61–63.

<sup>54</sup> The seated pose of the central figure does not contradict this impression. For communal drinking among women seated outdoors, see the late 6th-century BC black-figure lekythos in Basel, Antikenmuseum, Sammlung Ludwig BS 1447; with Connelly 2007, 190–92.

Bosporan political monuments provide numerous parallels illustrating the connection between women and private cults of the kind depicted in the headdress. The well-known dedication by Queen Comosarye, the wife of the Bosporan ruler Paerisades I (344/3–311/10 BC), affords an instructive counterpart from epigraphy, comparable in both its subject of representation and its modern history of misinterpretation.<sup>55</sup> Like the Karagodeuashkh headdress (found in the secondary deposition of a male *kurgan* burial), the Comosarye monument (dedicated by ‘the daughter of Gorgippus and the wife of Paerisades’) defined female political status in relation to the male world around her. Like the Karagodeuashkh headdress, the Comosarye monument (dedicated ‘to the mighty gods Sanerges and Astara’) has been viewed from an intellectualist standpoint by modern scholars, focusing on the origins and cultural ‘essence’ of the gods named in the inscription.<sup>56</sup> Yet to invoke foreign influence to explain foreign-sounding names in the Bosporan pantheon is misleading. The introduction of new cults, sometimes dedicated to gods with exotic names, is a well-known and intrinsic fact of Greek religion.<sup>57</sup> The Greeks knew these gods admittedly as *xenikoi theoi*, but the associated cult practices and concepts were, as far as we can tell, traditionally Greek. Furthermore, the ‘foreign gods’ were not perceived as a separate sub-group within the larger category of non-established elective cult associations: it was their non-established character rather than the pretended foreignness that could arouse suspicion.

The inference that the cult acts and gender roles encountered in the Karagodeuashkh headdress are incompatible with Greek culture is a function of text-based expectations. The past generation of classical scholarship has transformed our understanding of Greek culture to a degree unimaginable to Rostovtzeff and his contemporaries, precisely because research has turned its attention to those spheres and participants of ancient life previously considered peripheral to the political and economic ‘core’ of the *polis*. To view women and the organisation of religion and the household as secondary to the institutions of the state at best replicates the priorities of a few privileged ancient texts and at worst introduces inappropriate categories conditioned by modern circumstances. What seems initially alienating about Bosporan culture, the prominence of religious associations of initiatory and private character, is but a reflection of social change – the centralisation of autonomous cities into the territorial state of the Bosporan rulers, the transformation of the state and the public economy into a royal household, and the corresponding co-option the traditional civic magistracies and priesthoods into a network of honorary and of

<sup>55</sup> *CIRB* 1015, providing the only epigraphic mention in classical Bosphorus of gods with non-Greek names.

<sup>56</sup> For example Ustinova 1999, 52: ‘Astara could be the local name of the goddess known to the Greeks as Aphrodite *Urania*... the Great Goddess of the Sindo-Maeotians.’

<sup>57</sup> Parker 1996, 158–63, 188–98, 214–17, 333–42; 2007, 373–74.



dynastic relationships. As elsewhere in cultural contact zones in the Greek world the significance of initiation cults was amplified in the Bosporean kingdom as they provided interfaces through which outsiders could participate in the communal life of the otherwise closed *polis* society and establish cross-cultural elite networks.

Rostovtzeff's interpretation of the Karagodeuashkh finds is illustrative of a broader tendency in his approach to northern Pontic visual culture. Throughout his work, images of commensality are identified with mystery rituals and by implication with contemporary ideas of Oriental religious mentality. The assumption that mystery cults, as expressions of individual religious seeking and irrationality, were fundamentally alien to the civic rites of the ancient city-state was an unstated principle of his historical reasoning, whether applied to northern Black Sea or Western imperial evidence, as his *Mystic Italy* (New York 1927) further corroborates. The premise became increasingly problematic, not least with Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's *Glaube der Hellenen*, which established the origins and context of initiation cults in Greek society. Western preconceptions of Oriental society as one inherently prone to despotism and superstition go a long way in explaining the nebulous category of oriental mystery religions. Another factor, already sensed by von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, was the deep-rooted conviction that Judaism was an inadequate and undeserving ancestor of Christianity.<sup>58</sup>

We would do well to consign Rostovtzeff's Iranising paradigm to the realm of ideas, as a brilliant artefact of historical imagination in late tsarist Russia. If reconsideration of his work along historiographical lines may be felt to undermine his traditional standing as a venerable master of truth, then this is more than compensated for by the possibility of reappraising his work in a renewable context of enquiry – as a living source of inspiration and a lasting monument to his commitment.

#### PRINCIPAL TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

The genesis of Rostovtzeff's article goes back to a paper read at a meeting of the Russian Archaeological Society on 3rd March 1912 to a select audience of 22 members, among them M.V. Farmakovskii, A.A. Markov, A.A. and V.F. Miller, E.M. Pridik, Y.M. Smirnov, N.I. Veselovskii, and the President of the Academy of

<sup>58</sup> von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1932, II, 387: 'Mir scheinen diese hypothetischen Mysterien aus dem Wunsche geboren zu sein, den Christus des Johannesevangeliums und gewisse Wendungen und Lehren des Paulus und des Epheserbriefes irgendwoher abzuleiten, weil das Judentum dazu nicht hinreicht.' See also his criticism of Rostovtzeff 1927 on 381–82.

Sciences, Grand Duke Konstantin Konstantinovich.<sup>1</sup> The initial title ‘Monarchy by the grace of god in the Bosporan kingdom’ was modified for the essay’s subsequent publication as ‘Predstavlenie o monarkhicheskoi vlasti v Skifii i na Bospore’ [The conception of monarchical power in Scythia and on the Bosphorus] in *IAK* 49 (1913), 1–62, on which the present translation is based. I began this translation on the spur of the moment during a post-doctoral research fellowship in 2007 at the Centre Louis Gernet in Paris (appropriately, as a member of the *Bibliotheca Aca-demica Translationum* – <http://bat.ehess.fr/>). When I realised that my teaching duties at Birkbeck would not allow me to complete what I had begun, the translation had evolved too far for the project to be abandoned. It is largely due to the efficiency and ability of Muireann Maguire (Wadham College, Oxford) that the text could eventually be submitted for publication. Despite her enormous contribution, I accept all blame for any errors and lack of elegance which my editing will have inevitably imposed on the text.

The translators have retained the rhetorical style of the Russian original, reflecting its origins in a lecture, while simplifying the division of the text into longer paragraphs to bring out the flow of the argument more clearly. Furthermore, several bibliographical references have been transferred from the text to the footnotes to enhance the text’s legibility (my own notes are indicated by Roman numbers and sit as end-notes). We have undertaken some Anglicisation, rather than strict transliteration, of proper names, ancient and modern. As I explain in my introductory essay, the aim of this translation is to promote a better understanding of the conceptual grid through which Rostovtzeff (and most of his successors in the field) interpreted northern Black Sea archaeology. The editorial commentary in the end-notes has been limited to references to more recent illustrations and *corpora* featuring the primary sources used by Rostovtzeff. Problems of interpretation and subsequent archaeological discoveries have intentionally not been dealt with, for I wanted to avoid the illusory impression that Rostovtzeff’s works could be ‘up-dated’ through the simple addition of factual information: the interpretative framework which he applied to the archaeology and history of the northern Black Sea region throughout his works has to be accepted or rejected in its entirety.

Caspar Meyer

<sup>1</sup> On the background of his work, see the excellent commentary by Zuev and Levinskaya 1993, 164, n. 4.

## M.I. ROSTOVTZEFF

THE CONCEPTION OF MONARCHICAL POWER IN SCYTHIA  
AND ON THE BOSPORUS\*

(Translated by CASPAR MEYER and MUIREANN MAGUIRE)

## I. The Period of Early Hellenism

One of the richest discoveries of the last decades of the 19th century in South Russia was that of 1888 by Felitsyn in the Karagodeuashkh *kurgan*, located near the Cossack village Krymskaya on the lower reaches of the Kuban river. The discovery, as is well known, was duly published and explained by the distinguished Russian scholars A.S. Lappo-Danilevskii and V.K. Malmberg, in a special issue of *Materials for the Archaeology of Russia*.<sup>1</sup> This publication, however, is hardly exhaustive: apart from the fact that some of the finds had not been properly cleaned, many of them were not given due attention by the aforementioned scholars. The most interesting among the gold objects found in the *kurgan*, a triangular plaque from a woman's headdress, was reproduced in a phototype and variously mentioned in the text. But nowhere was it described either as a whole or in detail and an interpretation of its figured decoration was given only incidentally, without introducing analogous material. The same applies to the very interesting rhyta from the same find. These rhyta and the plaque are, however, of great scholarly interest, no less so than the famous Chertomlyk amphora, the Kul-Oba flask and the other objects of that class with realistic figures of Scythians depicted on them.<sup>i</sup>

It deserves therefore our wholehearted approval that E.M. Pridik re-studied the objects from this find and decided to clean them chemically, especially the silver items among the grave offerings, above all the three rhyta. The results of this procedure, and the new light they shed on the date and artistic significance of the objects [2], have recently been reported by Pridik in a separate article, precluding the need to consider these problems here in detail.<sup>2</sup> Yet I feel obliged to supplement his article on a number of points concerning the rhyta as well as the above-mentioned plaque, since the question of the meaning of the scenes depicted on

\* *IAK* [Bulletin of the Imperial Archaeological Commission] 49 (1913), 1–62

<sup>1</sup> A.S. Lappo-Danilevskii and V.K. Malmberg, 'Drevnosti kurgana Karagodeuashkh, kak materialy dlya bytovoi istorii Prikubanskogo kraia v IV–III vv. do n.e.'. *MAR* 13 (1894).

<sup>2</sup> E.M. Pridik, 'Dva serebryanykh ritona iz kollektsii Imperatorskogo Ermitazha'. *Sbornik statei v chest' E.R. fon Shterna. Zapiski Odesskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostei* 30 (1912), 167–73.

these objects was hardly touched on in Pridik's essay, even though it calls for thorough and profound investigation. The task of analysing these figures was greatly assisted by the infinite kindness of E.M. Pridik, who put at my disposal not only the treasures of the Kerch and Nikopol Halls in the Hermitage, but also an excellent drawing by the illustrator, A. Raevskii, published in the article cited above. The description of the whole rhyton is not my task, as I have already pointed out, nor is an analysis of its ornament required: all this has been carried out partly by Malmberg and partly through the subsequent additions by Pridik. I stress only that, according to the ceramic objects among the grave goods, the finds cannot belong to a date later than the second half of the 3rd century BC.<sup>3ii</sup>

The figured scene which initially attracted my attention became intelligible through the cleaning of the rhyton and Raevskii's drawing.<sup>4</sup> Prior to this process the image could of course not be properly interpreted, since the figures were visible only in faint contours.<sup>5</sup> The scene is at the upper edge of the flaring body of the vessel, occupying a broad frieze. Depicted are two horsemen facing each other in heraldic stance, both of them dressed in typical Scythian attire, bareheaded and long-haired, with thick beards [Pl. I.1 and 2]. The left horseman, facing to the right, holds a rhyton in his right hand [3], of which only the upper part is preserved; in his left hand is a long sceptre resting on the ground with its lower end.<sup>6</sup> Beneath the hooves of his horse lies a prostrate man. Opposite, to his left, stands an identical horseman: his left hand has not survived; his right is raised, with the palm turned towards his companion *vis-à-vis*. Whether this horseman was armed one cannot make out as the whole of his body, except his right hand, is severely damaged. Beneath the hooves of his horse is another prostrate man.

Even at first sight the scene appears to be of a ritual rather than realistic nature. The gesture of the horseman to the right is undoubtedly a gesture of *adoratio*.<sup>7</sup> If we were ignorant of the parallels given below, we would interpret the scene perhaps plausibly as an *adoratio* of a king or toparch by one of his vassals or subjects, with the identity of the former being indicated by the rhyton and the sceptre. But the weakness of this interpretation is revealed above all as we compare our scene with one of the most common scenes to be depicted in Sasanian rock reliefs. Beginning with the founder of the dynasty, Ardashir (from AD 224), the most popular subject in these reliefs [Figs. 1 and 2] is the investiture of the king by the supreme god

<sup>3</sup> In this dating I agree almost precisely with E.M. Pridik, *op. cit.*, 177.

<sup>4</sup> See Lappo-Danilevskii and Malmberg, *op. cit.*, 67, fig. 56, *cf.* 147, fig. 22 and 150, fig. 23.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 76, fig. 56.

<sup>6</sup> The sceptre resembles that found in two fragments in the Kul-Oba *kurgan*; Pridik, *op. cit.*, 169, n. 5 (*cf.* ABC pl. 27. 12), *cf.* Chapter II below.

<sup>7</sup> Malmberg had previously drawn attention to this; see Pridik, *op. cit.*, 171.

of Persia, Ormuzd.<sup>8</sup> The closest correspondence can be observed in those examples in which the equestrian god grants power to the equestrian king. In a relief from Naqsh-i-Rustam [4] we have the god to the right and the king to the left, both seated on horses at rest.<sup>9</sup> The god stretches out his right hand to offer the king a symbolic ring with fillets or a diadem, while holding the sceptre in his left hand. The king, in turn, holds out his right hand towards the emblem of power being granted to him and raises his left in a gesture of veneration: the palm of the hand is turned towards the god, the index finger raised. A prostrate enemy lies beneath the hooves of each of the horses.

From this comparison it is plainly obvious that we have before us one and the same scene and one and the same idea, in spite of the fact that the two renderings are separated by no fewer than five centuries. This phenomenon is no doubt explained by the endurance of the Iranian tradition, the idea of which was embodied in an iconographic form most likely not in Persia itself, but in those numerous states of Asia Minor organised in the Persian manner, where Iranian religion and Iranian conceptions of power were deeply rooted. In their main features these conceptions had been given their artistic forms evidently through the East Greek art of Asia Minor, from where they were probably passed on to semi-Hellenised Parthia and eventually to the Sasanians. Precisely the same course of development must be envisaged for another favourite subject of the Sasanian reliefs – the equestrian battle between two knights, for which we have in the relief of Gotarzes a Parthian connective link.<sup>10iii</sup>

The comparison we have established gives us monumental and unshakeable confirmation of the fact that the Scythian kingdoms aspired to organise themselves on the very same structure and on the same religious basis as the kingdoms of Cappadocia, Commagene, Armenia, Iberia, Albania and finally Parthia.<sup>11</sup> Among those Scythian kingdoms was for instance that of Scilurus and his sons in Tauris, which we partly know and partly suppose to have been located in the steppes of South Russia in the 3rd to 2nd centuries BC. Their formation had been encouraged by the colossal prosperity of Panticapaeum and the other Greek cities of South Russia, which in turn derived from the [5] unprecedented volume of trade between Greece and the Black Sea and which is visible to us in the rich *kurgan* burials on the rivers

<sup>8</sup> F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs: Aufnahmen und Untersuchungen von Denkmälern aus alt- und mittelpersischer Zeit* (Berlin 1910), pl. 5, cf. pl. 13, with 245 ff. (Sarre).

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 5; cf. Fig. 1 in the present publication.

<sup>10</sup> For these scenes, see my analysis in the forthcoming *Monuments of Ancient Decorative Wall-Painting in South Russia*, chapter on the tomb of 1872.

<sup>11</sup> See F. Cumont, *Die Mysterien des Mithra* (Leipzig 1904), 11 ff.; *idem*, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* (Brussels 1896), I, 232 f.

Kuban, Don, Dnieper and Bug.<sup>12</sup> Our kingdoms inherited this religious basis from Old Persia, establishing a tradition that was so strong and enduring that it could not be suppressed by either the Hellenistic monarchy or, subsequently, by the Roman Republic and the Empire. In accordance with this tradition, the roots of which lie in Assyro-Babylonia, the monarchs are by no means gods, as in Egypt. Nonetheless, the authority of the king was sacred, since his power was conferred on him by god, by whose will he was called to the throne. The rule of the monarchs was by the grace of the creator of heaven and earth.<sup>13</sup> This doctrine raised the monarch aloft and gave him the likeness of divinity, endowing him as it were with rights equal to those of a god, but without separating him from the people. By virtue of this peculiarity the doctrine remained supremely attractive and enticing, outlasting its founders for a millennium.

However, this is not the place to dwell on the history of this conception of monarchy by the grace of god, a history that has been studied to no inconsiderable degree. For me it was important to establish the fact that our monument is inextricably linked to this idea, as indeed the entire way of life of the Scythian monarchies of the steppes was evidently linked to Iran. This is all the more probable if we consider that the Scythians were in respect of their nationality in all likelihood closely related to the Iranians, and that Scythian religious beliefs, as portrayed for us by Herodotus, bear very close resemblance to the religious doctrine of Iran. It is thus plainly obvious that the god with the sceptre and the rhyton is almost certainly the supreme god of the Scythians, corresponding to the Persian Ormuzd – perhaps that same god Herodotus calls Papaeus and who is on the other hand [6] without doubt closely related to Papas of Asia Minor, later known as Attis, an immediate kinsman of the Thracian Sabazius-Dionysus.<sup>14</sup> We need not be surprised by the fact that the god is dressed in identical fashion to the Scythians, wears the same hairstyle, and displays no recognisable attributes of divinity; we have seen nearly the same degree of resemblance between god and mortal in the Sasanian relief described above, and we observe the same resemblance in the famous reliefs from Commagene, in the scene of annunciation, or perhaps transferral, of power to Antiochus by Ormuzd.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> For this, see my article 'Bosporskoe tsarstvo i Kerchenskie kurgany'. *Vestnik Evropy* 6 (1912), 101–20 and *Trudy pervogo vseirossiiskogo s'ezda prepodavatelei drevnikh yazykov* (St Petersburg 1912), 331 ff. (with several illustrations appended).

<sup>13</sup> See Cumont, *Mysterien* 70; *idem*, *Textes et monuments* I, 286, especially n. 4, where the reader may find the necessary references to visual and textual sources.

<sup>14</sup> Herodotus 4. 59. 4.

<sup>15</sup> See K. Human and O. Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien* (Berlin 1890), pl. 31.1; Cumont, *Textes et monuments* I, 187 f., fig. 11.

Mithra also appears in this local aspect on the Bactrian coins of Kanerkes and Hooerkes, where he probably plays the same role of power-granting god as in our monument.<sup>16</sup>

Of special interest are the attributes of authority, such as the sceptre and especially the rhyton. The latter emphasises even more forcefully the mystical character of the king's power, for it is obvious that with the conferral of the rhyton the king communes with the god, just as the mystes communes with him by drinking from the sacred rhyton during the mysteries and especially during the mysteries of Mithra.<sup>17</sup>

The accuracy of our considerations is substantiated by a number of monuments of outstanding interest which, even though contemporary with it, have as yet not been compared with our rhyton and correctly explained. I have in mind especially the well-known clothing plaques from Kul-Oba and Chertomlyk, illustrating to the right a goddess in a long robe seated in a chair, with a loose-fitting *peplos* covering her head and a low headdress. She grasps the hemline of her *peplos* in her right hand and a round object with a handle, perhaps a mirror, in her left. To the left, in front of her [7], stands a young Scythian raising his right hand to drink from the rhyton which he is holding, while placing his left on his chest.<sup>18</sup> Characteristically, this plaque was found in a number of reproductions in both the Kul-Oba and the Chertomlyk tombs, and this manifestly attests to the wide currency of these religious beliefs among the Graeco-Scythian ruling elite [Pl. II.4]. I refrain from asserting that we have before us the act of granting power to the king or of his investiture, although in view of the later monuments to be discussed below this would

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 185 f., figs. 1–7.

<sup>17</sup> See the relief from Konitsa in Bosnia [now northern Greece – ed.] in Cumont, *Textes et monuments* I, 275–76, fig. 10; *idem*, *Mysterien* pl. 2. 6, where the administering of the sacrament is likewise performed through a rhyton; cf. also the role of the rhyton in the funerary feast. For the rhyton, and its sacred significance and close relationship to royal power in the Aegean period, see G. Karo, 'Minoische Rhyta'. *JdI* 26 (1911), 249–70. The rhyton is also common in reliefs with representations of Mithra slaying the bull, and in associated scenes of Roman times in which the mystical feast of Mithra and the Sun is illustrated – the prototype of the mystical feast of the followers of the cult; see Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, II, *passim*, I, 174–75, 306, 320–21. Alternative interpretations of the figures on the relief from Konitsa, which may be more correct than that of Cumont, were proposed by H. Stuart Jones (who recognised *pater* on the horse, the priest as an earthly hypostasis of Mithra, and Heliodromus, the messenger of Helios, or his earthly hypostasis) and W.J. Phythian-Adams (identifying Cumont's *miles* as a *cryfius*). For these, see Mrs S. Arthur Strong, 'The exhibition illustrative of the provinces of the Roman empire, at the baths of Diocletian, Rome'. *JRS* 1 (1911), 14; cf. W.J. Phythian-Adams, 'The problem of the Mithraic grades'. *JRS* 2 (1912), 53–64. For another fragment of a mystical feast, see F. Cumont, 'Notice sur deux bas-reliefs mithraïques'. *RA* 40 (1902), 10, figs. 1, 2.

<sup>18</sup> See *ABC* pl. 20.11; *RAS* pl. 30.16; Tolstoy and Kondakov II, 108, fig. 94; see also the literature referred to in S. Reinach's re-edition of *ABC* (1892), 65, no. 11.



seem to be very probable.<sup>19</sup> It appears inarguable to me, however, that we have before us the moment of the king's initiation to the goddess, or simply that of an ordinary mystes.<sup>20</sup>

Both of the monuments just described offer an explanation of a recently published but as yet unexplained piece, which was found by S.A. Mazaraki in the *kurgan* burial near the Cossack village Aksyutintsy in the Romenskii district, Poltava province, and donated in 1906 to the Imperial Historical Museum in Moscow.<sup>21iv</sup> First of all, I observe that the burial discovered by Mazaraki can be dated fairly precisely by the two vessels found there and by the style of the ornaments on the golden diadem found near the head of the left skeleton of the main burial.<sup>22</sup> These distinctive vessels include a shallow black patera, with an uneven slip and a reddish tint in some areas, and a palmette rosette stamped on its bottom [8],<sup>23</sup> and a large black kylix of coarse fabric, heavy shape and irregular firing, but with a fine slip and the same palmette rosette stamped on the bottom. These relatively late products of plain black slip ware belong roughly to the same time as the pottery from the Karagodeuashkh *kurgan* (see below) and the finds indicating a date for the Kul-Oba and Chertomlyk burials.<sup>v</sup> Taken together they determine the period when Scythian statehood and culture attained their peak in the steppes of the Dnieper, Bug, Don and Kuban. They cannot be dated earlier than the very end of the 4th or even the first half of the 3rd century BC. Also to this period belong, with some certainty, the ornaments of the gold diadem, which bear a striking resemblance to the décor of some of the finds from the Chertomlyk tomb.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Among the considerably earlier monuments are interesting Hittite reliefs showing initiation scenes; see A.H. Sayce, 'Unpublished Hittite inscriptions'. *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 28 (1906), 95 and *idem*, 'The Hittite communion table at Mar'ash'. *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 32 (1910), 153 for monuments from Mar'ash and Malatia depicting a believer (or a priest) and a goddess seated on a chair, with the priest or mystes drinking from a cup, and three loaves of bread and a cup of wine placed on the table.

<sup>20</sup> As an example of such an act of mutual mystical union I include that described by Herodotus and Lucian (see Herodotus. 4. 70; Lucian *Tox.* 37), the custom of concluding a treaty and friendship, which is depicted on the famous appliqué *ABC* pl. 32.10, with two Scythians drinking from the same rhyton [see Pl. II.2]. In this scene the rhyton carries undoubtedly religious and symbolical significance. Compare also the ritual union of the warriors by the king in Herodotus 4. 66. The famous rhyton from the Kul-Oba tomb serves as an illustration of this oath of friendship; see *ABC* pl. 36.5, with the text in *ABC* (1892), 88 for literature.

<sup>21</sup> See the *Otchet Imperatorskogo istoricheskogo muzeya im. Imp. Aleksandra III v Moskve* 1906 (Moscow 1907), 14 ff. Figs. 1 and 2 illustrate the layout of the grave chamber in the *kurgan*; part of the objects found there are illustrated in Pls. I and II of the present publication.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, figs. 2, 7, pl. 1.16.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. a similar patera from the Karagodeuashkh *kurgan*, published by Lappo-Danilevskii and Malmberg, *op. cit.*, 13, 48, fig. 17.

<sup>24</sup> See *RAS Atlas*, II, pls. 36 and 40.23.

Among the objects from the *kurgan* under consideration, the gold plaques are of special interest. To judge from Mazaraki's drawing,<sup>25</sup> they had served as adornments of the belt worn by the male inhumed in the grave.<sup>26</sup> These plaques [Fig. 3] depict a Scythian in left profile view sitting on a four-legged stool without a back rest. He wears his long hair loose over his shoulders, and a moustache and a short beard are also visible. He is dressed in a short jacket, possibly trimmed with metal plaques at the shoulders and the hemline. At the waist the jacket is held together with a broad belt with gold appliqués, and with a *gorytos* and a bow hanging from it at the left side. Below, he wears tight-fitting trousers and high boots. In his left hand the Scythian holds a rhyton, in his right hand, propped up by the bent elbow on his right knee, a short sceptre with a peculiar knob, curved in the shape of a snake. It is also possible, however, that the object represents not a sceptre but a battle-axe of the same shape as that shown on the gilt silver flask from a *kurgan* near Voronezh.<sup>27vi</sup> In his hair [9] one may perhaps recognise the craftsman's attempt to indicate the presence of a diadem with a customary emblem above the forehead. Remains of the gold covering from the sceptre may indeed be recognisable among the finds from the tomb: they include the five gold tubes which were found near the right hand.<sup>28</sup> Whether the two triangular gold plaques also belong to the sceptre one cannot say with any certainty.<sup>29</sup>

It is clear from this description that the craftsman who made the belt plaques intended to depict, almost certainly, the noble Scythian buried in the tomb or even a Scythian king, whose status was indicated by the sceptre (or battle-axe) and the rhyton – the same insignia as those shown on the rhyton from the Karagodeuashkh *kurgan*. We may therefore conclude that these insignia of monarchical power were widely recognised in the steppes of South Russia of early Hellenistic times and that they do not present a local peculiarity or a solitary case.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>25</sup> *Otchet Imperatorskogo istoricheskogo muzeya* 1906 (Moscow 1907), figs. 2, 12.

<sup>26</sup> Mazaraki's drawing and the distribution of the finds in the tomb suggest that the burials belonged to a man and a woman. In the antechamber was a horse burial and possibly that of the groom.

<sup>27</sup> Martinovich, *Zhurnal Imperatorskogo Russkogo voenno-istoricheskogo obshchestva* 8–9 (1912), 203 ff.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 1.9.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 1.2.

<sup>30</sup> Unfortunately, I cannot pass over in silence the differences in opinion between me and B.V. Farmakovskii, with whom I discussed this interpretation, both about the general situation of the finds of Mr Mazaraki and in particular about the gold plaques. Leaving aside the discrepancy between the dates of the so-called diadem and the pottery to which Farmakovskii drew attention (a discrepancy connected to Farmakovskii's dating of the finds from the Chertomlyk *kurgan*, on which I do not concur), I cannot leave unmentioned the different character of the two graffiti of the vessel

In combination with other monuments, the Kul-Oba appliqué described above and interpreted (insofar as is possible) above allow us to make sense of the triangular gold plaque from the headdress of the queen buried at Karagodeuashkh, which we have so far mentioned only in passing. The plaque shows three scenes, one placed above the other [Pl. II.1]. The mould had not been designed for our plaque, as is evident from the fact that the scene overlapped the left and right borders of the field by at least one figure.<sup>31</sup> [10] The lower scene is the most interesting one. In the centre it shows a woman in heavy ritual dress, perhaps gold-brocaded, who is seated in a chair and faces the viewer in a static posture. She wears a long-sleeved *chiton* beneath the heavy robe, which falls in vertical folds, as well as a headdress in the form of a Phrygian cap with a sharply turned-up brim and covered by a veil falling over her shoulders and back. Behind her we can see the heads of two women flanking her symmetrically and, like her, looking ahead, with their *peploi* thrown over their heads. In the right hand (the left is not visible), the seated woman holds the flaring end of a large rhyton. From the right she is approached by a beardless Scythian, wearing a caftan trimmed with embroidery and tied together at the waist by an elaborately studded belt. On his head, he appears to wear a turban. His right hand reaches out to receive the rhyton offered by the woman.<sup>32</sup> From the left the woman is approached by another figure, perhaps also male. Of this figure only the right hand has survived, offering the woman a wide-mouthed spherical flask of the same type as the famous Kul-Oba vessel with realistic depictions of Scythians and a series of other gilt silver vessels of that time.<sup>33vii</sup> A fifth figure, perhaps female, with a tiara or turban on her head, approaches the seated woman to the left from behind, apparently grasping her robe.

(*ibid.*, pl. 2.8) and some peculiarities in the way the seated Scythian is represented. He sits on a stool of somewhat unusual form (compared with that shown on the plaques from Kul-Oba and Chertomlyk). Somewhat unusual also is the sceptre or battle-axe, the upper part of which closely resembles that of a bow (compare this with the bow-shaped sceptres from the *kurgans* in the same region around Poltava published by Count A.A. Bobrinskii, *Kurgany i sluchainye arkheologicheskie nakhodki bliz mestechka Smely* [St Petersburg 1901], III, 63, pls. 3.2.7, 11.1 2, cf. II, pl. 24.20). Striking is the focus on the belt with gold plaques, which is uncommon in other representations of Scythians. These peculiarities are however not so grave as to seriously cast doubt over the authenticity of the pieces. As I pointed out earlier, the finds from the burial near the village of Aksyutintsy are closely analogous to the objects which Mazaraki discovered in the *kurgans* near the village of Volkovets, in the vicinity of Aksyutintsy; see *Drevnosti Pridneprov'ya: sobranie B.I. i V.I. Khanenko = Antiquités de la région du Dniepre: collection B. Khanenko* (Kiev 1899), II, 5 ff.

<sup>31</sup> An observation previously made in the original publication of our piece.

<sup>32</sup> The exchange cannot be interpreted the other way round as the woman is clearly identified as the donor through her static pose, whereas the man moves towards her to receive the vessel.

<sup>33</sup> If my interpretation of the ritual nature of all these scenes is correct, then it becomes all the more likely that this type of vessel had ritual and votive significance.

The same scene, or one of a similar kind, is also shown on some of the clothing plaques of barbarian production from the Chertomlyk *kurgan* [Pl. II.5].<sup>34</sup> They illustrate the upper part of a female figure wearing almost the same attire as that on the plaques from the Chertomlyk and Kul-Oba burials considered above, only less Hellenised. It is possible that another heavy veil is shown under the Greek himation thrown over the head of the goddess, of the same kind as that we have seen on the Karagodeuashkh plaque, or perhaps there is a round [11] tiara on the goddess' head, covered by a heavy veil falling over her shoulders. The hands of the goddess are folded in front of her abdomen, holding a rhyton. To her left is a figure corresponding precisely to that to the left of the goddess on the Karagodeuashkh plaque. Whilst in that piece a man is shown in a long woven dress (a priest?) unveiling the goddess and offering her a spherical flask, in the latter the figure to the left of the goddess, looking to the right, is holding with the left hand the end of the goddess' veil, and with the right some kind of implement. In the handwritten description of these plaques, G.E. Kizeritskii identifies it as a mirror, but to me it seems more likely identifiable with a thymiaterion, although I would not insist on this.

It is highly illuminating to compare the two main male figures from the lower scene of the Karagodeuashkh headdress with some of the figured plaques from the Kul-Oba tomb designed to be sown or strung onto a belt. One of them is known from four examples in the Hermitage and a fifth one in the collection of Count A.S. Uvarov.<sup>35</sup> Although the type has been published frequently and is fairly well known, as yet no one (as far as I am aware) has noted the fact that it presents a companion piece to a similar figure of the same make and the same technique, with the same device on the reverse for attaching the plaque to a fine strap or a string. This plaque is known apparently only in one example, acquired by Prince V.V. Kochubey, probably from the people who notoriously plundered the Kul-Oba tomb in the night after its discovery.<sup>36viii</sup>

The first type of these plaques [Pl. II.7, drawn after a photograph] shows a long-haired Scythian with a beard and moustache. He wears the customary caftan and voluminous trousers falling in a series of folds. The figure is standing frontally, his head turned to the left. In his right hand he holds the neck of an aryballos-shaped

<sup>34</sup> *RAS* 114, Atlas pl. 30.20; cf. Tolstoy and Kondakov II, 44, fig. 31.

<sup>35</sup> See *ABC*, pl. 32.1; (1892), 83; Tolstoy and Kondakov II, 61, fig. 44. The plaque from the collection of Count Uvarov was published in J. Sabatier, *Kerch i Bospor* (St Petersburg 1851), pl. 5.11. The plaques in the Hermitage are of two types: two slightly smaller (H 0.06) and two slightly taller (H 0.063).

<sup>36</sup> Its current whereabouts is unknown to me. It was published by Sabatier, *op. cit.*, pl. 5.3 and 4, cf. 105.

vessel of the type already known to us, while the left rests on the *gorytos* hanging, evidently by the belt, at his left hip. The second, which unfortunately we have to describe and publish [Pl. II.6] from the drawing in Sabatier's book, shows a man standing upright with [12] smooth long hair, a moustache and a broad and thick beard. He is dressed in a tight-fitting knee-length coat, or *kazakin*, close-fitting trousers and soft low boots, tied at the ankles with a strap in the place where they pass under the trousers. The left leg is advanced and slightly bent at the knee (*Spielbein*). His right arm is bent at the elbow, holding a large rhyton near his chest. A *gorytos* with a bow is hanging from his left hip. With his left hand he appears to be leaning on a sceptre, a club or, most likely, a battle-axe of the same type as those depicted in the hands of the figures on the gilt silver vase of aryballos shape recently found in one of the *kurgan* burials near Voronezh, which represents a tremendously interesting pendant to the well-known electrum flask from Kul-Oba. This plaque, as indeed is the case with the rest of the objects published by Sabatier, is reproduced in actual size. Its height is equal to that of the other appliqués described above, i.e. about 6 cm. To which part of the dress or armour of the humans and horses buried in the Kul-Oba tomb the ornaments belonged is difficult to tell. Judging from their reverse side, they were strung on vertical straps. Such straps may be seen, for instance, on the Scythian *gorytoi* depicted on the Voronezh flask.<sup>ix</sup> In later times, such straps can also be seen hanging from the saddles of the Bosporan and Sarmatian noblemen depicted on Panticapaeon stelae and on the murals of Panticapaeon tombs. But this interpretation is only one of many possibilities.

There is a clear distinction in how the barbarians in the two types of plaques are dressed. That of the barbarian holding a rhyton resembles the Sarmatian costume known from Panticapaeon stelae. The thought naturally occurs that we are faced with a representation of two ethnic strata in the population of the South Russian steppes of the 3rd to 2nd centuries BC. Be that as it may, the fact that these figures offer a remarkable analogy to the two on the plaque from the Karagodeuashkh female headdress is entirely obvious. On the latter, the figure with a rhyton most likely represents the protagonist, a king or toparch, and the figure with the round vessel a worshipper. Whether it follows that the third figure should really be identified as a goddess is not a straightforward decision to make. But it is certainly not inconceivable that the Scythian wearing a caftan is offering the flask to the figure holding the rhyton as a sign of reverence or acquiescence. Interestingly, similar figures of [13] Scythians or Sarmatians, equipped with weapons in addition to the large rhyta in the right hand, were found in several examples in the vicinity of ancient Tanais. I have in mind the roughly hewn statues of local stone, discovered by A.A. Miller whilst conducting his excavations in the *kurgans* in the vicinity of

the Greek city-site. I rest content with this reference since Miller will publish these statues shortly in a detailed investigation.

The goddess on the plaque from Karagodeuashkh, and a considerable number of scenes resembling the group of images under consideration, appear on a sheet-gold diadem, discovered, according to Mr Hesse, in a *kurgan* near Kanev. The images on this piece replicate in its centre the group depicted on the triangular plaque from Karagodeuashkh and on the clothing plaques mentioned above, albeit with slight modifications. The group to the left of the central composition reproduces with minor changes the motif of Scythians consecrating their friendship ties. The remaining groups to the left and the right were in the craftsman's mind obviously meant to illustrate a sacrifice or preparations for it. From a stylistic point of view, the plaque should also be related to the plaque from Karagodeuashkh. Unfortunately, the images on the plaque exhibit a series of idiosyncrasies in their manner of representation, ranging from the peculiarity of the dress, the genuflectory poses of all the figures, the compositional disunity in spite of the overarching thematic unity of ritual, to technical anomalies. The genuflectory poses may have been introduced with a view to achieving isocephaly with the seated main figure. The craftsmen of the Kul-Oba and Chertomlyk plaques pursued the same aim, depicting a standing Scythian of considerably smaller size than the seated goddess. Yet overall these details of technique and figural representation (in addition to the inconsistent reports of the piece's acquisition) prevent me from suppressing my doubts over its genuineness. Besides, it adds little new information, and for this reason we may without jeopardising our overall argument confine our discussion of it to what has already been said [14].<sup>37</sup>

But let us return to the scene just described in the plaque from the headdress from Karagodeuashkh. It is very regrettable that the representation has not been fully preserved, since a number of important details must thus remain unexplained and inexplicable. In the second register is a chariot with a pair of yoked horses, although the original mould from which the piece was made undoubtedly showed a quadriga. The

<sup>37</sup> Published by A. Miller and A. de Mortillet in *L'homme préhistorique* (Paris 1904), II, 273 ff., illustrated on 279. I will not conceal, however, that an argument *against* the falsity of this piece is provided by the distinctive emphasis on the ritual and religious character of all scenes, which has prior to our research not been adequately stressed in scholarly literature. The next scene to the right underlines the ritual significance of the rhyton and the spherical flask, which has hitherto also not been known. If the piece is genuine then the representation of a goddess holding a spherical flask would corroborate my supposition, established independently from Hesse's plaque, concerning the ritual character of this type of vessel and its close association with the great female goddess of the Scythians. Finally, the strap to which the *gorytos* had been attached was not known to scholarship prior to the discovery of the broad-mouthed silver vessel with gilding from Voronezh, about which we have spoken repeatedly. By virtue of all of these considerations I cannot rule out the authenticity of the sheet-gold diadem, although I cannot confirm it as long as I have not examined the piece myself.

chariot, harnessed with strong and sturdy horses, has a very unusual appearance for which I cannot think of any parallels. On the chariot a beardless figure, apparently male, stands in a solemn, immobile posture facing the viewer, as indeed do the horses. The figure's coiffure consists of eight regular curls. Finally, a female figure is facing us in the upper register, holding with both hands a large horn of plenty. The first and the second registers are divided by a frieze showing two griffins, one facing the other, and each with a paw on the rim of a ribbed chalice, probably containing a fire. In the lower frieze are decorated bucrania alternating with facing heads.

For me, it is incontrovertible that the interpretation of these images as realistic genre scenes, representing king and queen, cannot be accepted. The cultic character of the images before us seems undeniable. The lower scene replicates that known from the Kul-Oba plaque – a goddess, accompanied by her priestesses behind her, is initiating a young noble Scythian either to herself or, more likely, to divinely sanctioned royal power. To the left approaches a worshipper offering a sacred vessel. The gesture of the latter figure (a priest?), may indicate an act of *revelatio* of the divinity. In the second register we have either a masculine hypostasis of the supreme god on a chariot, or a king in the halo of his power, while the third shows Τύχη. On the basis of all the images surveyed, we may conclude that they attest with reasonable clarity to a cult of the supreme god and goddess. I do not think I am mistaken in identifying the god and the goddess with the supreme deities of the Iranian pantheon in that stage of its development when it had already merged with the Syrian pantheon: i.e. Ormuzd with Bel, Anahita with Astarte, and Mithra with Shamash,<sup>38</sup> and when the leading role in the cult of the kings was being played simultaneously by the female goddess, whose temples were scattered over all the [15] Asiatic coast of the Black Sea, and by the god Mithra, the vanquisher of evil, "Ἡλιος ἀνίκητος, the invincible Sun, whom the Iranians commonly represented in a sun chariot drawn by four horses.<sup>39</sup> The image of the griffins near the burning vessel on the Karagodeuashkh plate is also compatible with this interpretation. The identification of Τύχη in the upper register is clear enough too: it is the Τύχη of the king who, according to the brilliant research of Cumont, derives from the Iranian Hvareno (Semitic *Gad*) and symbolises the god's favour of the kings, having originally been closely associated with Mithra due to the influence of astrology and the dominating role of the Sun, but eventually merging with the concept of luck and fortune, Greek Τύχη.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> See Cumont, *Mysterien* 9; *idem*, *Textes et monuments* I, 231 ff.

<sup>39</sup> Cumont, *Mysterien* 2; *idem*, *Textes et monuments* I, 225, 3. On Mithra and Anahita juxtaposed in inscriptions of Artaxerxes, see Cumont, *Mysterien* 7, cf. 9; *idem*, *Textes et monuments* I, 230 f.

<sup>40</sup> Cumont, *Mysterien* 70; *idem*, *Textes et monuments* I, 284 ff. Compare Cumont's interesting remark that the Sasanians called themselves brothers of the Sun and the Moon in *Mysterien* 76 and *Textes et monuments* I, 286, especially n. 4.



This correspondence and the interpretation of the scenes described above find their confirmation in a number of monuments of undoubted Iranian origin – the finds from the so-called Amu-Darya treasure, recently published with an extensive commentary by Dalton.<sup>41</sup> Evident points of comparison for our male worshippers come above all from the closely similar figures of worshipping Magi(?) on golden clothing plaques from the treasure.<sup>42</sup> Besides the thematic similarity, which will shortly be discussed, they are connected by a shared coarseness of style, indicating local craftsmanship. This local character strongly suggests the plaques were only of local importance and thus corresponded to local religious concepts and tastes. The same applies to the majority of the plaques from the South Russian steppes considered above. Thus we can recognise in almost all of the figures on the plaques sacred attributes of one kind or another – most often flowers, birds, or a bundle of twigs, representing most likely the so-called baresman, a cult implement which played a central role in Mazdaism. One of these figures is especially relevant to the present discussion: namely no. 69, which shows a man with a caftan-like dress draped around the shoulders and a traditional Persian headgear [16]. In his right hand he holds a bundle of twigs and in his left a vessel of the same shape as those familiar to us from the flasks from Scythian contexts, resembling the Greek aryballos. A comparison between this figure and a pair of statuettes yields further insights. One of them shows a priest or a Magus(?) in rich dress and headgear, holding with both hands an object close to his chest.<sup>43</sup> In my eyes the object resembles a rhyton rather than the bundle of twigs identified by Dalton. The other statuette probably represents a king, holding in his right hand an object near his chest which resembles that seen in the hand of the goddess in the Chertomlyk plaque.<sup>44</sup> Finally, I point out that some cylinder seals and carved gems depict a goddess, probably Anahita, wearing the same attire as the goddess on our South Russian plaques.<sup>45</sup> To be sure the attributes of the goddess on our and other monuments are different from those of the goddess of the South Russian steppes; but one must not forget that in South Russia Anahita merged with Greek Aphrodite at an early date, as already attested by Herodotus (1. 131).<sup>46</sup>

<sup>41</sup> O.M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus* (London 1905).

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 1, pl. 14, cf. 94 ff., nos. 48–100.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 12.2.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 2.1.

<sup>45</sup> See J. Menant, *Recherches sur la glyptique orientale* (Paris 1886), II, 174, fig. 152, pl. 9.2; Dalton, *op. cit.*, 45, 29.

<sup>46</sup> Our discussion will return to Anahita later on, in the third chapter, where the relevant secondary literature is cited. There we will also adduce the evidence corroborating the worship of Anahita in South Russia, as goddess of water and protectress of horses. Significantly, the aryballos-shaped cult vessels very often include water birds in their decoration.

If my interpretations of the iconographical material are correct, then this enables us to understand the enigmatic votive monument to the gods Sanerges and Astara, dedicated by Comosarye, the daughter of Gorgippus (*ca.* 342–309 BC), during the rule of Paerisades.<sup>47</sup> There can be no doubt that Astara is Ishtar, while Sanerges may plausibly be identified with one of the supreme gods of Asia Minor, possibly the Hittite Sandas.<sup>48</sup> It is clear enough therefore that Syrian as well as Iranian [17] influence made itself felt in Scythia during the 3rd century BC not only directly from Persia, which came under Greek rule at the time, but also from Persian-Semitic Asia Minor. The same Astara-Anahita appears most likely in the guise of Greek Aphrodite Urania in the plaques from Kul-Oba and Chertomlyk mentioned earlier. This much seems to be corroborated by her native dress-style and by the mirror in her hand. Given these circumstances, it seems clear that the cult of Aphrodite Urania, attested as supreme goddess both locally and in Asia Minor, had found itself an honourable place not only in Phanagoria, but also in Panticapaeum; there as well as here it readily merged with the cult of the old Milesian Aphrodite Ἀπατούρου μεδεούση, who had a large temple near Phanagoria – a temple whose organisation came over time to resemble ever more closely that of the Asiatic sanctuaries of the supreme goddess. It is not without reason that we have a famous dedication to her for the good fortune of Paerisades, Argotas and Comosarye, where she is called Ἀφροδίτη Οὐρανία Ἀπατούρου μεδεούση.<sup>49</sup> Since we have no evidence for a temple of Demeter in Phanagoria, I would attribute the fragment of an inscription from Phanagoria preserving part of a mystic ritual to the mysteries of this Phanagorian goddess, rather than to those of Demeter.<sup>50</sup>

From the evidence surveyed we may therefore draw two conclusions. First of all, it is beyond doubt that the Scythian kingdoms, being for the most part independent

<sup>47</sup> *IOSPE* II, 346 [= *CIRB* 1015].

<sup>48</sup> See Höfer in Roscher *s.v.* 'Sanerges' and 'Sandas'. It is interesting to bring our inscription together with the depiction on the cylinder seal from the *kurgan* burial of Anapa of the 3rd century BC, where a worshipping king with a Persian headdress is shown in front of a goddess with a nimbus and a tiara, standing on a lion. It is known that the goddess standing on a lion and wearing a high tiara originates in the sphere of Hittite culture, from where this image probably arrived in the Iranised regions. See *OAK* 1882–88, 63 f. Atlas pl. 5.3 and 3a. On Hittite religion, see recently E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart 1882), I, para. 477 ff. However, in connection with the god Sandas or Sandon it would be natural to look for a goddess of the earth rather than the sun, as depicted on the cylinder. For that reason I prefer to connect our Astara with the Hittite goddess of the earth, Ischara, the ancestor of Aphrodite; see Meyer, *op. cit.*, paras. 481, 486, and 484 on Sandon.

<sup>49</sup> *IOSPE* II, 19 [= *CIRB* 75], *cf.* 21, 22 and IV, 418 (Paerisades I) [= *CIRB* 17, 13, 971].

<sup>50</sup> *IOSPE* II, 342 [= *CIRB* 1005]. On the contrary, the cult of Aphrodite Urania is variously attested at Phanagoria, above all in the period of the early Spartocids; see *IOSPE* II, 343 (Leucon), 347 (Paerisades), 349 (Spartocus) [= *CIRB* 1111, 972, 1043].

of Bosphorus, were kingdoms of Irano-Persian type in their structure as well as their ethnic composition, just like the majority of the other superficially Hellenised kingdoms of the Black Sea coast and the interior of Asia Minor. The religion of these kingdoms was also Iranian, a shared tradition whose persistence among the Scythians was promoted by the fact that it went back to the same sources as the religion of Persia. Yet the official aspect which the religion of the Scythian kingdoms assumed was not the most ancient form of Iranian religion, but that in which Mazdaism existed in Asia Minor in the age of early Hellenism: i.e. with a considerable admixture of Semitic elements and Assyro-Babylonian theology and, with regard to its [18] external appearance, of those forms through which the figures of several gods had been translated into the anthropomorphic arts of East Greek Asia Minor. It is very likely that the Irano-Semitic religious notions also influenced the Bosporan kingdom, given that syncretic tendencies between the Greek gods from the Ionian homeland and the gods of the Iranian pantheon of Asia Minor were at the time already well underway. This is borne out with particular clarity by the cult of Aphrodite Ἀφατούρου, who had transformed into Aphrodite Urania, one of the hypostases of Astarte-Anahita. I do not know, however, whether it would be justifiable to claim that this religious influence was powerful enough to affect Bosporan notions of monarchical power. As yet we have too little evidence to firmly distinguish in the Bosporan archonship the elements deriving from Ionian urban tyranny, Hellenistic royal power and the hypothesised elements of Iranian monarchy by god's favour. To judge by the coins, it was the influence of Hellenistic monarchy that had the strongest impact and made itself felt during the entire 3rd and probably also the 2nd century BC.<sup>51</sup>

## II. The Period of Roman Rule

From the 2nd century BC onwards, life on the Bosphorus and the South Russian steppes changed profoundly. Among the major events which defined this period I would include, first of all, the weakening of the Greek cities on the Black Sea;

<sup>51</sup> Unfortunately, it seems very difficult to say whether the princely burial in the Kul-Oba *kurgan* of Kerch was connected to the ruling dynasty of Bosphorus or whether we have before us a tomb of one of the vassals of the Bosporan dynasts. The question is complicated by the indeterminate date of the burial in which undoubtedly were discovered finds from various periods, beginning in the 5th century BC. Some of these finds, however, entered the burial inventory surely by accident. It would be of great importance to determine the date of the very latest finds, for the purpose of which one would have to re-study and carefully publish with accurate reproductions all finds from the tomb. I insist yet again that only a *Corpus tumulorum* can adequately shed light not only on the issue of chronology but also on questions relating to the religion, statehood and social organisation of the individual stages in the development of the southern regions of our country.

secondly, the growth of several Scythian kingdoms; and thirdly, the steady movement of nomadic tribes into the steppes, which led to the destruction of a number of emergent states established there. As a result of these processes, one can observe a general decline in standards of living, reflected in the impoverishment of our archaeological evidence. [19] The Greek towns in South Russia did not revive again until the great Scythian kingdom of Scilurus and Palacus in the Crimea perished at the hands of Mithradates; thereafter the Greek towns of South Russia found themselves under the powerful hand of Rome, which had assumed the task of defending Greek civilisation on the Black Sea coastline. As a result of this protectorate, the nature of monarchical power on the Bosphorus also changed, a fact clearly borne out by the numismatic evidence from the region, beginning in the 1st century BC.<sup>x</sup> After the short episode of Mithradates' rule, when Bosphorus partook in the brief revival of universal monarchy on the Persian model with a Hellenistic base, and of the similarly short-lived rule of his dynasty down to his last descendent on the Bosporan throne, the kingdom entered a period of close, vassal-like dependence upon Rome, principally expressed by the substitution on Bosporan coin issues of monograms for the names of individual rulers. This was a time when the Roman empire moved rulers like pawns throughout the entire East, preparing the region for the transition from imperial to provincial government.

At one time it appeared that Bosphorus would disintegrate into a string of provincial urban territories and be absorbed into the province of Moesia or into some new province, as actually happened to Olbia and Chersonesus. However, the Roman government did not deem it either necessary or possible to bring matters to this stage in Bosphorus. Beginning with Vespasian's reign, the names of the Bosporan kings reappear at least on the bronze coins as if they were independent monarchs. These bronze issues admittedly betray the subject status of the Bosporan rulers by the very variety of reverse types, but nonetheless neither the names nor the portraits of the emperors feature on the coins. The era of these kings was the time of Bosphorus' greatest flourishing. This is attested both by the perfection of coinage during this period and by the wealth of new and original types, attempting, as we will see below, to bring out the clearest possible elements of the characteristics of royal power, and by the abundance and variety of coin issues, in which gold was gradually beginning to play a dominant role. I have attempted to indicate elsewhere the reasons for this advancement.<sup>52</sup> There, I identified as a symptom of this progression the affluence [20] of burials at this time and the renewal of old traditions of the funeral rite in a built chamber with a mound raised over it, as

<sup>52</sup> See Rostovtzeff, 'Bosporskoe tsarstvo i Kerchenskie kurgany'. *Vestnik Evropy* 6 (1912), 113 ff. and *Trudy pervogo useross. s'ezda prepodavatelei drevnykh iazykov* (St Petersburg 1912), 344 ff.

familiar from the period of the great *kurgans* Tsarskii, Melek-Chesme, Zolotoi, Kul-Oba, Yuz-Oba, and so forth.

Indicative of this development is also the fact that the portraits of the kings, from now on again appearing regularly on coins, attempt with some degree of success to portray the genuine appearance of the king, through representation of not just his insignia of power, which will be discussed later, but also his facial features.<sup>53</sup> The royal coin portraits from this period provide excellent samples of the die-cutter's art. We are offered a glimpse of the true likeness of Rhescuporis I, Sauromates I, Rhescuporis II, Rhoemetaces, Eupator, and finally Sauromates II, after whom the ruler portraits, as well as the rest of the coins, become standardised and coarse in style.

Interestingly, the only marble portrait of one of these kings which has come down to us dates approximately to this period. I have in mind the bust preserved in the Imperial Hermitage Museum which was found in Kerch in 1862 and brought to St Petersburg by Baron Tizengauzen [Pl. III.1–2].<sup>54</sup> This bust undoubtedly formed part of a statue, possibly acrolithic, as the Director Otto Waldhauer believes.<sup>54</sup> The head has not been preserved in its entirety (the nose has been broken off), yet its wide base allows us to imagine its considerable dimensions. The bronze curls, probably gilded, which were once attached to the marble head of hair, have been lost.<sup>55</sup> An entire wig, which would have covered the unfinished top and rear of the head, may have been lost too. This is more probable than the suggestion that the bust had been carved into a structure or leaned against a wall in such a way that only the front of the statue was visible. The statue as a whole must be imagined to resemble those statues depicted on the coinage of this period, where the king is represented either sitting on a curule chair or standing and trampling upon defeated enemies. The diadem in his hair proves that we are looking at a portrait of a king, and not that of an ordinary Bosphoran magnate, since the diadem is the chief royal attribute, inherited from [21] Hellenistic times. His royal status is also clear from the lavish finish of the hair, illuminating the king's face with its golden glint. Thus the bust of the king shows a young, beardless ruler with thick, curly hair, possibly even a wig, falling to his shoulders, similar to the figures without beards or moustaches we see on the coinage. The separate hair attachments, probably made of gold, were covered by the diadem.<sup>56</sup> The slightly slanting eyes were most likely enhanced by paint. The shape of the face

<sup>53</sup> Displayed in the Kerch Hall at the Hermitage, no. 22c.

<sup>54</sup> Its dimensions are as follows: height 0.43, the height of the face without the hairline 0.21, and the circumference of the head at the diadem 0.835.

<sup>55</sup> This is indicated by the row of deep drill holes. In these openings there is no remnant of marble or plaster, and therefore marble curls are to be ruled out.

<sup>56</sup> The hairline passes in the middle of or even immediately above the brows; on coins it lies above the forehead.

is soft and rounded, rather female, which has led some scholars to class the bust as a statue of a woman.<sup>57</sup> The delicate and skilful workmanship of the piece almost certainly predates the Hadrianic period, but is no earlier than the second half of the 1st century AD. Although it is impossible to state with certainty precisely who is depicted in this bust, comparison with coin portraits shows that the choice must be between Rhescuporis I, Cotys, and Sauromates I. The kings following Sauromates II cannot be identified with our bust, as its workmanship cannot be post-Hadrianic, and the decline in the technique of coinage at that time prevents us from assuming that such an outstanding marble portrait could have been created for one of the kings of the end of the 2nd or the 3rd century AD. Among the kings named above the least probable subject is Sauromates I, as in all of his portraits he is shown, like Rhescuporis I, with a moustache. It is therefore possible to consider the so-called Rhescuporis known from coin portraits of the period of Tiberius and Gaius,<sup>58</sup> as the styling of his hair and the rounded shape of his face are very similar to our bust [Pl. III.3], or Cotys II, the precursor of Sauromates I [Pl. III.4].<sup>59</sup> It is curious that another marble portrait of a Bosporan king also dates to this period – the outstanding marble head of Rhescuporis I, Rhoemetalces, or Eupator, found in Athens and preserved [22] in the Athens National Museum [Pl. III.5, 6, cf. 7 and 8].<sup>60</sup> The discovery of this head in Athens bears witness to the fact that the Thraco-Sarmatian dynasty of the Bosporan kings followed the tradition of their ancestors of the 4th century BC in their relationship with Athens, and that the welfare of Bosporus was based at this time on a lively trade with Greece, which even then continued to depend on goods imported from the Black Sea coast.

But let us return to the Bosporan coins. These coins are primarily interesting to us insofar as the variations of their obverse types give us intriguing insights into the nature of the power of the Bosporan kings, as they themselves understood it. During the period between the reigns of Rhescuporis I and Eupator (AD 71–170), the most important obverse types were those which emphasised the vassal character of the

<sup>57</sup> Thus, in any case, it is listed in the catalogue of the Hermitage, evidently after the account of Baron Tizengauzen.

<sup>58</sup> See his coins in A.L. Bertier-Delagard, 'O monetakh vlastitelei Bospora Kimmeriiskogo opredelyaemykh monogrammami'. *Zapiski Odesskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostei* 29 (1911), 223 ff., nos. 23–30.

<sup>59</sup> For Rhescuporis I (Bertier-Delagard, *op. cit.*, nos. 80, 89), Rhoemetalces and Eupator see below. Sauromates II was bearded.

<sup>60</sup> See R. Delbrueck, *Antike Porträts* (Bonn 1912), 52, no. 46 and fig. 22, where the previous literature can be found. Besides the kings mentioned, the bust could portray Rhescuporis I, who is similarly depicted on coins with the short curly beard so typical for our bust. Of course, the inspired workmanship of this bust cannot be compared with the craft of the head described above. Unfortunately, the identification of this bust with the named individuals is far from certain.

kings' power, its bestowal by the grace of the emperors – here we have both the depiction of all the insignia of investiture as seen, for instance, on the coin of Rhescuporis I [Pl. IV.5], and the figure of the king seated on a curule chair holding a sceptre, decorated with the head of the emperor, as familiar from a further coin of Rhescuporis I [Pl. IV.1]. Another set of variations characteristic of this epoch is of a martial or triumphal nature, with scenes showing: 1) the king fully armed, but bare-headed, galloping on horseback into the thick of battle [Pl. IV.4, 7; coins of Cotys and Sauromates I]; 2) the king beside a trophy, trampling the defeated underfoot [Pl. IV.2; Rhescuporis I]; 3) most likely, the gates of a once again strongly defended city, flanked by two towers [Pl. IV.8; the same specimen]; 4) and the figure of a defeated barbarian or, perhaps, the personification of the defeated nation standing outside the gates, as known from similar coinages of the Roman emperors.<sup>61</sup> Sometimes the king is shown with the attributes of the gods Heracles or Poseidon, and sometimes he is being crowned by Nike, flying behind him [Pl. IV.3].<sup>62</sup>

This emphasis on vassaldom is also evident from the kings' titulature, which at this time had finally [23] become more consistent.<sup>63</sup> The titles stress that the kings were φιλοκαίσαρες and φιλορῶμαιοι, and more than once mention their connection to the cult of the emperors and their function as imperial priests. The Iranian tradition transpires only in the retention of the title βασιλεὺς βασιλέων. Much stronger than this was the element linking these kings with Thrace and the Hellenistic monarchy. Thus the image of the king galloping on horseback in a warlike charge was borrowed from coins of the Thracian kings. The genealogy of Sauromates I, ἀπὸ Ποσειδῶνος and ἄφ' Ἡρακλέους,<sup>64</sup> takes us into the Hellenistic sphere, while in an inscription of Rhescuporis II the same qualification emphasises the Thracian origin of the bloodline through the insertion of the name of Poseidon's son, the Thracian Eumolpos, between those of Heracles and Poseidon.<sup>65</sup> This tradition is expressed on coins through, for example, the depiction of the Labours of Heracles on the issues of Sauromates II,<sup>66</sup> and the portrayal of the king as Poseidon with the attributes of Heracles, being crowned by Nike, as on the coins of Sauromates II and Rhescuporis II [Pl. IV.3; Sauromates II].<sup>67</sup>

<sup>61</sup> P.O. Burachkov, *Obshchii katalog monet, prinallezhashchikh ellinskim koloniyam, sushchestvovavshim v drevnosti na severnom beregu Chernogo Morya* (Odessa 1884), pl. 28, no. 157.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 30, no. 229

<sup>63</sup> For a comparison of these titles see V.V. Latyshev's introduction to the second volume of *IOSPE*, entitled 'Historia regni Bosporani', 46 ff. For a translation of this work into Russian with many additions, see his V.V. Latyshev, *Pontika* (St Petersburg 1909), 112 ff.

<sup>64</sup> See *IOSPE* II, 358 [= *CIRB* 1048].

<sup>65</sup> See *IOSPE* II, 41; Latyshev, *Pontika* 113 f. [= *CIRB* 53].

<sup>66</sup> Burachkov, *op. cit.*, pl. 30, nos. 230–238.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 30, nos. 228, 229 and pl. 32, no. 285.



However, alongside and gradually replacing this Hellenistic-Thracian tradition of vassaldom was a new and different tradition which no-one has yet described. This tradition which links the royal power of Bosphorus with Iran or, more accurately, with the tradition of the Scythian kings sketched out above, grew stronger in Bosphorus during the epoch of the last Spartocids. It begins with Eupator and achieves its greatest flowering under Sauromates II, Rhescuporis II and Cotys III. The awakening of this ancient tradition is attested by the character of the burials and the burial artefacts from this period,<sup>68</sup> and by the bronze coins of the kings named above and those of their successors [24]. Particularly representative of this relationship are three interments in two *kurgan* burials, one of which was excavated in 1837, the other in 1841. The items found in the three burials within these two mounds have been published in *Drevnostyakh Bosfora Kimmeriiskogo*, where there are only meagre comments about the circumstances of the discovery and the burial ritual.<sup>69</sup> It would be most desirable to republish all the data about these findings, re-establish the burial ceremony and compare all of the objects found there using new reproductions. There can be no doubt that both burial mounds – one on an elevation above Glinishche, the other near a quarry – contain not only burials from the same period, but burials of members of the same royal family. This is shown by the complete uniformity of all the objects, especially the gold funeral diadems, and the close formal similarity among all items, offering typical examples of that style which leads directly to the so-called Gothic style, as well as an entire assemblage of objects directly associated with royal power and royal attire. Moreover, by a happy coincidence, both mounds are dated. In one (1841), impressions from coins of the reign of Rhescuporis II were found, in the other (1837) dishes with his name which date evidently also from the time of Rhescuporis II, to judge from the style of the artefacts and its close similarity to that of the objects found in the 1841 tombs. I therefore venture to suggest that in our burial sites we have interments of the family of the Bosphoran king, Rhescuporis II, although I would not go so far as to assert that he himself might have been buried in one of these tombs.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Unfortunately, I cannot discuss this subject here, as it would lead me to stray too far from the focus of this article. However, I cannot avoid expressing my regret that nothing, to date, has been done to reconstruct the burial rites in *kurgan* burials of the Roman period.

<sup>69</sup> See *ABC*, text to pl. 1 and pl. 3.3 and 5.

<sup>70</sup> A stone-built tomb in the same mound, containing the remains of a female inhumation, yielded another gold wreath. These objects appear to be from the same period as our two tombs, which is completely out of keeping with the discovery here of a lekythos decorated in the red-figure technique (see *ABC* pl. 58.6–7). However, I have not been able to study the originals of these artefacts and hence cannot judge the accuracy of Ashik's remarks published in *ABC*. This third burial does not have any significance for our two interments; it could belong to a considerably earlier period and have been covered by the burial mound associated with Rhescuporis II.

The 1837 tomb is particularly rich in artefacts and famed for its gold funeral mask.<sup>71</sup> Mainly two objects from this female elite burial are of interest to us: first, a silver sceptre, published together with the sceptre from the Kul-Oba crypt, which is indeed very similar to our piece (on both its ends we find a simple rounded knob) [25];<sup>72</sup> secondly, a diadem resembling that found in the burial of the 1841 mound so closely in every detail as to suggest the two were made as a pair.<sup>73</sup> In this diadem the central place is taken by a four-sided plaque decorated with stones at the corners, instead of the emblems that are typical for this type of diadem, such as gold impressions from coins, usually of Roman emperors. On the plaque is a relief image of a rider on a horse standing at rest. The rider is beardless, long-haired and dressed in Sarmatian costume. In his right hand he holds up a large rhyton, as though he were displaying it; in the left he appears to grasp the reins. In front of him stands a cylindrical altar with a flame [Pl. V.1].

The pendant to this valuable diadem was discovered in the 1841 grave, in a wooden coffin with a lead covering. The male skeleton, on whose skull the diadem was found, was covered in purple material woven with gold thread. Beside the skeleton lay a sword and a spear, a knife with the remains of gilding, a dagger with the same gilding,<sup>74</sup> and a whetstone. At the feet were several vessels, some of alabaster, the remains of a bridle,<sup>75</sup> and a gold plaque with a representation of Nike.<sup>76</sup> In the ground near the coffin were two sheet-gold impressions from the reverse side of a coin of the period of Rhescuporis II (AD 211–228). The diadem in this grave differs from the queen's diadem only in that we have a different design on the plaque covering the forehead. It shows a long-haired, beardless rider on a horse standing at rest and facing to the right, with its left leg raised. The rider grasps the reins in his left hand, while the right is raised in a gesture of veneration: that is, with the palm facing forwards. The rider is dressed in typical local attire. Behind him, to the right, Nike is about to place a crown on his head [Pl. V.2].<sup>77</sup>

This description already shows beyond doubt that we are dealing with precisely the same theme on both plaques: the bestowal of the king's authority by a god, just as in the scene depicted on the rhyton from Karagodeuashkh. The rider hold-

<sup>71</sup> *ABC* pl. 1.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 2.5.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 3.4.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 28.7.

<sup>75</sup> A pendant to the bridle in the 1837 tomb; see *Ibid.*, pl. 29.17.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 24.6.

<sup>77</sup> Outside South Russia (where one such gold mask was also found in Olbia, as is well-known, and another in the Kiev district) gold masks have been excavated in Mesopotamia and date to the period of the Parthian dominion; see Tolstoy and Kondakov III, 24, *cf.* I, 66 ff.

ing the rhyton on the panel from the queen's diadem is indisputably the supreme god, as is also shown by the burning altar. Like the god on the rhyton [26] from Karagodeuashkh, he holds out a drinking horn, obviously offering it to the king who is standing opposite him in the composition which served as the model for our panels. This king is depicted in a pose of veneration on the diadem from the 1841 grave – the grave of the king or of a member of his family. His royal status is confirmed by the depiction of Nike in the act of crowning him. If we acknowledge the extensive similarity between the composition of the panels and the rhyton, then we become still more aware of the similarity between the panels and the Sasanian reliefs mentioned above, if only in the pose of the horses. Yet, is it possible that the emblems on our diadems are neither characteristic nor typical, and appeared there accidentally as a reflection of a long-forgotten and obsolete image repertoire? This suggestion is *a priori* unlikely as is shown beyond doubt by our examination of the bronze coins of the Bosporan kings, beginning with those of Eupator. From this period, we notice a highly significant change in the varieties of the coins' reverse designs. Depictions of the vassal type become increasingly rare, and are gradually superseded by images of a different kind. To begin with, the Thracian rider king, armed and galloping, disappears completely and is replaced by a very different royal image, corresponding in almost every detail to the type of king from the gold panels described above. We have a depiction of a long-haired, bearded king, seated on a large and sturdy horse facing to the right, with its left front leg raised. The king wears either a long, belted coat of mail of Sarmatian type [Pl. IV.6; Rhescuporis II] or an ordinary tunic [Pl. IV.9; Sauro-mates II], and usually a cloak, leggings and boots. His right hand is always extended forwards, with the fingers stretched out (a detail to which the engraver gives special emphasis), sometimes with the palm facing forward. In his left hand he holds the reins and a very long sceptre, almost touching the ground. In almost every detail this sceptre corresponds to the god's sceptre in the Karagodeuashkh rhyton, as indeed to the queen's sceptre from the mound of 1837. At each end the sceptre has spherical finials, and at the upper end, just below the upper finial, another sphere has been added.

It is perfectly possible that this image shows the investiture of the king by a god. The divinity itself is usually not portrayed on coins with the depiction of a rider, but we know of one significant exception. On one coin design from the time of Eupator, apparently the archetype of the entire series,<sup>78</sup> we find on the obverse an engraving of a king on a horse and on the principal side two [27] heads, turned towards each other, rather than the usual head of the king. One

<sup>78</sup> Burachkov, *op. cit.*, pl. 32, no. 287.

head is male and bearded, with a radiate crown; the other is a woman's head, wearing a *kalathos* [Pl. IV.12].<sup>79</sup> One might assume that the head with the radiate crown was a Roman emperor, but our head does not resemble any one emperor – rather does it resemble Eupator himself, although I doubt that he would have represented himself in the guise of the Unconquered Sun. The female head is easier to interpret as she has already appeared sporadically on the coins of Gegaepyris [Pl. IV.10] and, as we will see below, depicts Aphrodite Urania-Astarte-Anahita, with whom we are already familiar. Therefore it seems very probable that the male head represents a god – the supreme god of the sun and the male consort of Aphrodite Urania. If, however, I am mistaken in my interpretation of this head, and it should be seen as a portrayal of the king with a nimbus on his head (like the Persian Hvareno), then the coin type I have described, which reappears in later periods, turns out to be highly significant. It would seem that the godhead who granted power in the Bosporean kingdom was the female supreme goddess, Aphrodite Urania, whose temple stood near Phanagoria and with whose early history we are already acquainted. By this period she evidently featured as the official goddess of the kingdom, like Ma and Anahita in Pontus and Cappadocia. It is notable that in the period under consideration she often appears with a crowned tower on her head, instead of the *kalathos*.

Our conclusion finds further confirmation in the following observations. I have already referred to the roughly simultaneous disappearance from Bosporean bronze issues in the second half of the 2nd century AD of types conveying the concepts of vassaldom and victory. Towards the 3rd century, two new varieties begin to dominate – the mounted king already described and the goddess seated on a throne. The portrayal of this goddess is highly uniform and consistent. Sometimes she is seated on a simple wooden throne with a tall, straight back, and sometimes on a throne with armrests carved in the shape of lions' or griffins' paws. On her head she always wears a *kalathos* or a (towered) mural crown. In her extended right hand she usually holds a globe and in the left a sceptre with two circular knobs, of the type with which we are already familiar. Sometimes, however, she is depicted without any attributes. She is usually shown alone, sometimes with Eros standing before her [Pl. IV.13–15]. One type of coin from the reign of Rhescuporis II is particularly curious [Pl. IV.13]. It shows the goddess on the usual throne, facing to the left, but in her right hand she holds a patera instead of a globe, from which she offers the sacrament to Eros standing before her [28].<sup>80</sup> In her left hand she holds

<sup>79</sup> Pl. IV.12 shows the variant with the monogram MH on the reverse, with an obverse as described above.

<sup>80</sup> Burachkov, *op. cit.*, pl. 32, no. 282.

the familiar globe, while beside her in the countermark we occasionally find a bust of the king, turned towards her [Pl. IV.14]. A golden medallion found in the Kuban region shows almost exactly the same image.<sup>81</sup> The medallion is now in the collection of Count D.I. Tolstoy, to whose generosity I am indebted for permission to republish this curious find [Pl. II.3]. The goddess is seated on a throne, the front legs of which are shaped in the form of two Erotes, one raising his right hand, the other his left. In her right hand is what may be a patera, in her left a globe. Her headdress is not clearly recognisable: it may be of the very same type as that on the head of the goddess from the gold plaque found in the Karagodeuashkh *kurgan*. But I do not understand the significance of the raised rectangular panel over the transverse crossbeam at the back of the chair.

These variations are extremely instructive. To judge from the presence of Erotes, one cannot doubt that we have before us a typical representation of the chief goddess of Bosphorus, Aphrodite Urania. It is not surprising that this variation holds sway virtually unchallenged over all coins in the 3rd century AD, especially during its second half.<sup>82</sup> The goddess is portrayed as a genuinely royal deity, with a royal sceptre and a sphere. The sphere and sceptre are decorated above and below, and she is proffering the sceptre to a king. She participates in mystic communion, like the goddess in the Kul-Oba plaque, and belongs therefore to a mystery cult. She is evidently sharing the sacrament of power between herself and the king. Epigraphic details concur with this interpretation of the goddess of the Bosporan kingdom. We recall that, besides the dedication of Aphrodite Urania in the epoch of the Spartocids in Panticapaeum and Phanagoria, we encounter dedications of her even in Roman times.<sup>83</sup> But it is even more significant that in AD 105 (if Dubois de Montpéroux copied the date correctly from the inscription) Sauromates I [29] restored the damaged or deteriorating sanctuary of Aphrodite in Phanagoria, which possibly signifies one of the first incidents in the rebirth of the cult.<sup>84</sup> Thus under Rhoemetalces in AD 151 we have the following curious and, unfortunately, little-used inscription:

<sup>81</sup> See Tolstoy and Kondakov II, 45, fig. 32.

<sup>82</sup> It is curious to note that in the Panticapaeian tombs, especially in those tombs from the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, a bust of Aphrodite with one or two Erotes is frequently depicted on ordinary sheet-gold bridle plaques, many of which had been struck from the same die (V.V. Shkorpil, *IAK* 40, 88, fig. 30, with further references. For the same type in Chersonesus, see *OAK* 1896, 76, fig. 323, in steppe burials *OAK* 1895, 62, fig. 141). For the same subject appearing on medallions, possibly from spears, see *ABC* pl. 24. 12 (cf. *OAK* 1872, xvi; *IAK* 47, 22, fig. 13; with S. Reinach's commentary on the plate in *ABC* just mentioned).

<sup>83</sup> For such a dedication in Kerch see *IOSPE* II, 28 [= *CIRB* 35].

<sup>84</sup> *IOSPE* II, 352. If Dubois de Montpéroux's date is incorrect, then the dedicant is more likely to have been Sauromates II [= *CIRB* 1045].

Τιβέριος Ἰούλιος βασιλεὺς | Ῥοιμητάλκης φιλόκαισαρ καὶ φιλορώμαιος εὐσεβὴς τὰς ὑπὸ  
| Ἀητοδώρα ἀνατεθείσας γέας | ἐν Θιαννέοις καὶ τοὺς πελάτας | κατὰ τὸν παρακείμενον  
τελαμῶνα χρόνῳ μειωθέντα σοναθροίσας ἅπαντα καὶ πλεονάσας ἀπεκατέστησε τῇ  
Θ[ε]ῶι σῶα δι' ἐπιμελεί[α]ς Ἀ[λ]εξάνδρου Μυρρίνου | τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν. ἡμν', μὴν |  
'Ἀπελλάίῳ κ'.

From this inscription we can conclude not only that Aphrodite's temple enjoyed the king's special regard and particular attention from the aristocracy,<sup>86</sup> but also that, from an economic perspective, it was organised precisely like the large temples of the ancient Persians in Asia Minor, with their own landholdings and serfs.

Towards what conclusions are we led by the research discussed above? We must conclude that the state, in regulating itself, once again underwent from the 2nd century AD onwards strong Iranian influence, simultaneous with its attainment of relative independence and self-sufficiency. This 'Iranisation' affected both religion and royal power. Whereas the Bosporan king continued to be represented as a vassal of Rome on gold coins, on the smaller-denomination coins used by his own subjects he appears in the aspect of a king ruling by the divine grace, having received the signs of his authority from a god.<sup>87</sup> [30] It is not accidental that, at the very same time, the identical process occurs in Sasanian Persia too, and that the art employed for its immortalisation assumes the same forms as in Bosphorus. However, this historical development went further in Bosphorus. Together with Aphrodite Urania, the male supreme god once again becomes increasingly prominent, with a new aspect which blends

<sup>85</sup> *IOSPE* II, 353 [= *CIRB* 976].

<sup>86</sup> ἡ θεὸς is evidently Aphrodite: that is, the goddess of Phanagoria κατ' ἐξοχήν. There is no evidence of temples to other goddesses in Phanagoria, and it is unlikely that we can ascribe the high degree of orientalised of an entire layer of religious life expressed in this inscription to any other goddess. The appearance of a particular magistrate of this cult is entirely in keeping with the Iranian monarchy: ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν – i.e. the heir, as evidenced in Pontus and Cappadocia, of the high priest of the main temple, and the second highest individual after the king (see M. Rostowzew, *Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Kolonates* [Leipzig/Berlin 1910], 270 ff., cf. *RE* s.v. 'Hierodouloi' VIII, 1459 ff. [Hepding]). V.V. Latyshev was the first to give the correct interpretation of this inscription, which had been rendered unintelligible by the stone cutter's grammatical errors and the unlikely reading of Σωλ instead of σωα in the original publication.

<sup>87</sup> In the inscription of Tiberius Iulius Tiranus, *IOSPE* II, 29 (AD 275–288) [= *CIRB* 36], the supreme gods of Bosphorus appear in the guise of divine vapour Ζεὺς σωτήρ καὶ Ἥρα. The epithet θεοὶ ἐπουράνιοι shows that we are not dealing with the Greek Hera and Zeus. Their significance as the principal gods of the kingdom is emphasised by the dedication to them of the entire court, organised in a special sacral college under the name ἀριστοπολεῖται. However, in this inscription we can already see how the supreme masculine god, θεὸς ὕψιστος, again comes to the forefront as in the dedications from Tanais of the same period. It is characteristic that also in the Tanais dedications there appeared the triad of Irano-Semitic gods already familiar to us: Zeus (Ormuzd), Ares (Mithras), and Aphrodite (Anahita-Astarte); see *IOSPE* II, 423 (AD 193) [= *CIRB* 1061].

ancient Iranian and Semitic features with the Phrygian Sabazius from Asia Minor, the latter combining a number of elements of the one supreme god – the Jewish Sabaoth.<sup>88</sup>

### III. The Mounted Mithras and the Monuments of his Cult

The monuments from South Russia of the Early Hellenistic period discussed above, depicting a mounted god opposite a mounted king standing upon defeated foes, can only become clear to us through comparison with the considerably later monuments of the Sasanian period – monuments which, being products of the national renewal of Persia, harked back to the ancient tradition of the local population. In Bosphorus we also found a reflection of this renewal in a somewhat earlier period in the Sarmatianised and Iranised kingdom of the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. The religious and artistic tradition which inspired this renewal was doubtlessly preserved within Persia itself as it was in countries culturally independent of her. To be sure, the Sasanian renaissance with which we are dealing was a manifestation rather than the origin of this ancient tradition, enriching it with new elements from the creative arts. The conclusions we have reached are important from the point of view of religious history, not only for the light they shed on the development of the concept of royal power by the grace of god: for at the same time they give us an interesting insight into the contemporaneous depiction of the mounted supreme god of Persia – Ahura Mazda or Mithras – in his typical representation as a vanquishing deity together with slain or [31] overthrown foes, trampled by his horse. This clear symbol of Iranian dualism was not only adopted within Iran, including Parthia and the Iranised nations, but tenaciously survived in them until recent times, almost to the present day.

This interesting fact calls into question how and when the conception of Ahura Mazda or Mithras as mounted gods came into being, and whether there is any evidence for this conception outside the Bosporan kingdom. I find that the point of departure for this difficult and complicated research is another late Sasanian monument – a carved chalcedony seal of rather crude craftsmanship. Judging from my acquaintance with two variants of the same image on seals of this type, I find it probable that seals bearing similar designs circulated widely in Sasanian Persia and expressed contemporary religious conceptions. One of these seals is in the possession of the Academician N.P. Kondakov (purchased by him in South

<sup>88</sup> It is curious that Aphrodite Urania is honoured in the same places where the cult of θεὸς ὤψιστος is encountered; see G.M. Hirst, 'The cults of Olbia: part II', *JHS* 23 (1903), 27; Jessen, *RE* I, 2671 f.; F. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* (Leipzig 1909), 191. This θεὸς ὤψιστος tends to merge with Mithras; see the inscription in Cumont, *Textes et monuments* II, 92.



Russia), while another can be found in the Imperial Hermitage (acquired by purchase).<sup>89</sup>

The first of these seals is the larger (0.024–0.0225 m) and gives a more detailed representation [Pl. I.3]. The entire field of the seal is covered by a depiction of two riders standing opposite each other. The riders are mounted on large, heavy horses: the one to the right is raising its right front leg, the one to the left its left front leg. The only detail one is able to make out in these crudely composed figures of riders is the brow area between the ears of the horses. The hands of the figures are not shown. Stars and half-moons are depicted between the horses, and beneath them lies the prone figure of an injured enemy who appears to be wearing a long vestment of some kind. On the upper edge of the stone is an inscription – *apestan* (hope), according to the interpretation of Academician K.G. Zaleman. The stone in the Imperial Hermitage (0.020–0.019 m) has the same inscription and the same representation. The gestures of the riders' hands are visible: each rider has a hand raised (one the left hand, the other the right) in a gesture denoting prayer. The attributes of stars and the defeated enemy are absent. The scheme underlying both these examples is very familiar to us. The difference to the monumental reliefs lies only in our inability to determine which of the figures in the seal stones represents the king. Before us is beyond doubt a divine pair, the doubling of one and the same [32] divinity. This is confirmed by the inscription, which represents, according to Academician Zaleman, an abbreviation of the standard formula 'Hope in God'.<sup>90</sup>

It is therefore clear that in Sasanian Persia the group which interests us represents not always a god and a king; instead, it is possible that the basic form was that of the two heraldic figures, a form typical of Eastern art, where it could depict the same god or two closely associated gods. The character of the gods is clearly indicated by the presence of stars and half-moons. Thus, the rider god of light undoubtedly had firmly caught on in Persia and had put down deep roots. It would seem strange if this particular iconographical variant of the god, which was almost certainly – as far as we can judge from the Karagodeuashkh rhyton – of Greek rather than local origin, had not left traces beyond Persia and Bosphorus, at a time when Iranian religious concepts were so widely distributed throughout the Roman empire, chiefly in the form of the cult of Mithras Tauroctonos. Although Cumont denies the existence of widely distributed depictions of Mithras as a rider god in his wonderful comparative studies and researches on monuments pertaining

<sup>89</sup> Stones of our type are not mentioned in the excellent work by P. Horn and G. Steindorff, *Sasanidische Siegelsteine. Staatliche Museen Berlin, Mitteilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen* 4 (Berlin 1891). Evidently, no stones of this kind were in the Berlin collection in 1891.

<sup>90</sup> On this legend, typical in Sasanian carved stones, see Horn and Steindorff, *op. cit.*, 37, no. 39.

to the Mithras cult,<sup>91</sup> it seems to me that he is mistaken. I believe that, while the representation of Mithras on horseback was not as popular as the widespread Anatolian-derived representation of Mithras slaying a bull, it was still not unusual. Above all, I see no reason to doubt that the cult statue of the sanctuary of Mithras in Trapezus was not as usual a relief of Mithras Tauroctonos, but a representation of Mithras riding a horse. Since the publication of the Papadopoulos-Kerameus texts we have known that the Mithras cult was firmly rooted in Trapezus and remained so until a late period.<sup>92</sup> It is impossible to doubt any longer that the figure of a mounted god appearing on the coins of Trapezus from the rule of the emperor Trajan onwards [33], with a Phrygian cap, Persian clothes and his head close to the horse's head, represents any other god than Mithras.<sup>93</sup> Accordingly, we can reject the figure's identification with Men, as suggested by Roscher, or with a synthesis of Men and Mithras, as hypothesised by Cumont.<sup>94</sup> This much is clear from the fact alone that nothing on the coins refers to Men – the ubiquitous half-moon behind the shoulders of the god in one of the variations of his image is not found on any of the imperial coins of Trapezus.<sup>95</sup> Furthermore, Men on horseback is by no means the most common image of this god: indeed, his 'horsemanship' is likewise a variation, as in depictions of other Anatolian, Syrian and Iranian gods of light (see below, [Rostovtzeff's] p. 35). The supposition that this figure depicts Mithras is on the other hand supported by the presence of his usual attributes and accompanying figures. Thus, in the more detailed representation on the coins of Severus Alexander we find the same Mithras Tauroctonos entourage as on the votive reliefs – a tree and an altar, Cautes and Cautopates, a raven flying above, and a snake below.<sup>96</sup> A coin of Julia Domna attests to certain modifications, if I am

<sup>91</sup> See Cumont, *Textes et monuments*; cf. F. Cumont, *Die Mysterien des Mithra*, trans. G. Gehrich, rev. ed. (Leipzig 1911) and his *Les religions orientales dans l'empire romain*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1909), cf. German ed. (Leipzig 1910), chapter 6.

<sup>92</sup> See A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Fontes historiae imperii Trapezuntini* (St Petersburg 1897), 8 f. and 63, cf. Cumont, *Textes et monuments* I, 362 f. and 213. On Mithras in Trapezus, see Cumont, *Studia Pontica* (Brussels 1906), 368; *idem*, *Mysterien* 221.

<sup>93</sup> See Cumont, *Textes et monuments* II, 189, no. 3 bis; E. Babelon and T. Reinach, *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure* (Paris 1904), I, 1, 107 ff. (Trapezus). Further literature is cited by Cumont.

<sup>94</sup> W.H. Roscher, 'Über die Reiterstatue Iul. Caesars auf dem Forum Iulium und den ἑπρος προ-τόπους einer Münze des Gordianus Pius von Nikaia (Bithynien)'. *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königlich-Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* (Leipzig 1891), 132 ff.; Cumont, *ibid.* and *Mysterien* 18; cf. Drexler in Roscher II, 2737.

<sup>95</sup> This is definitely confirmed through consultation of Babelon's work. Nor did I find traces of the half-moon on any of the coins in the Trapezus collection of Prince Aleksandr Mikhailovich in the Imperial Hermitage.

<sup>96</sup> Babelon and Reinach, *op. cit.*, no. 39; for the raven see no. 34. The same composition can be found on a coin of Elagabalus; see *ibid.*, no. 26

correct in assuming that the figure behind the god is Nike with a crown.<sup>97</sup> Another significant modification of this variety is the representation of the god beside a column, on which an eagle or a raven is perched and a star placed above.<sup>98</sup> On several of the coins Mithras appears to hold some sort of attribute. I cannot judge whether Roscher and Smirnov are correct in identifying the attribute as a sphere [34].<sup>99</sup> If our deductions are correct, then those rare depictions of Mithras on horseback, which we encounter among ordinary representations of Mithras Tauroctonos, are undoubtedly derived from these notions of Mithras as a rider god. We have one such representation of Mithras, mounted and firing a bow, on the relief from Osterburken.<sup>100</sup> I have not the slightest doubt that Mithras also appears on another relief republished by Cumont.<sup>101</sup> His attribute is very interesting too – a globe or sphere, an attribute which is not at all unique to Men. Indeed, I do not make out any signs characteristic of Men in either of these monuments.<sup>102</sup>

That the variant of the mounted god of light, with all its indications of Iranian-Anatolian origin, dates at least to Hellenistic times is documented by the monuments discussed in Chapter 1, where the clothing and figural type of the rider god is adapted to Irano-Scythian tastes, and by finds of a generally Asiatic character, which may date to the Hellenistic period. I must now begin to discuss a very interesting terracotta found in South Russia. It depicts a youth with a Phrygian cap, facing right and mounted on horseback. Before him is a leafless tree. The horse is of heavy and sturdy build, and adorned with *phalerae*. The youth is dressed in a generic eastern style – in leggings, a tunic and a cloak. In his extended right hand he holds a round metallic vessel of the same shape as the cult vessels which we also encountered on the gold plaque of the headdress from Karagodeuashkh.<sup>103</sup> I do not doubt that the figure represents the Iranian-Anatolian god of the type that presently concerns us. The bronze rider statuettes with spheres in their hands from the Moscow Historical and the Ottoman Museums, published and skilfully analysed

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 19.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 25 (Diadumenianus), no. 50 (Gordian), no. 56 (Philip Iunior).

<sup>99</sup> See Y.I. Smirnov, 'Dve bronzovye statuetki vsadnikov Istoricheskogo Muzeya v Moskve i Ottomanskogo Muzeya v Konstantinopole'. *Arkheologicheskie izvestiya i zametki* 4 (1895), 22. Babelon does not recognise globes on any of the coins he has published. In terms of composition and interpretation the coins of Trapezus closely resemble several carved stones where Mithras is also represented between a tree and an altar, with a radiate crown near his Phrygian cap; see A. Furtwängler, *Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steine im Antiquarium* (Berlin 1896), no. 2935 f. One of these carved stones originates from Tehran.

<sup>100</sup> Cumont, *Textes et monuments* II, 350, no. 246, fig. 10, cf. I, 174.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 424, no. 310, fig. 357.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, II, no. 304 and nn. on p. 424.

<sup>103</sup> The terracotta is published in *OAK* 1877, Atlas VI, 17, cf. Stefani, Appendix 270 ff.; Smirnov, *op. cit.*, 17.

by Y.I. Smirnov, can also be included in the same group. Smirnov himself notes the impossibility of reconstructing the shoulders of these riders with the half-moon typical of Men, which as a matter of fact eliminates the probability of their classification as representations of the god Men. It is even less likely that they can be identified with the conventional barbarian in Anatolian dress hunting hares, a typical figure among the South Russian terracottas [35].<sup>104</sup> But we must not forget that even the representation of Mithras Tauroctonos in South Russian terracottas is unusual.<sup>105</sup> The same type familiar from several statues of the Sidonian Mithras is variously reflected in our region, as Cumont pointed out, and I do not find definite reasons for recognising a synthesis of Mithras and Attis.<sup>106</sup>

It is therefore certain that in those countries influenced by Iranian culture, Iranian religion and the living forms of Hellenistic art, Mithras found a representation suitable for his nature and for the way of life of the nations who worshipped him: that is, he was depicted mounted in a serene ritual pose. In several monuments the influence of Greek representations of the hunter god can also be seen, but this iconographical scheme failed to take root and remained isolated, for it was not characteristic of the god's nature. Other gods of light from Asia Minor and Syria underwent the very same process of modification in Asia Minor. Men has already been discussed. More interesting in this respect is another god of Asia Minor and of northern Syria who, from the Late Hellenistic period onwards, was usually known in Asia as θεὸς Σώζων.<sup>107</sup> I am not going to digress into the research on this god's cult and its various local manifestations in Asia Minor. However, for me it is important to stress the fact that he is closely related to the Syrian sun god, identified in Asia Minor with Helios and Apollo, and is similarly closely linked to Mithras, whose struggle with Helios and their eventual truce represented on Mithraic reliefs was in Asia Minor the very core of the mythology of Mithras.<sup>108</sup> For me it is beyond question that this myth expresses the victorious struggle of Iranian religious elements with Semitic ones on the soil of Asia Minor, as seen, naturally, from the point of view of the adepts of the Iranian cult. It is interesting that this struggle led,

<sup>104</sup> See for example *ABC*, pl. 64.2; cf. the bibliographical references in the re-edition *ABC* (1892), 113.

<sup>105</sup> See Cumont, *Textes et monuments* II, 191, 5, cf. *idem*, *Mysterien des Mithra*, rev. ed. (Leipzig 1911), 18.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 221.

<sup>107</sup> In the near future, the literature on this god will be surveyed in the article on Σώζων in Roscher's lexicon. For the moment, a good treatment of the literature and the relevant archaeological evidence can be found in the abovementioned article by Y.I. Smirnov in *Arkheologicheskie izvestiya i zametki* 4 (1895), 18 ff., with further literature cited in Drexler's article on Men, in Roscher II, 2756 and in Eisele, *ibid.*, III, 2, 262 f. (article on Sabazius).

<sup>108</sup> See Cumont, *Mysterien* 116 and 120.

on the Anatolian side, to a doubling of the solar divinity, and also to his inclusion into a single triad with a female divinity representing the fertility of the earth – namely, with one of the hypostases of Anahita-Ishtar-Diana. I have in mind the interesting relief from Mossyna in Phrygia [36], where two solar gods with battle-axes and paterae stand on either side of a goddess, depicted in the style of Ephesian Aphrodite.<sup>109</sup> We must not forget that Ramsay himself, on the basis of unconfirmed data, drew attention to the strong connection between the mystical cults of Anatolia and especially of Phrygia with Mithraism.<sup>110</sup>

I note that even in the north of Syria the mounted Helios is typical, and that elements of Persian influence on this god have been observed quite recently. I have in mind a relief with a representation of a youthful god on horseback carrying a whip and a quiver, wearing *Persian costume* (without a Phrygian cap); the relief was dedicated to θεῶ Γεννέξ πατρώω by an individual with a *Persian name*.<sup>111</sup>

In relation to this, a monument in the Berlin Antiquarium takes on a special meaning, even if its provenance is unfortunately unknown [Pl. VI.1].<sup>112</sup> In general, the god depicted does not differ in any significant point from the Σώζων familiar from Syria and Asia Minor: we recognise the same battle-axe and the same costume. But a set of attributes is new, including the defeated enemy lying prostrate under the hooves of the horse, the two cypress trees framing the background of the relief at the sides and the two snakes rising from the trees, which form a kind of arch over the central composition. The snakes, each holding a mask in its mouth, were correctly identified with the Mithraic Aeon by Hampel. Moreover, the solar

<sup>109</sup> See W.M. Ramsay, 'The cities and bishoprics of Phrygia'. *JHS* 4 (1883), 378; Smirnov, *op. cit.*, 20, 12; W.R. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia: Being an Essay of the Local History of Phrygia from the Earliest Times to the Turkish Conquest* (Oxford 1895–97), 144, 32.

<sup>110</sup> See W.R. Ramsay, 'The Tekmorian guest-friends: an anti-Christian society on the imperial estates at Pisidian Antioch'. In *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Aberdeen 1906), 305 ff., and *idem*, 'The Tekmoreian guest-friends'. *JHS* 12 (1912), 154 f.

<sup>111</sup> See L. Heuzey, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions* (1902), 190 ff., pl. 1; cf. R. Dussaud, *Notes de mythologie syrienne* (Paris 1903–05), 52 ff.; C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale* (Paris 1903), V, 154; F. Cumont, 'L'aigle funéraire des Syriens et l'apothéose des empereurs'. *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 62 (1910), 153; he is also mentioned in *RE* VII, 1174 (s.v. 'Genaios') and in S. Arthur Strong, 'The exhibition illustrative of the provinces of the Roman empire, at the Baths of Diocletian, Rome'. *JRS* 1 (1911), 23 f. There is an interesting relief in *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes, Beiblatt* 11 (1908), 199 (S. Reinach, *Répertoire de reliefs grecs et romains* [Paris 1912], II, 168, 3: a stele from Dorylea in the Ottoman Museum).

<sup>112</sup> The piece was purchased in Rome and is now in the Berlin Antiquarium; see T. Antonescu, *Cultul cabirilor in Dacia, studiu archeologic, si mythologic asupra unor monumente antice* (Bucharest 1889), 4 ff.; J. Hampel, *Archaeologiai értesítő* 23 (1903), 321 ff.; Reinach, *op. cit.*, II, 30, 3; E. Gerhard, *AZ* 12 (1854), 209 ff., pl. 65.3; Becker, *Neujahrsblatt des Vereins für Geschichte und Altertumskunde zu Frankfurt am Main* (1862), 23; F. Lenormant, 'Sabazius', *RA* 29 (1875), 50; Drexler in Roscher II, 2744; Eisele in *ibid.*, III, 2, 234 (under the entry Sabazius other remarks may be found).

element of the relief is underlined by the presence of a sun and a moon and two stars nearby in the corners of the field. The god's consorts – to the left a bearded man with a torch or a rhyton in his raised right hand, and to the right a beardless man holding what must be a rhyton in his raised right hand – are dressed in the clothing of *Cautes* and *Cautopates* of the Mithraic reliefs. Below, apart from sacrificial [37] animals (a bull and a ram), we also see the Mithraic raven, and in the upper left corner, above the bearded consort, we can make out the head of another ram. Altars are visible in the background and the right foreground. Finally, in the lower part of the image we have a lamp and a *kantharos*. But the most interesting point here is that the god is joined by a goddess, depicted in profile facing to the left, with her hands extended towards the rider. Below her in the lower border is an altar with a fish upon it. Without straying into a discussion of the instruments of the cult, which are more or less identical in all mystery religions,<sup>113</sup> I would emphasise, alongside the elements of the Mithras cult already mentioned, the defeated enemy so familiar to us and yet so untypical for representations relating to the cults of Syria and Asia Minor, and the rhyta in the hands of the consorts, readily recognisable to us as symbols of communion. Both the goddess and the altar with the fish are therefore new features.

We encounter the majority of these novelties again in a series of reliefs in stone, bronze and lead, which to this day have not been satisfactorily explained. They lack only the attribute of the god in the Berlin relief, the battle-axe, the only item which connects him to the mounted god of Asia Minor and Syria, suggesting that the god on the Berlin relief had entered an unfamiliar entourage. On the other hand, his beard connects him to the iconography of *Sabazius*, and constitutes therefore another exception within the series of reliefs we are examining. The series of small relief tablets just mentioned is relatively coherent and probably belongs to roughly the same period. Unfortunately, due to the absence of any inscriptions they cannot be accurately dated.<sup>114</sup> One can only establish that the reliefs become progressively cruder, deteriorating into mere suggestions of the design. The better reliefs, to judge by their style of representation, can hardly be earlier than the 2nd century AD. The area of distribution of these reliefs is comparatively limited, with most examples reported from Dacia and Pannonia, as well as Lower Moesia, fewer from Thrace and the other Danubian provinces. Only one has been found in Italy (in Terracina). The remaining areas of Europe have yet to yield any of those reliefs, and likewise none of them is known from the Southern and [38] Eastern provinces

<sup>113</sup> Thus, the bull and the ram doubtlessly refer to the *taurobolia* and the *criobolia* as does the ram's head: see below, [Rostovtzeff's] p. 52. The *kantharos* and lamp are typical too.

<sup>114</sup> See below, [Rostovtzeff's] p. 59.

of Rome. For the most part, the reliefs are kept in the museums of Hungary and Bucharest, supplemented by individual examples in Sofia and Belgrade. They are made either from stone or lead, rarely clay, and the variation in medium is reflected in the rendering of the subjects. Two bronze tablets, currently in Bucharest, are markedly different from the others and correspond closely to the Berlin tablet. Near them we find a group of comparatively small stone reliefs, for the most part very crude, some in the shape of typical Thracian reliefs, others in the form of discs or ovals. The lead tablets in the shape of an aedicula and the other lead discs differ from the small stone reliefs in a whole series of points, both formal and compositional. To judge from their size and treatment, they were most probably amulets carried on the body or attached to some object, although their possible role as ordinary votives should not be overlooked, despite the total absence of dedicatory inscriptions. With these lead plaques we may associate in turn some cut seal stones, though very few in number. Overall, from all the different categories, Hampel estimates that the entire group of artefacts consist of about one hundred items, a number which is however constantly increasing: indeed, not a year passes without the appearance of new materials and new tablets being reported.

Only very recently has modern science begun to pay attention to these monuments. The Romanian scholar Antonescu was the first to compile a considerable quantity of the relevant material.<sup>115</sup> He was followed by Novotny and Hampel, the latter of whom increased the number of examples significantly and classified them systematically for the first time.<sup>116</sup> Several interesting specimens were published almost simultaneously by Hoffiler,<sup>117</sup> Nowotny,<sup>118</sup> Dobruskii<sup>119</sup> and Kazarow [39].<sup>120</sup> Unfortunately, the majority of the works of these scholars, particularly those by Hampel, were not used by their peers in other countries, and the exciting material which they presented failed to enter general scholarly attention. One obstacle is that Hampel wrote all his work in Hungarian and only two publications (1903 and 1904) were subsequently summarised in German.

<sup>115</sup> See T. Antonescu, *Cultul cabirilor in Dacia* (Bucharest 1889).

<sup>116</sup> From Hampel's publications I would stress the article in *Archaeologiai értesítő* 23 (1903), 305–65 (for references to earlier literature, see *ibid.* and Antonescu's work). A table of contents and remarks on this publication are given by J. Ziehen, *AA* 19 (1904), 11 ff.; J. Hampel, *Archaeologiai értesítő* 25 (1905), 1–16, 116–24; *ibid.*, (1911), 409–25; *ibid.*, (1912), 330–52; also *Budapest régiségei* 8 (1904), 1–47; cf. *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift* (1904), 1229 f.

<sup>117</sup> V. Hoffiler, *Vjesnik hrvatskoga archaeoloskoga društva* 6 (1902), 192–209; *ibid.*, 8 (1905): two articles about the pieces from Divoš and Mitrovica; cf. *Archaeologiai értesítő* 26 (1906).

<sup>118</sup> E. Nowotny, *Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und der Herzegovina* 4 (1896), 296 ff.; cf. R. von Schneider, *Archäologisch epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn* 11 (1887), 16 f.

<sup>119</sup> V. Dobruski, *Arkheologicheski izvestiya na Narodni Muzei v Sofiya* 1 (1908), 141 ff., nos. 198 ff.

<sup>120</sup> G. Kazarow, *ARW* 15 (1912), 153 ff.



I have already noted that the two bronze tablets in the Bucharest Museum differ sharply in form, material and manner of representation from the variety usually found in Danubian countries. Both are very distinctive. The first example shows a figure resembling closely the type of Mithras on the coins from Trapezus – a rider, facing to the right, in customary dress with a Phrygian cap.<sup>121</sup> In the right hand, extended upwards, he holds a rhyton or simpulum – in either case, the god is clearly performing a ritual gesture. Under the hooves of the horse a man lies with his head towards the right and facing down. Before the god and seen from the left, stands a veiled goddess holding a patera in her outstretched right hand. On either side of this central group stands a young man in Persian dress with a Phrygian cap, both similar in their poses and treatment to Cautes and Cautopates. In his lowered right hand the figure to the left holds what may be a lantern and in his right some sort of round object (a sphere?). Two snakes, symbols of the heavenly vault, are above the representation. Below and to the left of the snakes is a fish, to the right a caduceus. A ram's head is visible below the horse, and further down are three cups and an amphora. A comparable relief of the same type can be found in the same museum.<sup>122</sup> In this piece, however, the lower sections of the composition are not shown, including that of the defeated enemy. The rider holds in his raised right hand a large vessel,<sup>123</sup> whereas his consort (only one is shown in this example, standing in the background in the Cautopates pose) holds a rhyton in his raised right hand. Significantly, a fish is placed directly above the woman's head, while the head of the ram is between the rider and the consort.

No-one could deny how closely these reliefs resemble those in Berlin on the one hand, and the South Russian representations of the rider god on the other. The wounded enemy is characteristic, as he is indeed in the Karagodeuashkh rhyton and the Sasanian reliefs. All this suggests that our god is none other than the mounted Mithras. Rather more complicated is the interpretation of the group of numerous small, round or aedicula-shaped reliefs of stone or lead. The representations on these can usually be divided into three, and occasionally four, tiers [40]. In general one may consider in all examples the middle tier as the principal scene, always consisting of two mounted gods in heraldic pose and a goddess between them. Very rarely is the mounted god represented singly; the goddess is always beside him. As far as the composition of the reliefs is concerned they can be divided into *three* categories, corresponding to their separation into groups according to medium. Moving away

<sup>121</sup> Antonescu, *op. cit.*, pls. 1 and 2; Hampel, *Archaeologiai értesítő* 23 (1903), 315, 11.

<sup>122</sup> Antonescu, *op. cit.*, pl. 1; Hampel, *Archaeologiai értesítő* 23 (1903), 314, 10.

<sup>123</sup> For the vessel shape, see O.M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus* (London 1905), 70, pl. 16.

from the relief discussed by Hampel,<sup>124</sup> which forms the unifying core between the bronze reliefs mentioned above and our series, we can place in a single category:

1) The stone tablets with three ordinary tiers and a moderate quantity of additional representations. The representation of the upper register appears in examples of this category in a shortened form in comparison with those of the next. In the central register the goddess is shown sitting or standing before a table on which a fish is placed. She forms the central group which is accompanied by different gods from those in the next category. Finally, in the lower tier there is an original and quite varied choice of representations, for the most part little understood. To this category belong Hampel's reliefs (1903), 328, 18; 325, 19; 326, 20; 327, 22; 328, 23; 331, 26; and 333, 30–39 inclusive.<sup>125</sup> In the same category is Hampel's relief (1905), 117, and several carved seal stones are clearly related, including Hampel (1903), 359, 64; 361, 66; and 362, 67.

2) To the second category belong the two lead tablets Hampel (1903), 340, 40 and 341, 41, forming a transition between the first group and the third. The second of these is closer to the first category, while the first is closer to the third.

3) Finally, the third category also consists, for the greater part, of lead tablets, of which some are disc- and others aedicula-shaped. The composition was created in first-category items; on artefacts from the second category the elements, which are strictly arranged in four tiers in the first series, are randomly distributed. Distinctive features of this third category are the arrangement of the whole tablet in four tiers and the treatment of each separate tier, including the central section. In this category can be placed Hampel's reliefs (1903), 343, 43; 347, 46; 348, 51; 349, 52; 351, 55; (1912), 345, 78; (1906), 40; and the discs (1903), 354, 59; 355, 60; 356, 61. Several reliefs indicate contamination insofar as they combine [41] elements of the first and third groups (Hampel [1903], 358, 62; 359, 63; and [1912], 341, 75; [1905], 15). The Berlin carved stone ([1903], 361, 65) can also be added to this category.

I am inclined to follow Hampel in this classification, basing my judgment on the perusal of the objects illustrated in his works.

After these initial remarks I will proceed to the characterisation of individual subjects depicted on our tablets, concentrating primarily on the central group. However, I must caution that I am not able to give exhaustive analyses of all the monuments with all the variants we have discussed. For this it would be necessary to have access to casts and photographs of all known examples and, moreover, to

<sup>124</sup> See Hampel, *op. cit.*, 318, 13, *cf.* 320, 14.

<sup>125</sup> It is necessary to include in a completely separate category those reliefs singled out by Hampel in *Archaeologiai értesítő* (1911), 417 ff.; *cf. ibid.* (1903), 329, 24 and 330, 25.

inspect them all in their current locations – a task which I find myself unable to accomplish. Besides, the reproductions available in publication are mostly inadequate and likewise I have not been able to make full use of the descriptions in Hampel's publications, as they were written in a language foreign to me. We remain hopeful that in the near future a complete collection of our reliefs will appear, accompanied by excellent photographic reproductions. In its absence, we must satisfy ourselves with discerning the chief outlines of what is clear and important about these objects.

The characteristic features of the two riders in the central group of all the tablets are as follows: they are always dressed in that semi-conventional Eastern costume, which was especially characteristic of Mithras. On their heads they wear the usual Phrygian cap. Rarely only one is shown in a cap (Hampel [1903], 343, 43; [1912], 345, 78); more commonly, both are bareheaded (Hampel [1903], nos. 40, 46, 51, 52, 62, 65; [1912], 334, 93). There is a very interesting carved seal stone published by Antonescu and Hampel in which the rider to the left has a nimbus of rays, while the rider to the right wears a radiate crown on his head.<sup>126</sup> The majority of the riders are represented either in a pose of prayer (or performing some sacred act), or as victorious warriors. Representations of the god in battle are comparatively rare, and those pieces among the reliefs which differ from the others in a large number of details cannot be unreservedly included in our series [42]. The characterisation of the riders as gods of victory is especially typical for the group of stone tablets associated, to a certain extent, with the bronze reliefs which we described above. A link between the two groups is indicated by Hampel's relief (1903), 325, 19, showing two riders clearly distinguished by their attributes: the left holds a rhyton in his right hand, and a slain enemy lies beneath his mount's hooves, while the right lacks these attributes. At the same time, the two riders are linked by the flags which they hold in their hands – *vexilla* of a distinctive design, not at all of the conventional Roman type and not that which was characteristic for reliefs of our class, showing images of dragons.<sup>127</sup> But the right-hand rider is singled out again by the presence of Nike behind him, depicted in the act of crowning him, whereas the left-hand rider is accompanied by a youth in a Phrygian cap, resembling the typical consort known from the bronze tablets of our type. Most of the stone tablets are more distant from the bronze tablets and from our South Russian prototypes. On the stone tablets, the focus is on the gods' victorious nature rather than the scenes' ritual character.<sup>128</sup> This peculiarity is also shared by two seal stones: one from the

<sup>126</sup> Antonescu, *op. cit.*, pl. 8.14; Hampel, *Archaeologiai értesítő* (1903), 362, 67.

<sup>127</sup> The form of these flags is unusual; they strongly resemble *bunchuks* and probably have parallel forms in the east.

<sup>128</sup> See Hampel's comparison of relevant pieces in *Archaeologiai értesítő* (1912), 338 ff.

Berlin Museum and one in an English private collection.<sup>129</sup> Sometimes one rider is depicted in greater detail – either the rider holding the flag or the one crowned by Nike (Hampel [1903], 341, 41; *cf.* [1912], 339 and possibly [1912], 431, 75). In some examples the warlike character of the gods is emphasised by spears held in their hands instead of the flags (Hampel [1912], 333, 90),<sup>130</sup> and occasionally by the appearance of Nike behind the riders, crowning them (Hampel [1912], 334, 93; and our Pl. VII.3).<sup>131</sup>

The attributes discussed must undoubtedly characterise the riders as gods of victory, gods of the invincible, gods of victorious war. I very much doubt that it is possible to use the forms of the flags as a basis to search, as Hampel does, for indications of the monument's dates and of Trajan's victory over the Dacians. It is *a priori* possible that the victorious soldiers ascribed their triumph to their gods and depicted them with the attributes of victory but, first of all, the inconsistency in the design of the flags seems strange and, secondly, the flags are in no way characterised as booty but rather [43] as an attribute original to the god and characteristic of him. One must not forget that the form of the flags is Iranian, and not particularly Dacian. It would have been natural to bring Iranian flags to the Iranian god of victory.<sup>132</sup> The lead tablets in the form of an aedicula give a completely different rendering of the mounted gods.<sup>133</sup> In the lead tablets the riders are performing gestures of prayer (Hampel [1903], 343, 43; 347, 46; 348, 51; 349, 52; 355, 60; 356, 61), the same gesture that is so characteristic of the riders from South Russian finds. The gesture is not directed towards the goddess standing between the riders, making her appear in an ancillary position in relation to the two riders, but rather towards the supreme god opposite, whose four horses occupy almost the entire field in the upper tier of the tablets [Pl. VI.2].

The most distinctive characteristic of our riders, which places them in a unique category and precludes any possible confusion with analogous monuments, is common to all series – the depiction of a defeated enemy under the horses of the riders. The different categories of reliefs give this detail in varying treatments. The series of stone reliefs and the two associated lead reliefs, which seem to reflect a transitory stage between the series in stone and lead, may reserve

<sup>129</sup> Hampel, *Archaeologiai értesítő* (1903), 359, no. 64 and 361, no. 65.

<sup>130</sup> See also Kazarow, *ARW* 15 (1912), I, 2.

<sup>131</sup> See also *ibid.*, I, 1; *cf.* the cut stone in Hampel (1903), 359, 64.

<sup>132</sup> It is with great reluctance that I am forced to express my doubts about Hampel's explanation, given that he provides an excellent chronological framework for the whole of the first group of tablets, entirely compatible with our stylistic analysis. We will see below that, using another means of interpretation, we must date the group under consideration to approximately the same period.

<sup>133</sup> The link between these and the other tablets are the two lead reliefs mentioned above from Virunum and Bucharest, published in Hampel, *Archaeologiai értesítő* (1903), 340, 40 and 341, 41.

this attribute for just one rider (Hampel [1903], 325, 19; 331, 26; 340, 40; 341, 41; 354, 59; see our Pl. VII.5). More often, however, the defeated enemies lie in both categories beneath the hooves of the horses of both riders [Pls. VI.2 and VII.1–4]. A distinctive peculiarity unique to the lead tablets is the enormous fish lying under the hooves of the horse of one of the riders, while a man lies under the other [Pl. VI.2]. This also appears on those reliefs of our third category in which both riders make a gesture of prayer (see Hampel [1903], 343, 43; 347, 46; 348, 51; 349, 52; [1912], 345, 78). It is undeniable that in these reliefs, as in the monuments from South Russia and Sasanian Persia, the defeated man is a symbol, precisely like the fish. Below I will attempt to explain this peculiarity of our artefacts [44].

The female divinity is a constant figure in the central group, appearing seated or standing in varied poses and in different positions relative to the riders on either side of her. In view of the combination of this goddess in the series of stone reliefs (the first in our classification) with a dining table bearing a fish [Pl. VII.3 and 5], and the constant appearance in the lead series of adepts of our fish cult at this mystical *trapeza*, and finally the fish that characterises the goddess on the Budapest bronzes, it seems highly probable to me that the goddess depicted is the great Anatolian and Semitic goddess in whose cult the fish played a most important role, the same goddess who was in Asia Minor naturally combined with the Iranian water goddess, Anahita.<sup>134</sup> However, I do not wish to conceal that even though on the

<sup>134</sup> See Cumont, *Mysterien* 100 f. Dölger was the first to link our goddess with the cult of Atargatis and Derketo, comparing the appropriate material in considerable depth; see F.J. Dölger, *Ἰχθύς: Das Fischsymbol in frühchristlicher Zeit* (Rome 1910) (originally published in *Römische Quartalschrift* 1910), especially chapter 1, para. 12, 143 ff. and chapter 3: 'Der Fisch in den semitischen Religionen des Morgenlandes'. 425 f. For further literature, see I. Scheftelowitz, 'Das Fisch-Symbol im Judentum und Christentum'. *ARW* 14 (1911), 342 and J. Hampel, *Archaeologiai értesítő* (1912), 348 ff. I greatly regret that I do not understand Hampel's critique of Dölger's theory. To the material compiled by Dölger I add only the remark that the fish is by no means only characteristic of Semitic goddesses: it is no less typical for Anatolian and probably pre-Semitic (including Hittite) goddesses of the earth and of fertility. This is witnessed by the pre-Semitic megalithic fishes of Armenia, which will be published by Y.I. Smirnov and N.Y. Marr, and by the association of fishes with the πότνια θηρών on several of her representations from Boeotia and Sparta (see G. Radet, *Cybelé: étude sur les transformations plastiques d'un type divin* [Paris 1909], 37, fig. 50; M.S. Thompson, 'The Asiatic or winged Artemis'. *JHS* 29 [1909], 293, fig. 3; G. Perrot and C. Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité* [Paris 1882–1914], VII, 166, 48). The combination with water birds is also a characteristic and constant trait of this same goddess, which perhaps explains the recurring appearance of water birds and other kinds of animals on the spherical ritual vessels of silver discussed earlier on. Such vessels were closely associated with Aphrodite Urania and are often found in the royal tombs of our southern provinces; see *ABC* pl. 35 (on one of these vessels is a characteristic combination of fish and geese) and the finds made by N.I. Veselovskii in the Chmyrevoi mound; see Veselovskii, 'Chmyrev kurgan'. *Germes* 7 (1910), 302 ff., cf. V.V. Sakhanov, *LAK* 45, 111 ff. The same ornament can be seen on the rhyton published above [Pl. I.1].

stone reliefs (first category) the combination of the goddess with the fish is typical, on the lead reliefs (third category) she appears in the form of a goddess, holding in both hands the stem of her rhyton or a special kind of veil [Pl. VI.2]. Needless to say, for the goddess of fertility – the goddess of the creation of the seasons – such attributes are entirely appropriate. Furthermore, on several reliefs, especially the round pieces of lead, the goddess is closely linked to the horses of the riders and in this [45] aspect resembles the Celtic Epos.<sup>135</sup>

It is quite probable, however, that this similarity to Epos is purely superficial. In any case, I do not consider it accidental that in the Early Hellenistic period the fish was already playing a notable role in those costumes for horses which were such a characteristic feature of the so-called Scythian burials of South Russia. Golden fish in a naturalistic and later increasingly stylised rendering typically serve as brow-bands in the bridle. Their distinctive naturalism is accurate to such a degree that in several cases one can determine even the species of the fish (usually a type of sturgeon). At the present time the following exemplars of this costume are known to us: two fishes (a pair?) found in 1912 by Prof. N.I. Veselovskii in the Solokha burial mound near the village of Bol'shaya Znamenka (Tauride region, Melitopol *uezd*);<sup>136xii</sup> the fish of the famous Vetttersfelde hoard, published by Furtwängler;<sup>137</sup> the fish kept in the Imperial Hermitage among a number of so-called Siberian items;<sup>138</sup> and, finally, the fish found in a burial mound near the village of Volkovets (on the River Sula, Poltava province), which undoubtedly served as a frontlet, not as an adornment to a quiver, as stated in the first publication.<sup>139</sup> Stylised fish were found in the famous Il'netskii burial mound,<sup>140</sup> and in the burial mound of Volkovets village, as mentioned above. Significantly, a similar type of fish was found

<sup>135</sup> The goddess appears closely associated with the horses on the bronze tablets from the museums of Budapest and Berlin, as well as on the reliefs in Hampel (1903), 341, 41; 352, 56; cf. the Berlin carved stone *ibid.* 361, 65 as well as other stones, especially the relief from Carnuntum, *ibid.*, 327, 22. See our Pl. VII.1 and 2.

<sup>136</sup> Unpublished. The circumstances of their discovery leave no doubt as to their significance and their positioning on the horse's face. N.I. Veselovskii will publish the find in the very near future.

<sup>137</sup> A. Furtwängler, *Der Goldfund von Vetttersfelde. 43. Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste* (Berlin 1883), 3 ff.; *idem*, *Kleine Schriften* (Munich 1912), I, 469 ff., especially 484 and 492 f.

<sup>138</sup> Unpublished to this day, although its significance has been rightly stressed by the late G.E. Kizeritskii in his manuscript catalogue of the Nikopol Hall in the Hermitage.

<sup>139</sup> B.I. and V.I. Khanenko (eds.), *Drevnosti Pridneprov'ya Chernogo Morya i poberezh'ya* (Kiev 1899), II, pl. 23, no. 404 and p. 6 (the excavation of Mazaraki, collection Khanenko). The find is dated by the presence of a black slip kylix among the items (*ibid.*, pl. 34, no. 797, cf. pl. 35, no. 807), to a time no earlier than the middle of the 3rd century BC. Compare the golden fish from the area near Smela, in Count A.A. Bobrinskii, *Kurgany i sluchainye arkheologicheskie nakhodki bliz mestechka Smely* (St Petersburg 1901), III, 86, fig. 25.

<sup>140</sup> See B.V. Farmakovskii, *Sbornik staei v chesti gr. A. A. Bobrinskogo* (St Petersburg 1911), 54, pl. 3. On the stylised fish from the burial mound near the village of Volkovets see n. 139 above.

among the artefacts in the Amu-Darya horde.<sup>141</sup> On the other hand, in other horse costumes the ear coverings, which are usually wing-shaped, are made in the form of fish [46]. Examples of this include the coverings from the Tsymbalka tomb, the ear coverings from Olbia (unpublished), and others.<sup>142</sup> It is typical that the frontlet, forming part of the bridle from the Tsymbalka tomb (with fish-shaped ear coverings) is adorned with a representation of a  $\pi\acute{o}\tau\nu\nu\alpha$   $\theta\eta\rho\omega\nu$ . All these occurrences can be explained by the fact that the  $\pi\acute{o}\tau\nu\nu\alpha$   $\theta\eta\rho\omega\nu$  was in Greece, and even more so in the semi-Iranian and pre-Semitic East, the protective goddess of horses. In this respect, several representations of Artemis Orthia in Sparta are particularly revealing.<sup>143</sup> Taking into consideration the spread of the cult of Anahita-Ishtar throughout South Russia, as established above, I would imagine that she serves here as the protective goddess of horses, functionally equivalent to Poseidon in Greece.<sup>144</sup>

Near the central triad in the group of lead plaques in the shape of an aedicula (third category, first group) there appear two accompanying divinities: a female figure (usually placed to the right), lifting her right hand to her face, and a male figure (usually to the left) in full *Greek* armour – in a helmet and mailcoat, with a shield and a spear [Pl. VI.2]. The male figure appears only on the tablets from our series, while the female figure also appears on the tablets in Hampel (1903), 318, 13 and in the upper tier of several round examples of lead (see Hampel [1903], 354, 59 and 355, 60; cf. 356, 61). The association of the female and male figures gives us the key to their interpretation. The Greek costume clearly shows that we are dealing not with the figure of a Roman warrior, but with a divinity such as Ares-Mars, who is habitually represented in this form. If this is the case, then the female divinity must surely be Nemesis, an identification further corroborated by the characteristic gesture of her right hand. Ares and Nemesis were incidentally the preferred protective gods of the soldiers in the Danube army. This explanation for the female figure in the second tier seems to me considerably more satisfactory than Ziehen's proposal for the explanation of the warlike figure as a *miles* (a degree of initiation in the Mithras cult) and of the female figure as  $\Sigma\nu\gamma\gamma\acute{\eta}$ , the embodiment of the secrets of mystical learning.<sup>145</sup> It must be noted that we do not know how  $\Sigma\nu\gamma\gamma\acute{\eta}$  was represented in ancient art, whereas representations [47] of Nemesis are familiar from numerous instances.

<sup>141</sup> See Tolstoy and Kondakov III, 25, fig. 20; cf. O.M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus* (London 1905), pl. 6.16.

<sup>142</sup> Tolstoy and Kondakov II, figs. 99–101.

<sup>143</sup> See Thompson, *op. cit.*, 290 f.

<sup>144</sup> We must note that precisely the representational realism of the fish suggests that its function is not ornamental but rather cultic-apotropaic or defensive. For those aware of how in the east and in the Roman south amulets and ritual symbols were carefully arranged on horses and draught animals, my explanation will appear not only probable, but the only one admissible.

<sup>145</sup> See Ziehen, *AA* (1904), 14 and 15; cf. A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (Leipzig 1903), 42 f.



Our interpretation is also confirmed by the fact that the warlike figure is represented in the same iconographical form in which Mars was usually depicted. Finally, both figures are far from being subordinated to the main ones – in some examples the representation of Nemesis is even transferred into the upper tier.<sup>146</sup>

If our explanation is correct, then these figures give us a good indication of the origins of our tablets: they were without doubt created for the soldiers of the Danube army and express their religious views. In all of our reliefs the upper tier has been treated almost identically (with a few exceptions, where it has been omitted), sometimes a little more detailed, sometimes simplified. The idea of the representations is the same as on those reliefs representing Mithras Tauroctonos – the depiction of the upper spheres of the world. As in the reliefs of Mithras Tauroctonos, busts of the Sun and the Moon and two stars are frequently included. On many reliefs, the heavens are symbolised by two snakes.

A distinctive peculiarity of the most interesting series among our tablets in relation to both our material and the Mithras Tauroctonos reliefs – the lead tablets in the form of an aedicula – is the dominant role of the crowned supreme god on the quadriga, holding a sphere in his left hand and performing the commanding gesture of the ruler of the universe with his left. The gestures of prayer from the riders in the middle tier are apparently directed towards this dominating figure, which takes up the entire field of the upper tier. The large tablet from Divoš in the Zagreb Museum, published by Hoffiler, shows busts of Hesperos and the Moon next to the figure [Pl. VI.2]. As on the reliefs of Sabazius,<sup>147</sup> we are obviously dealing with the sun ruler, the supreme being originating from [48] the Iranian teachings on Ahura Mazda and the cosmic quadriga, and from Assyro-Babylonian ideas about the supreme god of the sun,<sup>148</sup> as well as those teachings about solar pantheism which inspired the notion of an all-powerful and eternal god. It is significant that in our tablets this conception is sharply

<sup>146</sup> On the cult of Nemesis in Pannonia and Dacia see Zingerle, *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn* 20 (1897), 288 ff., see especially *CIL* III, 1126 and 4008. She appears together with Mars on the relief published in *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica Comunale di Roma* 3 (1875), 83 f. and 4 (1876), 66 f., pl. 6. 8; cf. Rosbach in Roscher, *s.v.* 'Nemesis', 160; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, 2nd ed. (Munich 1912), 377 f. The cult of Nemesis was especially widespread in Dacia where we have a number of her sanctuaries, the largest being in Sarmizegetusa (*CIL* III, 1438, 13777–13780), compare 825 ff. (sacrum) and 1547 (Pons Augusti, templum); cf. 902, 1124 f., 1304, 1358, 1547, 8028. In Pannonia there is evidence of two large sanctuaries: one in Aquincum (*CIL* III, 3484, 10539–10542), and the other in Carnuntum (*CIL* III, 11121, 11154, 14071–14076; 14357, cf. 14358'; 14072 is dedicated to Mithras); cf. other dedications in Pannonia, *CIL* III 4161, 10911, 10939. For Moesia (the camp of Viminacium), see *CIL* III, 8107–8108. Suggestively, nearly all the named locations were army barracks.

<sup>147</sup> See Chr. Blinkenberg, 'Darstellungen des Sabazius und Denkmäler seines Kultus'. In *Archäologische Studien* (Copenhagen 1904), 97, fig. 40 and pl. 2; Eisel in Roscher, *s.v.* 'Sabazius'.

<sup>148</sup> See Cumont, *Mysterien* 105 f., cf. *idem*, *Die orientalischen Religionen im römischen Heidentum* (Leipzig 1910), 150 ff.

emphasised, much more so than in the reliefs of Mithras Tauroctonos or on the majority of artefacts with which we are presently occupied.

The lower tiers take us into a completely different sphere of belief. Here we are plunged into the repertoire of scenes from the mystery cult associated with the gods of the two upper tiers. Let us pause initially on the scenes in the lower tier of the aedicula-shaped lead tablets, directly below the main divinities, where three separate, but evidently inter-related, scenes are regularly repeated. The centre is always occupied by the scene of a mystical triad of three banqueters, among which the middle figure is distinguished by a cup in his hands (on the tablets from Divoš this figure has placed his left hand upon his head, see Pl. VI.2). A round table with a fish on a plate on it is placed in front of the couch on which the banqueters are seated. Closely related to this scene is a group of two or three nude male figures approaching the table hand in hand, with the first figure extending his right hand to those seated at the table. To the left of the table is a scene showing a tree with a carcass of a ram suspended from it, which is being gutted by a man standing under the tree. In several representations this butcher is dressed in a tunic; in others he appears to be naked or perhaps clothed in an *exomis*. Near him, dressed in a belted tunic and possibly leggings and boots, is a man who has placed the ram's head on his own. This last figure is usually represented in greater detail than the man butchering the ram.

The interpretation of the principal scene in the centre leaves little room for doubt. It is the same scene of mystical communion which we discussed earlier on and which is represented not only on the reliefs from Konitsa but also on an entire series of typical Mithraic reliefs, where Mithras administers the sacrament to conquered Helios (see below, [Rostovtzeff's] p. 50). We have the same scene of communion involving the consumption of fish and beverages on the two reliefs from Bucharest, where the ritual is conveyed through the cup [49] or rhyton in the hand of the rider god, the rhyton held by the god's consort, and the fish on the ground. On the relief with two consorts the same act of receiving communion is symbolised by three cups next to an amphora.<sup>149</sup> We encounter the same arrangement on the Berlin tablets, where the consorts of the god each have a rhyton in their hands, with a table bearing fish below and a krater nearby. The same conception also

<sup>149</sup> On this communion, see Cumont, *Textes et monuments* 174 ff., figs. 10 and 320; *idem*, Cumont, *Mysterien* 146, pl. 3.7; cf. *idem*, 'Notice sur deux bas-reliefs mithraïques', *RA* 40 (1902), 13, which shows the same scene on a fragment of a Mithraic relief, of which Cumont says: 'Nous avons ici sans doute une combinaison de deux sujets différents, bien qu'étroitement unis: le festin auquel, suivant la légende, Mithra avait convié le Soleil à la fin de sa mission terrestre, et la communion liturgique que des fidèles célébraient en mémoire de ce banquet divin.' In this relief, therefore, we have a transitional stage between the prototype of Mithraic communion and the actual act performed in his cult; cf. Cumont, *Die orientalischen Religionen* 51 and 258, n. 33.

dominates the relief from Apulum, where we can recognise a fish in the lower tier, with a krater nearby with two rhyta inside it (see Hampel [1902], 318, 13). Finally, we can make out these iconographical components yet again in the lower tier of the tablets from Bucharest and Virunum. Beneath the main scene of the former piece (Hampel [1903], 341, 41) are three goblets to the left, a tripod and possibly a fish in the middle, and one more vessel,<sup>150</sup> three pretzel-shaped loaves of bread and what seems to be a dish to the right.<sup>151</sup> On the latter is a simplified version of the scenes on the lower tiers of the aedicula-shaped tablets (see Hampel [1902], 340, 40), with a butchered ram on the left side, a man with a ram's head to the right, a table with three loaves and a fish(?) in the middle, and another fish to the right of the table (I will discuss the remaining figures of this scene further below). The scene with the dining table includes many details which recall the Berlin seal stone. The scene on our reliefs differs from the pure Mithraic communion only in the inclusion of fish on the table, in addition to the bread and the drink.<sup>152</sup> On the basis of our earlier discussion of the goddess, we can assume that our reliefs with the fish bear some relation to her cult.

Closely related to the scene of communion is, as stated, the scene of the three nude men approaching the table, holding each other by the hand. The first of [50] these appears to wish to take part in the meal or in whatever sacred ritual the dining table symbolises. Apart from the aedicula-shaped lead tablets, only the relief from Virunum, which we have just discussed, has anything in common with our scene. In the lower tier of this piece a nude youth approaches a table with bread and fish(?), raising his right hand to his mouth. Although the representation of the youth has not been preserved in its entirety, I would hesitate to interpret him as a depiction of Nemesis (see above, [Rostovtzeff's] p.46), as to me it appears almost unquestionable that the scene shows the figure of a naked youth, not a clothed woman.

When interpreting our scene we must fix our attention on the following points: 1) the link between the young men and the dining table; 2) the close 'fraternal' connection between them; 3) their nudity; 4) the gesture made by the youth on the tablet from Virunum.

<sup>150</sup> The same type of vessel is known from the Mithraeum at Sarmizegetusa; see Cumont, *Textes et monuments* II, 282, fig. 128.

<sup>151</sup> Very similar loaves of bread can be seen on a lead disc in the Belgrade Museum, published in Hampel (1905), 15, 75; (1912), 341. There are also three loaves on the tablet in Hampel (1903), 352, 56; on a disc *ibid.*, 354, 59, and on the disc from Mitrovitsa in the Zagreb Museum (V. Hoffiler, *Vjésnik hrvatskoga archeoloskoga društva* 8 [1905], fig. 1); finally, three loaves of the same type as on the relief of Konitsa are depicted on a tablet in the Sofia Museum (Kazarow, *ARW* 15 [1912], pl. 1, fig. 8) where they are shown near a table on which a fish is lying (*cf.* Hampel [1912], 335, 95); see our Pl. VII. 1.

<sup>152</sup> Cumont, *Mysterien* 146.

Let us concentrate initially on the first point. It seems entirely likely that in the scene with the nude youths we find an act of mystical ritual, as in the scene with the dining table. The hand gesture of the leading youth signifies the desire of the nude 'brothers' to join in the activities at the dining table: that is, the ritual performance underpinning this scene. But the decisive indicator is their nudity. J. Heckenbach has already noted that in the ancient mystery religions nudity was obligatory for initiation rituals, a point corroborated by the representations of initiation scenes on reliefs of Mithras Tauroctonos.<sup>153</sup> However, Heckenbach is mistaken in thinking that this is simply a scene of initiation. Cumont, on the other hand, is undoubtedly correct in suggesting that the kneeling figure is Helios, even though he errs in his discussion of the investiture of Helios as Mithras.<sup>154</sup> The subject of the image can only be the initiation or even the 'baptism' of Helios, as is indicated by the following: on an entire range of reliefs Helios is undeniably naked, like a mystes consecrated to the mysteries. Moreover, it is entirely clear, that wherever the object in Mithras' hand can be made out, it turns out to be a rhyton. Thus, to judge from the drawing published by Cumont,<sup>155</sup> Helios is naked on the Esquiline relief, while Mithras is placing his left hand on his head, holding a rhyton in his other. On the relief from Bessarabia in Thrace, a nude Helios sits or kneels before Mithras, who has placed his left hand on Helios' shoulder and holds a rhyton above the solar god's head with his right [51]. The same subject is found on reliefs from Koniovo in Lower Moesia, and Orshova, Romula and Sarmizegetusa in Dacia.<sup>156</sup> The scene on another relief from Dacia is especially clear, showing Helios in his characteristic pose and Mithras holding the rhyton above Helios' head – the same rhyton which he raises in the scene set at the dining table of the initiates.<sup>157</sup> It is therefore evident that our scene had become canonical in Dacia and is always closely linked to the scene with the dining table. The same seems to apply to Pannonian examples, to judge from the evidence currently available.<sup>158</sup> On the relief from Virunum (now in Klagenfurt) we have the same scene, but Helios is wearing a cloak (though with

<sup>153</sup> See J. Heckenbach, *De nuditate sacra sacrisque vinculis. Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* 9.3 (1911), 12 (on mysteries in general) and 13 (on the mysteries of Mithras in particular).

<sup>154</sup> Cumont, *Textes et monuments* I, 174 f. and *idem*, *Mysterien* 120, 1.

<sup>155</sup> Cumont, *Textes et monuments* II, 201, fig. 26.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, 275, 134, fig. 119 (Koniovo: naked Helios kneeling), 278, 136 (Orsova, same subject as on the relief from Bessarabia), 278, 137, fig. 122 (from Romula), 294, 166, fig. 149, *cf.* 291, fig. 146 (from Sarmizegetusa).

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, 296, no. 169, fig. 152; *cf.* 297, fig. 153; 298, fig. 154; 300, fig. 156; 304, fig. 161; 305, fig. 163; 312, fig. 170; 313, fig. 171; 315, fig. 175; 317, from Brucla, provides another particularly clear example.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, 322, fig. 188 and 326, fig. 193.

his body exposed) and has a nimbus above his head.<sup>159</sup> In Germany we can observe new elements. On the well-known relief from Osterburken Helios' pose is the same: he bows before Mithras in a kneeling position, with his cloak removed (it is in his hands) and a shining crown at his feet, while his arms are extended towards Mithras.<sup>160</sup> Mithras holds a large, shallow cup over Helios' head, evidently intending to pour its contents over him. Apart from the example from Osterburken, our scene can also be found in pieces from Heddernheim in Germany and from York in Britain.<sup>161</sup>

This list shows that the distribution of our scene coincides with that of our tablets: i.e. in Dacia and in the Danube region in general. The type is also preserved in Germany, but its interpretation clearly emphasises the divine being of the initiate. The very positioning of the dining table scene and the scene of communal sacrifice shows that our tablets represent the three acts leading to the consecration of Helios into the mysteries of Mithras – baptism, sacrifice-offering and communion. All these acts naturally belong to an extremely ancient ritual. We must not forget that at least one of these acts, the act of communion or investiture, can be traced back to the 3rd century BC in South Russian monuments. After these comparisons there remains no doubt about the interpretation of the scenes on our tablets, and the gesture of consecration [52] on the relief from Virunum acquires particular significance. What is represented ought to be understood as a symbol of the vow of silence made by those undergoing consecration, a promise to observe the  $\sigma\iota\gamma\acute{\eta}$ .<sup>162</sup>

To explain the scene to the left of that with the dining table is more straightforward. Hampel has already found a correct explanation, as has Cumont.<sup>163</sup> We are undoubtedly faced with a taurobolium, which formed part of the cult of Anahita in Armenia and that of the Great Mother in Phrygia. The mystes makes a libation of blood to the female hypostasis of the religion of the rider gods and transforms into an animal, the blood of which renews him, and the innards are removed from the sacrificed animal and given to the resurrected one to taste. Our representations are especially characteristic in that they convey the still-primitive conception, which is often mitigated in the later renderings of taurobolia. If the scene of communion combines elements from the mysteries of both Mithras and the female Persian-Semitic and Anatolian goddess, then we see in the scenes of initiation to the right the mystai who are being initiated by Mithras through baptism with water, and to

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, 336, fig. 213, cf. *idem*, *Mysterien* 120, pl. 2.6.

<sup>160</sup> Cumont, *Textes et monuments* II, 246, fig. 8, pl. 6.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, 366, fig. 250 and 379, fig. 293; 391 f., no. 270, fig. 309.

<sup>162</sup> On baptisms in the mysteries of Mithras, see Cumont, *Mysterien* 6, 144.

<sup>163</sup> See Kohlbach, *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift* (1904), 1230; Cumont, *RA* (1905), 25 ff., especially 28 ff. and his other articles, listed in *Die orientalischen Religionen* 80 f. and 263, n. 34.

the left the mystai of the great female goddess, reborn through the blood of a ram from a criobolium.

My suggested interpretation also renders comprehensible several elements from scenes on other varieties of our reliefs. So, for example, the head of a ram and the fish on the relief from Bucharest (Hampel [1903], 314, 10), the ram beside a fish on a relief from Apulum (*ibid.*, 318, 13), the head of a ram, the ram, the bull and the fish on the Berlin relief, the ram on the relief from Segesvár<sup>xiii</sup> (*ibid.*, 323, 18), the ram at the altar on the Terracina tablet (*ibid.*, 328, 23), the ram on the reliefs from the Sofia Museum (Kazarow, *op. cit.*, pl. 1.1, 2, 4; Hampel [1912], 333 ff., 90, 92, 93, 95), the head of a ram on the fragment of a relief from Sofia (Kazarow, *op. cit.*, fig. 4), and the corresponding representations on carved stones [Pl. VII.1 and 5]. The ritual of the criobolia may even provide an explanation for the nets on the Berlin tablet, if we consider them analogous to the structure resembling a staircase on the krater from Friedberg.<sup>164</sup> One could think of the net as the object through which the blood of the ram or bull flowed.<sup>165</sup>

The objects and scenes represented on the lowest tier of our lead tablets are readily understood and have been so for a long time: a group consisting of a lion, a krater and [53] a snake – a combination of symbols familiar from the Mithraic reliefs.<sup>166</sup> They appear together with a cock, another well-known figure in Mithraic reliefs, and the dining table with the fish, emphasising the cult of the female goddess. The lamps, which occur so frequently on our tablets, sometimes on a column, are also a relatively familiar accessory of the Mithraic initiates.<sup>167</sup>

More difficult to explain are the representations on stone reliefs depicting our gods. The stone tablets and the discs and oval reliefs are for the most part so carelessly executed, and so badly preserved, that we can only guess at the scenes depicted on them. But one typical scene, not fully understood to this day, does allow us to propose an explanation. I have in mind the scene on a relief recently published by Kazarow.<sup>168</sup> The figured scene is well preserved and intelligible [Pl. VII.5]: it shows a man in typical Asiatic attire, with a Phrygian cap on his head, kneeling on a flat rectangular stone, his hands lowered. Two similarly dressed men in front of him are holding an animal pelt. To the left of the stone is an amphora, dug into the ground. Nearby, to the left of the central scene, a woman is standing with her right hand raised to her mouth. I have deciphered the same representation, much more crudely executed, in the relief on the disc from Apulum (Hampel [1905], 117),

<sup>164</sup> Cumont, *Textes et monuments* II, 358, fig. 240.

<sup>165</sup> A complete structure of this type may be depicted on the lead disc from the Belgrade Museum; see Hampel, *Archaeologiai értesítő* (1905), 15, no. 75 (*cf.* [1912] 341).

<sup>166</sup> See Cumont, *Mysterien* 104.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, 170.

<sup>168</sup> Kazarow, *ARW* 15 (1912), pl. 1, fig. 4; Hampel (1912), 334, 92.

which shows the same woman to the left of the central group. Finally, if I am not deceived by the crudeness of the work and the poor quality of the reproductions, the same scene appears on both the relief from the museum in Segesvár (Hampel [1903], 323, 18) and that from Dunapentele (*ibid.*, 331, 26). In these examples we find ourselves confronted with a scene from the sphere of the mysteries. The kneeling mystes is apparently being covered by the hide of the sacrificial animal or, on the other hand, he may be undressing himself in preparation for the ritual. The figure with the hand at her mouth may allude to the mystical, secret nature of the scene, as suggested by the parallel scene on the Virunum relief. This act of revelation or occultation on the part of the mystes is known to us from the mysteries of Mithras. Of this act Cumont writes the following: ‘After the mystes had become a “raven”, he was promoted into the ranks of the “secret” and the “hidden” (κρύφιος). The members of this class were hidden by a sort of veil and remained invisible to the other participants: to show them forth (*ostendere*) was a ceremonial act (*CIL* VI 751<sup>a</sup>: *ostenderunt cryfios*).’<sup>169</sup> [54] I have no doubt that in our scene we are met by one of the acts described – either the *ostentatio* of the mystes or, more likely, the consecration, or *occultatio*, in which the future *cryfius* is concealed.

The scene from the upper tier of the disc from Apulum (Hampel [1905], 117) provides a corresponding representation from the sphere of the cult of the female goddess.<sup>170</sup> Unfortunately, the relief is published in such poor reproductions that I cannot interpret all of the scenes from the upper register. Yet their relation to the cult of the goddess with the fish is unmistakable. It is not accidental that the central group (three female busts, apparently wearing strange headdresses) is approached from the right side by a man with an enormous fish under his arm, while on the left stands a table with a fish upon it. To the left of that is an indistinct image of a human figure, and in either corner a bust. Analogies to this representation may be found in the relief from Segesvár (Hampel [1903], 323, 18), the stone relief from Bucharest (Hampel [1903], 325, 19),<sup>171</sup> the fragment from Carnuntum, showing three busts in the upper tier and a fourth on the right (Hampel [1903], 327, 22), and finally in a relief from Terracina, with three busts in the upper tier – probably Luna flanked by heads wearing radiate crowns (Hampel [1903], 328, 23). The latter relief may yield the key to understanding the others. On it, the three heads in the upper tier clearly correspond to the three figures in the middle tier – two masculine gods, who are evidently both to be identified as the sun god, and a single female goddess, resembling the goddess Luna. Does it not follow that the figures in

<sup>169</sup> Cumont, *Mysterien* 140.

<sup>170</sup> See also *Catalogo della mostra archeologica nelle Terme di Diocleziano* (Bergamo 1911), 71.

<sup>171</sup> I cannot agree with Ziehen’s interpretation of the three busts in the lower tier as Celtic matres, with some sort of ritual scene depicted nearby.



the relief from Apulum should be recognised as a central female bust with a half-moon underneath it, framed by two busts wearing Phrygian caps?

The selection of representations on our tablets discussed above shows how clearly the two coexisting religious traditions were separated: one, as far as we can tell, was characterised by the worship of Mithras, the other, by the worship of the great goddess of Iran, Syria and Asia Minor. Judging by the visual evidence, the two religious movements coexisted in parallel, not blending into one another, but the adepts of their teachings, as portrayed by our tablets, were evidently adepts of both cults.

I shall now return to the question concerning the identity of the rider gods represented in the central register of our tablets. I must set out in advance that the entire composition of our tablets, with a few [55] exceptions, is strictly logical and consistent, so that the grouping is almost exactly the same as on many reliefs of Mithras Tauroctonos. The upper zone belongs to the sky and its supreme ruler, the great single god and sovereign of the world – the Sun. The middle portion is primarily occupied by gods who are more closely related to mankind, the gods to whom humans address their rituals but who themselves make gestures of prayer towards the supreme god. These are intermediary gods, ranked close to the people. The next zone is filled with depictions of the most important mystic acts – holy communion and initiations of the mystes through baptism by water or blood. On several reliefs these components are supplemented by a representation of the act of *revelatio* (*ostentatio*) or *occultatio* of the mystes, a scene which may in turn be accompanied in the lower tier by symbols of the elements and the instruments of the ritual. The discussion of the mounted Mithras above and the characteristics of the mounted gods on our tablets leave us in no doubt that our rider gods developed from the same roots as Mithras Tauroctonos. We are concerned with intermediary gods, with victorious and invincible gods,<sup>172</sup> with gods standing in the closest relation to the supreme god of victory and of the sun, who trample on defeated enemies and whose cult has a purely mystical character. Moreover, the distinctive features of that mystery cult coincide with those of the cult of Mithras. The external appearance of these gods resembles the appearance of Mithras Tauroctonos, while their Iranian character is emphasised by several details of representation found only in monuments whose relation to the Iranian cult is beyond doubt. Among these particularities, the most revealing is the representation of gods trampling upon a defeated opponent. This is the same image that we met in South Russia as far back as the 3rd century BC, long before it reappeared in Sasanian court art. The image can only be explained as a derivation from the dualistic conceptions of Iranian religion and its ideas about the victory of good over evil.

<sup>172</sup> See Cumont, *Mysterien* 4 f., 7, 9, 11, 128.

However, one detail has to date remained unexplained – the large fish which on one class of our tablets is being trampled by one of the riders. This image conforms poorly to the general character of our monuments, where the fish is represented as an object of a cult, a symbol of the goddess' respected place among our riders [56]. The first analogy to spring to mind relates our image to those in which the god of the sun is shown as the conqueror of the earth's fertility: Apollo and Python, and so on. But how did the fish take on this role of embodying the power of the earth, and what are the roots of this conception? It is unlikely that I can settle this question decisively, although some initial approaches can be made. In connection with this, I recall the information recently collated by Scheftelowitz concerned with the Semitic (and pre-Semitic?) populations of the Near East and their conception of a world fish, the Leviathan, with which the Messianic hopes of the Semitic world were linked.<sup>173</sup> The same conception may be reflected in those enormous Megalithic monuments of southern Armenia, the so-called *vishappy*, whose collection and interpretation is conducted by Y.I. Smirnov and N.Y. Marr.<sup>xiv</sup> The dim echoes of myths about the battle of the Iranian sun god with this pre-Iranian divinity from Armenia has perhaps been preserved in the legends about Vahagn and his battle with the dragon, from which the hero emerges victorious.<sup>174</sup> In our tablets we may also have echoes of these or similar conceptions of the victory of the sun god Mithras over the forces of the earth, which can be correlated to the legends of Mithras Tauroctonos and of Mithras, conqueror of Helios. However we interpret this representation, it remains clear that we have in our riders a clearer symbol of Iranian dualism than we find in any other known ritual representations.

All this leads us to place our riders in the closest and most direct connection with Mithras and to see in them derivations of [57] Iranian religious conceptions, independent of the cult of Mithras Tauroctonos, although sharing many common features with it. However, there are two of our riders and only one Mithras, which had previously been the main reason for identifying our riders with the Cabiri, an identification which we found to rest on shaky foundations. It does not explain any of the features interpreted above, which convincingly connect our monuments to the Irano-Semitic religious conceptions of Asia Minor. The unclear reference to the

<sup>173</sup> See I. Scheftelowitz, *ARW* 14 (1911), especially 8 ff., 38 f., 49 and 378.

<sup>174</sup> See N.O. Emin, Vakhagn – vishapakakh armyanskoi mifologii est' Indra Vitrahan Rig-Vedy (1873), 17, 36 f.; H. Gelzer, *Zur armenischen Götterlehre. Berichte der Königlich-Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 48 (1896), 108 f. It is curious that in several reliefs, in which the representation of the Thracian rider hunter may have been influenced by our reliefs so as to create a fusion between the rider and the goddess with the fish, a snake or a dragon, instead of a man, can be seen under the hooves of the horse. Reliefs of this type tend to be a peculiarity of countries with a Thracian population; see the relief from Sofia, Kazarow, *ARW* 15 (1912), pl. 1.6 and the relief from Belgrade in Hampel [1903] 320, 15 (two examples in which not two, but one rider, is portrayed).

fish *πόμπιλος* in the cult of the Cabiri gives the interpretation of the reliefs barely enough support, nor does the myth of the murder of a third Cabirus. The two defeated enemies under the hooves of our riders' mounts completely discredit the possibility of such an interpretation. Finally, we know so little about the mysteries of Samothrace that one shared feature relating to the mystical character of their cult does not allow us to connect our riders with the Cabiri. Moreover, we must keep in mind that the cult of the Cabiri is not epigraphically attested on the Danube and that it is wholly improbable to imagine the transmission of the mysteries via the mediation of Thrace, where our artefact class occurs very rarely.<sup>175</sup> This argument, already suggested by Kazarow,<sup>176</sup> besides the clear contrast between the tablets of our artistic type and the reliefs of the Thracian rider, completely contradicts any notion of a close link between the Thracian series and our own. The influence of the Cabiri on our tablets may possibly be proven only insofar as the representations of the Dioscuri and Helen, who were subsequently connected to the Cabiri, may have influenced the type of representation seen in our triad of gods. But we must not forget that the heraldic confrontation of two figures (animal or human) with a third figure in between is older than the Dioscuri, deriving as it does from Eastern art. Thus, there is no need to look as far afield as Sparta to trace the origins of our figural type, when one may equally well remain on that very Anatolian ground where the analysis of religious ideas had originally taken us.

Thus we will find an explanation for the twinning of our gods not in these similarities, but rather in the same spheres of religious imagination that we have already been investigating. We must recall [58] that the triad of two male and one female divinities is characteristic for Asia. I bring to mind Ahura Mazda, Mithras, and Anahita in the inscriptions of Artaxerxes,<sup>177</sup> Bel, Shamash and Ishtar from the Semitic religions,<sup>178</sup> and finally that class of triads, linked to the cult of the Great Mother Goddess, of which we can form an impression from cults in the area of Cyzicus and in Phrygia.<sup>179</sup> This same tendency to double the male divinity, and his appearance together with a female divinity, are reflected in our monuments

<sup>175</sup> The interpretation of our riders as the Cabiri can be traced to the careless hand of T. Antonescu, *Cultul cabirilor in Dacia* (Bucharest 1889) and to E. Nowotny, *Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und der Herzegovina* 4 (1896), 292.

<sup>176</sup> See ARW 15 (1912), 160, *contra* Cumont, *Textes et monuments* II, 527; cf. G. Seure, 'Sur quelques types curieux du cavalier Thrace'. *REA* 14 (1912), 243, 4.

<sup>177</sup> Cumont, *Textes et monuments* II, 87 ff.; *idem*, *Mysterien* 8 and 10.

<sup>178</sup> On Chaldaean-Semitic triads, see Cumont, *Die orientalischen Religionen* 145 and 289, 55; H. Usener, 'Dreiheit'. *Rheinisches Museum* 58 (1903), 32. Characteristically, on our tablets the triad is preceded by a pair – a male and a female divinity.

<sup>179</sup> F.W. Hasluck, *Cyzicus* (Cambridge 1910), 215; 225 f.; W.R. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishops of Phrygia* (Oxford 1897), II, 566, (468), cf. I, 357 (171) and so on.

too.<sup>180</sup> The mythological explanations given for this doubling have varied. One explanation is indicated by the cut seal stone mentioned above, on which one rider is portrayed as Mithras, the other as Helios – precisely the same combination which was canonical on monuments related to the cult of Mithras Tauroctonos, where Mithras is at the end united with Helios.

It may be possible to make a historical connection. It is well known that Elagabalus established the worship of his sun god of Emesa, Baal, as an official religion. It is also known that in 221 he combined his god with Caelestis, the great Semitic goddess of Carthage, whose symbol in Africa was a fish.<sup>181</sup> Finally, we know that Elagabalus' god was closely connected to the cult of Mithras and, together with the latter, bore the title of *deus invictus*, which is also highly typical of our reliefs.<sup>182</sup> Thus, in Rome at the beginning of the 3rd century we may recognise clear signs that our triad had at least in part gained official recognition, for which one of the primary motives may have been the desire to satisfy the soldiers of the Danube region. What could be more natural than to [59] suppose that the Anatolian *ἱερός γάμος*, ceremoniously celebrated in Rome in 221, had already been officially recognised by the beginning of the 3rd century BC in order to acknowledge its long history as an object of reverence and ritual among the soldiers closest to the emperor? After all, it is well known that Septimius Severus, who first brought the cult of Caelestis to Rome, had close links to the Danubian forces. Nor must we forget that, after Elagabalus' demise, the sun god did not disappear from the official pantheon and in fact, under Aurelian, became the supreme official god of Rome. This shows how well established his cult remained among the troops, regardless of the changing religious outlooks of the emperors. It was precisely at this time, as the style of our artefacts shows, that we find the period of the greatest distribution of our tablets among the soldiers of the Danube forces. It seems tempting to accept these events as a causal link, and to find in the appearance of our tablets a result of that stimulus which Rome received during the triumphal procession of the Syrian gods and their rise to precedence in Rome.

However, this is unlikely to be entirely accurate. Although our tablets are not dated, it is clear that they can be grouped by age as well as by content. Confining ourselves to those tablets which have undergone stylistic analysis, we must state

<sup>180</sup> In a private conversation, T.F. Zelinskii quite correctly pointed out to me that we are entitled to consider as a part of Iranian religious conceptions the twinning of male gods of light, which we see for example in the Indian Ashvins and the Greek Dioscuri. This same entirely independent process probably led to the twinning of Mithras in countries with a semi-Iranian culture. However, I do not believe that this could be a matter of borrowing.

<sup>181</sup> See F.J. Dölger, *Ἰχθύς: Das Fischsymbol in frühchristlicher Zeit* (Rome 1910).

<sup>182</sup> For more on all this, see G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, 2nd ed. (Munich 1912), 366 ff. and 373 ff.; Cumont in *RE s.v.* 'Caelestis' and 'Elagabalus'; O.F. Butler, *Studies in the Life of Heliogabalus* (New York 1908), 78 ff.

that the group of bronze tablets stands out as the most ancient, followed by the group of lead rectangles, among which several tablets can be separated as either older or undoubtedly later, and finally, a group of indisputably later round lead tablets, which quite often yield only hints as to their representations. If this rough classification is correct, then we can hardly justify placing all of our tablets in a period beginning in the 3rd century AD, when some of them ought to be considerably older. In this case, we must acknowledge as fact a historical link different to that just mentioned. We must, then, acknowledge that before our eyes is the completion of processes, whose official recognition took place in Rome in 221. Chief among these processes were the unification of the Persian Mithras, having assumed several features of the sun god of Asia Minor and Syria, with the great Semitic and Anatolian female goddess, and the recognition and diffusion of this dominant couple and their cult among the Danube troops. But in conjunction with this, another process was in motion. The great Persian god who had, since [60] his inception, acquired features of the Syrian and the Anatolian Baal, divides in two – from one god a pair is created, which is eventually united into a triad with the great female goddess. This division was without a doubt provoked by the combination into a single mounted god of the two elements discussed above. Thus we have definite evidence that the Mithras pairing includes the sun god Helios, although Mithras always dominates. The same appearance of a dual hypostasis of a male god can be observed in reliefs of Mithras Tauroctonos, where Mithras also plays the commanding role, offering Helios communion as a conquering god.

But on an entire group of tablets this relationship is seen to have changed. The modest indications of solar significance, depicted in the corners of tablets showing gods in the form of busts of the Sun and the Moon, suddenly transform towards a complete dominion of the great sun god, the ruler of the world, to whom the god who formerly dominated the tablets appears to be subjugated. This change in attitudes, which we can observe on only one group of tablets (limited in number and homogenous in theme) does not last long. The dominion of the Sun does not transpire from the discs, where the iconographic elements of the lead rectangular tablets are capriciously mixed in varied combinations. It is therefore possible to recapture in the sun god's dominion an echo of his temporary triumph over Mithras in the time of Elagabalus and later of Aurelian. Thus, only these tablets are contemporaneous with the emperors of the first half of the 3rd century, whereas the others are either older or more recent. This confirms the hypothesis suggested above about the organic preparation for what took place in Rome in 221 in the religious perceptions of the Danubian troops, which the wars of Trajan and Lucius Verus had placed in close association with the East, and which will magnify additionally the value of the information communicated to us. What is revealed before us is a new chapter in the history of religious syncretism in the East, where Iranian, Anatolian and Semitic

elements are combined in a single whole, and also in the history of the penetration of these syncretic cults into the Western provinces of Rome and ultimately into Rome. The Roman army was an important conduit for the diffusion of new religious ideas and undoubtedly the main reason why the Eastern religious ideas gained precedence in Rome. I do not doubt that the troops during their time in Syria recognised Elagabalus as their emperor, not *in spite of* the fact that [61] he dedicated his life to serve the god, but *precisely because* he was the incarnation of god on earth, the same god in whom great numbers of the legionary and auxiliary soldiers had believed for a very long time. Elagabalus did not die at the hands of these troops, but from an assault by the Praetorians, among whom either the official Roman religion or the local national religions of the recruits, newly arrived from the German or Thracian villages straight into the ranks of the Imperial Guard, tended to dominate at the expense of their receptivity to new religious ideas.

I am not incorrect, therefore, in repeating what I stated earlier: that, in completing his *hieros gamos* between Elagabalus and Caelestis, the fanatical young emperor wanted not only to satisfy his own religious demands, but also to please the soldiers from his Dacian and Pannonian legions, on whom he could depend for support against the hostile Praetorians. The interest of our tablets is further increased by the fact that these tablets show us not only the gods but also the cult in all its varieties and complexities, combining mystical elements from Iran, Syria and Anatolia. At the same time it is characteristic that no elements of local religions are manifest in these representations: where any influence is visible, it is the influence of the East upon the West. This influence is perhaps most clearly felt in some of the monuments of the Thracian rider, but we cannot discern a reciprocal cultural transfer anywhere. Very rarely we sense a certain convergence between our victorious rider, parading on his majestic horse, with the Thracian god of the hunt, following the tracks of game, or with a chthonic Graeco-Thracian hero, mounted on a horse in front of a tree with a snake. But I repeat that convergences of this type are exceptionally rare, and rarely is it possible to determine their substance.

The cult portrayed in our tablets is therefore, without any doubt, the same Eastern cult as the cult of Mithras Tauroctonos, which reached the Danube, like the latter, from Anatolia. Significantly, the cult was also accepted in Dacia and Pannonia, where the veneration of Mithras Tauroctonos was also widely disseminated owing to the legions and the auxiliary troops present there and by the mix of nationalities which Dacia's population became after the war [62].<sup>183</sup> Our cult differs from that of Mithras, with which it had extremely close and direct associations, in as much as it attests to a variation of Mithraism and a somewhat different con-

<sup>183</sup> See Cumont, *Mysterien* 39 ff.

ception of the god, closer to that which persisted in Iran itself and in countries culturally dependent on Iran. But this cult did not reach the Danube in its pure form: it was closely combined with the cult of the female goddess, who is absent from the pantheon of Mithras Tauroctonos. This female goddess is the result of the syncretism of Iranian, Anatolian and Semitic elements. It is impossible to give her a definite name, for she is as complex and many-named as all the great female divinities of the Eastern religions in the time of Imperial Rome. The cult of our triad is purely Eastern and mystical, and as complex as the triad itself. But the same Iranian conceptions, which we observe in the mysteries of Mithras Tauroctonos, are seen to be dominant within it.

The results we have gained have brought us far from Bosporus and Iran, but they have shown us how Iranian conceptions, which have such a long history in our half-Iranian south, filtered far into the West, conquering the minds and hearts of those who were not satisfied by the half-barbarian elements of their local religion or by the Greek religious ideas entirely foreign to the West.

<sup>i</sup> Chertomlyk amphora: Hermitage Inv. Dn 1863 1/166; Rolle *et al.* 1998, II, 17, no. 91, pls. 24–31, colour pls. 3–6; Kul-Oba flask: Hermitage Inv. K.-O. 11; Artamonov 1969, figs. 226–229; Galanina and Grach 1986, figs. 184–187; Boardman 1994, 201, fig. 6.

<sup>ii</sup> More recently discussed by Pfrommer 1990, 276, FK 137 and 1987, 177, FK 29. For the black slip askos published in Lappo-Danilevskii and Malmberg 1894, 48–49, fig. 20, *cf.* Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 319, nos. 1194, 1196 (350–330 BC).

<sup>iii</sup> Rostovtzeff refers to the relief in Behistun showing the equestrian fight between Gotarzes II (AD 39?–51) and his enemy Meherdates. For his subsequent treatment of the subject mentioned in n. 10, see Rostovtzeff 1913–14, 309–45 and 2004, 389–435.

<sup>iv</sup> Rostovtzeff 1931, 390–91, 456–57.

<sup>v</sup> For the amphora stamp from Kul-Oba (now dated to the third or fourth quarter of the 4th century BC), see Brashinskii 1975: Thasian amphora (Bon, type 1b). For the black slip bowl and the kantharos from Chertomlyk (now dated between 350 and 320 BC), see Hermitage Inv. Dn 1863 1/471, 1/482; Rolle *et al.* 1998, II, 26–27, nos. 149–150. On amphora fragments of the third quarter of the 4th century recovered from the main chamber in 1983, see Rolle *et al.* 1998, III, 164, *cf.* 165–66; Alekseev 2003, 268.

<sup>vi</sup> Subsequently discussed in Rostovtzeff 1914.

<sup>vii</sup> *Cf.* Grach 1984.

<sup>viii</sup> Also shown in Sabatier 1849, 119, pl. 5. 3–4.

<sup>ix</sup> *Cf.* Rostovtzeff 1914.

<sup>x</sup> For a more recent English-language survey of the evidence, see Frolova and Ireland 2002. For the later coin issues discussed below, see Frolova 1979; 1983.

<sup>xi</sup> For more recent work on Bosporan portraiture, see R. Smith 1988, 141–43.

<sup>xii</sup> Mantsevich 1987, 39–42, nos. 13–18.

<sup>xiii</sup> Alias Schässberg, now Sighișoara, in Transylvania.

<sup>xiv</sup> Later published in Smirnov and Marr 1931.





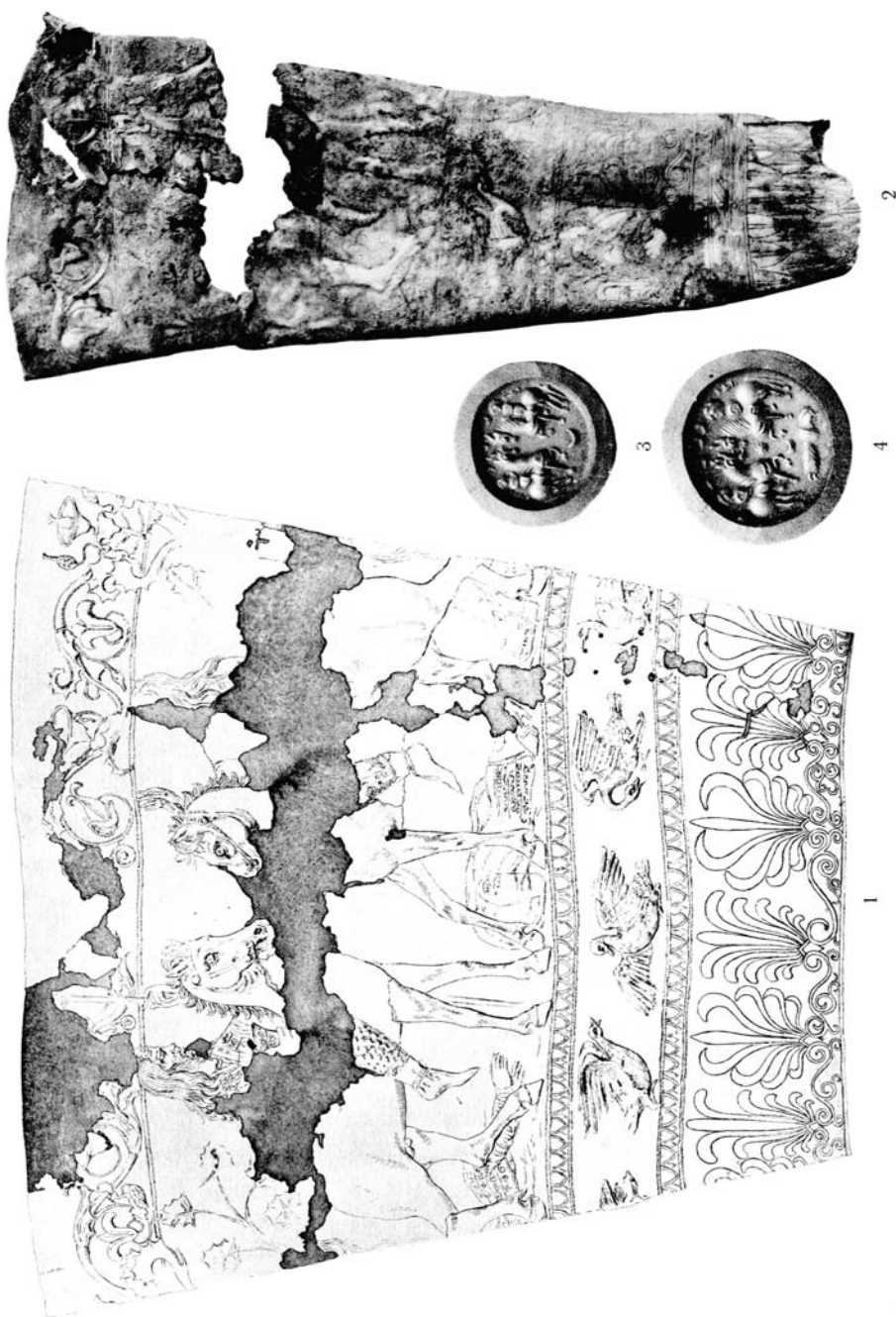
Fig. 1: Relief from Naqsh-i-Rustam. The investiture of Ardashir (after Sarre and Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, pl. V).



Fig. 2: Relief from Bishapur. The investiture of Narses (after Sarre and Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, pl. XLI).



Fig. 3: Gold plaque from Poltava province.



Pl. I: 1-2. The upper part of the rhyton from Karagodeuashkh. 3-4. Two Sasanian seal stones.

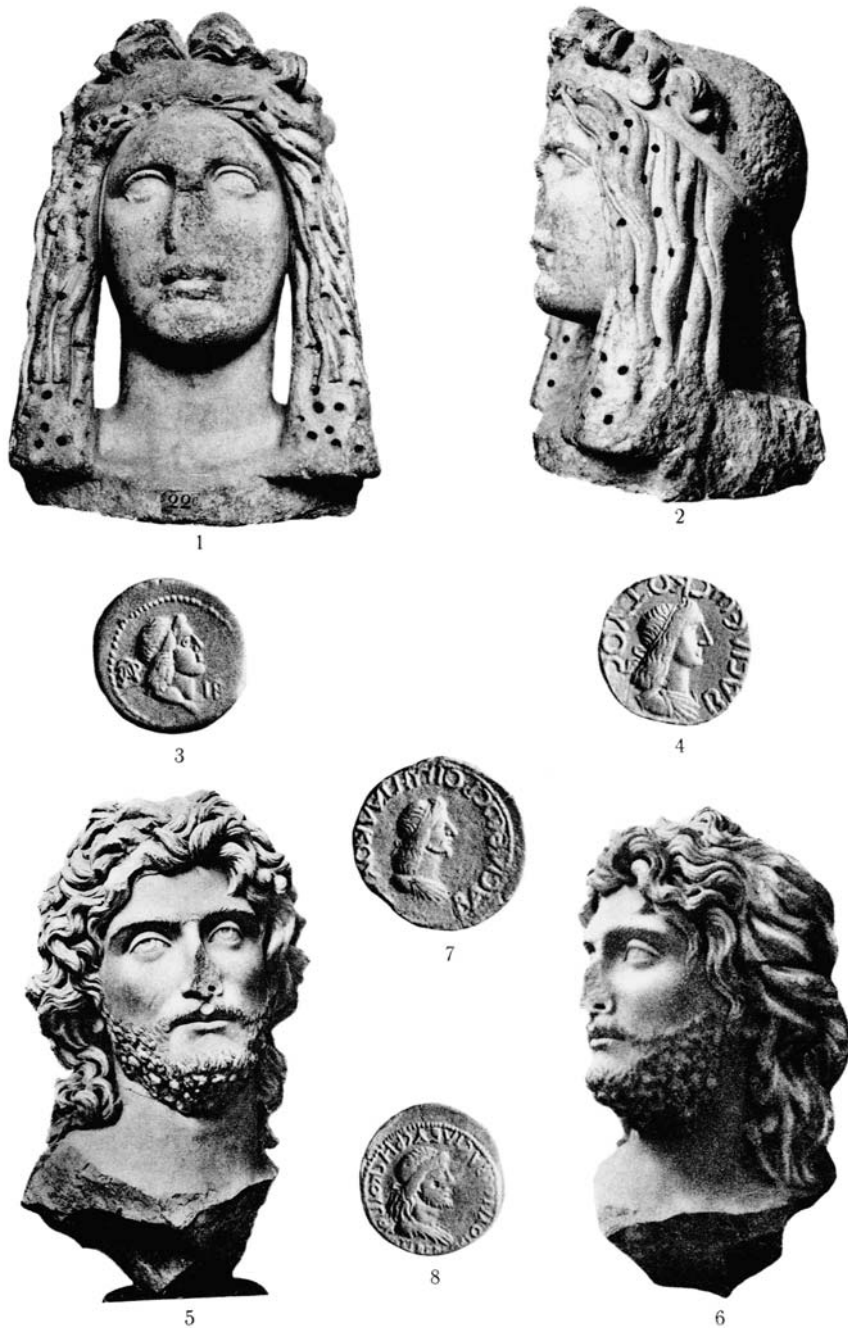


Pl. II: 1. Gold plaque from the headdress discovered in the Karagodeuashkh kurgan. 2. Gold appliqué with depictions of two Scythians or Sarmatians drinking from a rhyton (from Kul-Oba).

3. Gold medallion from the collections of Count D.I. Tolstoy. 4. Gold clothing plaque (from Kul-Oba or Chertomlyk). 5. Gold clothing plaque (from Chertomlyk). 6-7.

Two gold appliques from Kul-Oba.





Pl. III: 1–2. Marble bust of a Panticaean ruler from Kerch (now in Imperial Hermitage). 3. Coin attributed to Rhescuporis I. 4. Coin of Cotys II. 5–6. Marble bust of a Panticaean ruler from Athens (now in Greek National Museum). 7. Coin of Rhoemetaces. 8. Coin of Rhescuporis II.



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Pl. IV: Depictions characterising monarchical power on coins from Panticapaeum.



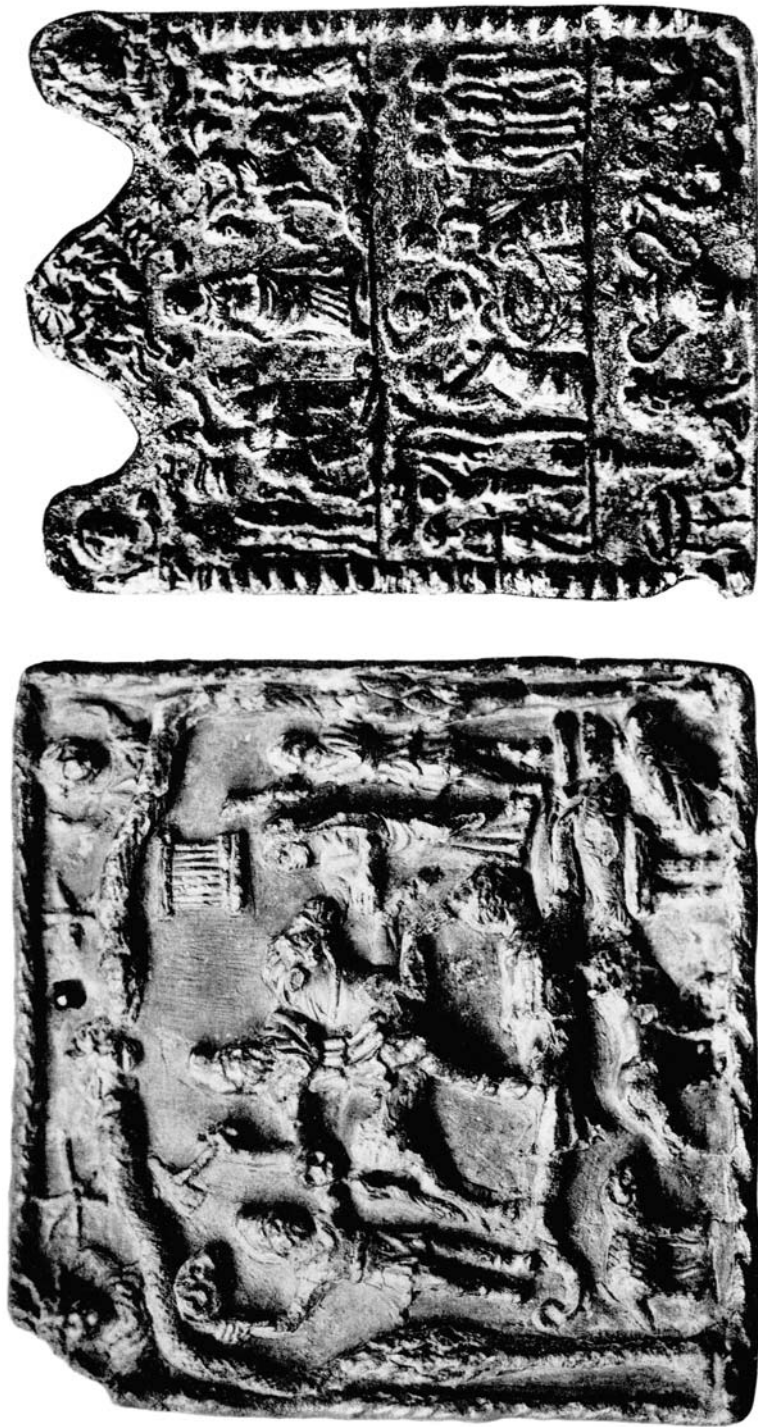
1



2

Pl. V: 1–2. Two diadems from a burial associated with Rhescuporis II and his wife.





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2  
Pl. VI: 1. Bronze plaque from the Berlin Museum. 2. Lead plaque from Zagreb Museum.





Pl. VII: 1. Stone tablets from the Sofia Museum. 2. Lead tablet from Zagreb Museum.  
3. Clay tablet from Sofia Museum. 4. Lead tablet from Zagreb Museum.  
5. Part of a stone tablet from Sofia Museum.

## Bibliography

Note that Rostovtzeff's own bibliography is retained in his footnotes

### Abbreviations

For Translations and for Introductory and Editorial matter

ABC	<i>Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien</i> , ed. F. Gille and L. Stephani (St Petersburg 1854); Réédités avec un commentaire nouveau, ed. S. Reinach (Paris 1892).
ARW	<i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i>
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
Cumont, <i>Mysterien</i>	F. Cumont, <i>Die Mysterien des Mithra</i> (Leipzig 1904).
Cumont, <i>Textes et monuments</i>	F. Cumont, <i>Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra</i> , vols. I–III (Brussels 1896–99).
IAK	<i>Izvestiya Imperatorskoi Arkheologicheskoi Komissii</i>
MAR	<i>Materialy po Arkheologii Rossii</i>
OAK	<i>Otchety Arkheologicheskoi Komissii</i>
RAS	<i>Recueil d'Antiquités de la Scythie</i> , vols. I–II (St Petersburg, 1866–73) = <i>Drevnosti Gerodotovoi Skifii</i> , vols. I–II (St Petersburg, 1866–72).
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# COLONISATION FROM ANTIQUITY TO MODERN TIMES: COMPARISONS AND CONTRASTS

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## Abstract

This paper is designed to encourage a discussion of terminology and concepts. Too often we find authors straining too far to draw comparisons between antiquity and the modern world, on the one hand, or eschewing useful terminology and valid comparison on the other. Those writing about antiquity show far more desire to look to the recent past for models than ‘Modern Historians’ to look at antiquity (nowadays, at least). Examples are provided here of false and forced analogy, in part to show how far things can be pushed but rejecting the notion that they should be. At the same time, we hope to show that neither ancient nor modern colonisation (or colonialism?) was as monolithic as many suppose.

The long history of the study of Greek colonisation has produced an extensive body of literature.<sup>1</sup> It forms a major component of classical studies in those countries where these ancient colonies were established. Every generation of scholars has brought new approaches to bear on the subject, taking a fresh look at it and re-evaluating both the evidence and its interpretation, within a spectrum where some have tended to work within existing traditions and others have sought to overturn much received opinion and, in doing so, seem happy to wash the baby out with the bath water. Of course we need fresh approaches and opinions; we also need balance. We face many problems when we study Greek colonisation and Greek colonies, as with nearly all aspects of human history.

In 1999, R. Osborne ended his article ‘Early Greek colonization? The nature of Greek settlement in the West’ with the sentence: ‘A proper understanding of archaic Greek history can only come when chapters on “Colonization” are eradicated from books on early Greece.’<sup>2</sup> In the Preface to the 2nd edition of his *Greece in the Making, 1200–479 BC*, Osborne states: ‘... certain traditional topics of discussion do not figure here (notably ‘colonisation’ and ‘the rise of the *polis*’), to [allow space to] offer more systematic discussion of the economy and of gender

<sup>1</sup> This contribution focuses on recent Anglo-Saxon writings on this theme. It does not pretend to address other traditions. For a brief detour on German and Italian colonisation and historiography, see De Angelis 2009, 53.

<sup>2</sup> Osborne 1998, 269.



relations...'.<sup>3</sup> Osborne is supported by N. Purcell, who has declared that "colonization" is a category in crisis in the study of the ancient Mediterranean'.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, a massive three-volume project is underway, *Greek Colonisation: An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas*, two volumes of which have appeared.<sup>5</sup> The most recent in Blackwell's acclaimed series of 'Companions to the Ancient World' is that on Archaic Greece, wherein there is a chapter entitled 'Foundations', in reality a discussion of colonisation;<sup>6</sup> while *The Cambridge Companion to Archaic Greece* contains a chapter, 'Colonisation: Greece on the Move, 900–480'.<sup>7</sup>

The problem is obvious: some continue to consider colonisation as a distinct phenomenon, others seek to eradicate it as a separate category, instead incorporating the establishment of overseas settlements into the broad canvas of Archaic Greek history. This second approach might be welcomed except that the canvas stretches only as far as settlements in Italy and Sicily; those in Spain, southern France, the Black Sea, etc. are barely considered.

What is the real problem here? It seems that it is only Anglo-Saxon scholarship that finds a problem with both the terminology and the concept.<sup>8</sup> D. Ridgway's piece in the third edition of *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, summarises the main problem: "Colonization", in the language of a former imperial power, is a somewhat misleading definition of the process of major Greek expansion that took place between c. 734 and 580 B.C."<sup>9</sup> This marks a new approach to the phenomenon. The second edition of the same work, written a generation earlier, states that 'Colonization was always a natural activity for Greeks, living in a poor country'.<sup>10</sup>

What is under attack: the process or the term? The ancient Greeks themselves had no single word to describe the process, and the term originates from the

<sup>3</sup> Osborne 2009, xix. Osborne 2008 is entitled 'Colonial Cancer': presumably colony, colonial, colonialism and colonisation are to be irradiated as well as eradicated. But once again it is a matter of how these terms are defined and applied. And Osborne tends to define them down (and out).

<sup>4</sup> Purcell 2005, 115.

<sup>5</sup> Tsetskhladze 2006b; 2008a.

<sup>6</sup> Malkin 2009.

<sup>7</sup> Antonaccio 2007.

<sup>8</sup> Perhaps an echo of the dominance in pre-war Cambridge, and elsewhere in the English-speaking world, of the narrow aridity of 'logical positivism', ably recounted by Prince/Sir Dimitri Obolensky (1999, 221–22), though asking 'Is this a colony?' instead of 'Is this a blackboard?' (Or, more worryingly, a sign of a post-everything theorising so busy deconstructing and decoding language in search of power relationships that it misses the blindingly obvious?)

<sup>9</sup> Ridgway 1996.

<sup>10</sup> Graham 1970.

Roman period<sup>11</sup> and has been used in the modern. It is obvious that the term is not very suitable for application to ancient Greece or to ancient Greek expansionary settlement activity because it brings with it a hinterland of too many modern connotations, applicable only to European (and other) imperial activity in the last few centuries, and even then only to parts of it.<sup>12</sup> If there was no uniform process in ancient Greece, there certainly was not in the 16th–20th centuries AD. And if the term colonisation were to form a snug fit for Archaic Greece, it would then be hopelessly misshapen to describe most colonial processes in the modern era (where colonial is often carelessly deployed as a false synonym for imperial, and no ‘settlement’ activity takes place at all – see below). In fact, modern ‘colonial’ activity stretching over half a millennium is just as diverse, in its own ways, as the not particularly similar processes in the ancient world over a similar span of time.

For ancient Greece some other terms have been suggested: ‘apoikisation’, ‘kleroukhisation’,<sup>13</sup> etc. Are they better than colonisation, or just complicating and obscure? It looks as though we are really obsessed with terms and terminology, at the same time omitting to define and explain them with proper clarity, or to use them consistently.<sup>14</sup> The discrepancies become apparent as soon as we examine the spectrum of use by ancient historians, classical archaeologists, classicists, anthropologists, etc.<sup>15</sup> The more one looks, the more clouded becomes one’s vision. But we must call the process something, as J. Whitley observed.<sup>16</sup>

What is incontestable is that Greeks established settlements overseas, and that they did so for a variety of reasons: this is clearly demonstrated by the Table below.<sup>17</sup> And the colonies they established were a diverse bag: ‘Some were cast-offs, others a successful venture for a mother-city with need for land or aspirations to wealth; some colonists’ new neighbours enjoyed an enhanced culture through their presence, others were utterly blighted.’<sup>18</sup> Does it really matter what we call the event?

<sup>11</sup> For the latest discussion, see Descœudres 2008, 289–93. See also De Angelis 1998; Gosden 2004, 2–3.

<sup>12</sup> Finley (1976, 174) on the potential pitfalls of the adoption of modern colonial terminology and thinking to the interpretation of the past. See also contributions to Schörner 2005, especially Rothe 2005 and that of Schörner himself.

<sup>13</sup> De Angelis 2009, 52; 2010, 252.

<sup>14</sup> Note and compare various modern scholars writing about the (over)use and abuse of the term imperialism: ‘reified ... can too easily take on a life of its own’ and become ‘an autonomous monster’ stretched to mean ‘whatever I say it means’ (Hyam 2010, 137–38, partly quoting and discussing Martin 2004, 60–64); and Hancock (1950, 17): ‘a pseudo-concept which sets out to make everything clear and ends by making everything muddled’.

<sup>15</sup> See, for instance, van Dommelen 1997; 2002; 2005.

<sup>16</sup> Whitley 2001, 125.

<sup>17</sup> Tsetsikhladze 2006a, lxxvii–lxxiii.

<sup>18</sup> Boardman 2002, 12.

## Main Archaic Greek Colonies and Settlements in the Mediterranean and Black Sea

SETTLEMENT	MOTHER CITY/CITIES	LITERARY DATES FOR FOUNDATION	EARLIEST ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL	EARLIER LOCAL POPULATION
Abdera	1. Clazomenae 2. Teos	1. 654 (Eusebius) 2. <i>ca.</i> 545	second half 7th century	No
Abydos	Miletus	<i>ca.</i> 680-652 (Strabo)		
Acanthus	Andros	655 (Eusebius)	?6th century	
Acrae	Syracuse	663 (Thucydides)	second quarter 7th century	
Acragas	Gela	580	<i>ca.</i> 600-575	Yes
Adria	Aegina	late 6th century (Strabo)	<i>ca.</i> 525-500	
Aenos	Aeolia	second half 7th century-first half 6th century (Herodotus, Ephorus, Ps.-Scymnus, Strabo)		Yes
Agathe	Phocaea	shortly after 600	third quarter 7th century	
Alalia	Phocaea/Massalia	<i>ca.</i> 545	<i>ca.</i> 575-550	
Alopeconnesus	Aeolians	before 561 (Ephorus, Strabo)		Yes
Ambracia	Corinth	<i>ca.</i> 655-625		
Amisus	Miletus and Phocaea	late 7th century	<i>ca.</i> 600-575	?Yes
Anaktorion	Corinth and Corcyra	<i>ca.</i> 655-625	<i>ca.</i> 625-600	
Apollonia in Illyria	Corinth and Corcyra	<i>ca.</i> 600	<i>ca.</i> 600	Yes
Apollonia in Libya	Thera		<i>ca.</i> 600	Yes
Apollonia Pontica	Miletus	<i>ca.</i> 610 (Ps.-Scymnus)	late 7th century	Yes
Argilus	Andros	?655 (Eusebius)	mid-7th century	
Assera	Chalcis			
Assus	Methymna	?7th century	6th century	
Astacus	Megara and Athens	?711 (Eusebius)		
Barca	Cyrene	<i>ca.</i> 560-550		
Berezan	Miletus	647	<i>ca.</i> 630	Yes
Bisanthe	Samos			
Black Corcyra	Cnidus	6th century	600-575	
Byzantium	Megara	659 (Eusebius) or 668	650-625	

SETTLEMENT	MOTHER CITY/CITIES	LITERARY DATES FOR FOUNDATION	EARLIEST ARCHAEO-LOGICAL MATERIAL	EARLIER LOCAL POPULATION
Callatis	Heracleia Pontica	late 6th century	4th century	
Camarina	Syracuse	601 (Eusebius); shortly before <i>ca.</i> 597 (Thucydides)	late 7th century	No
Cardia	Miletus and Clazomenae	late 7th century		
Casmenae	Syracuse	shortly before <i>ca.</i> 642 (Thucydides)	<i>ca.</i> 600	
Catane	Chalcis	737/6 (Eusebius); <i>ca.</i> 728 (Thucydides)	second half 8th century	Yes
Caulonia	Croton		<i>ca.</i> 700	No
Cerasus	Sinope			Yes
Chalcedon	Megara	685 and 679 (Eusebius)		
Chersonesus Taurica	Heracleia Pontica	421	525–500	Yes
Chersonesus (Thracian)	Athens	561–556		
Cius	Miletus	627		
Cleonae	Chalcis			
Colonae	Miletus			
Corcyra	1. Eretria 2. Corinth	1. Plutarch 2. 707/6 (Eusebius); same as Syracuse (Strabo)	second half 8th century	Yes
Cotyora	Sinope			Yes
Croton	Achaia	709 (Eusebius)	7th century	No
Cumae (Italy)	Chalcis and Eretria	1050 (Eusebius)	some pre-750 in pre-Hellenic context; first colonial pottery after 725	Yes
Cydonia	Samos (then Aegina)	<i>ca.</i> 520 (Herodotus)		
Cyrene	Thera	1. 762/1 2. 632/1 (Eusebius)	late 7th century	Yes
Cyzicus	Miletus	1. 756/5 2. 676/5 (Eusebius)		
Dicaearchia	Samos	531 (Eusebius)		
Dioscurias	Miletus	<i>ca.</i> 550	early/first third 6th century (local inland settlement)	Yes

SETTLEMENT	MOTHER CITY/CITIES	LITERARY DATES FOR FOUNDATION	EARLIEST ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL	EARLIER LOCAL POPULATION
Elaeus	Athens	<i>ca.</i> 610	<i>ca.</i> 600	
Elea/Hyele	Phocaea	<i>ca.</i> 540	first half 6th century	
Emporion	Phocaea	<i>ca.</i> 600	<i>ca.</i> 600–575	Yes
Epidamnus	Corcyra	627 (Eusebius)		
Euhesperides	Cyrene	before <i>ca.</i> 515	610–575	
Gale	Chalcis			
Galepsus	Thasos		<i>ca.</i> 625	
Gela	Rhodes and Crete	692/1 (Eusebius); shortly before 688 (Thucydides)	<i>ca.</i> 700	Yes
Gryneia	Aeolia		by 500	
Helorus	Syracuse		<i>ca.</i> 700	
Heracleia Minoa	Selinus	before 510	mid-6th century	No
Heracleia Pontica	Megara and Boeotians	554 (Ps.-Scymnus) (Strabo)		Yes
Hermonassa	Miletus and Mytilene		575–550	?Yes
Himera	Zancle/Mylae	650/49 (Eusebius); 648 (Ptolemy, Diodorus Siculus)	<i>ca.</i> 625	
Hipponium	Locri Epizephyrii		<i>ca.</i> 620	
Histria	Miletus	657 (Eusebius.)	630	Yes
Hyria	Crete	?7th century	6th century	
Imbros	Athens	<i>ca.</i> 500		
Kelenderis	Samos			
Kepoi	Miletus	mid-6th century	580–560	?Yes
Lampsacus	Miletus	654 (Eusebius)		
Laus	Sybaris			
Lemnos	Athens	<i>ca.</i> 500	<i>ca.</i> 500	Yes
Leontini	Chalcis	shortly before 728 (Thucydides)	750–725	Yes
Leros	Miletus		7th century	
Leuca	Corinth	mid 7th century		
Limnae	Miletus			
Lipara	Cnidus	630 (Eusebius)	575–550	
Locri Epizephyrii	Locris	679 (Eusebius); <i>temp</i> Messenian war (Arist.)	<i>ca.</i> 700	Yes
Madytus	Lesbos			
Maroneia	Chios	before <i>ca.</i> 650		
Massalia	Phocaea	598 (Eusebius)	<i>ca.</i> 600	
Mecyberna	Chalcis			

SETTLEMENT	MOTHER CITY/CITIES	LITERARY DATES FOR FOUNDATION	EARLIEST ARCHAEO-LOGICAL MATERIAL	EARLIER LOCAL POPULATION
Medma	Locri Epizephyrii		<i>ca.</i> 600	
Megara Hyblaea	Megara	728 (Thucydides); before Syracuse (Ephorus)	third quarter 8th century	No
Mende	Eretria		?11th century	
Mesembria	Megara, Byzantium, Chalcedon	493	<i>ca.</i> 500	
Metapontum	Achaea	775/4 (Eusebius)	last quarter 8th century	Yes
Metaurus	1. Zancle 2. Locri Epizep.		1. 700–650 2. <i>ca.</i> 550	
Methone	Eretria	<i>ca.</i> 706 or <i>ca.</i> 733		
Miletopolis	Miletus			
Mylae	Zancle	716 (Eusebius)	last quarter 8th century	No
Myrmekion	Miletus or Panticapaeum		575–550	
Nagidos	Samos			
Naucratis	Several Ionian cities	<i>ca.</i> 655 (Strabo)	last quarter 7th century	Yes
Naxos (Sicily)	Chalcis	737 (Eusebius); shortly before 733 (Thucydides)	third quarter 8th century	Yes
Neapolis (Kavalla)	Thasos		<i>ca.</i> 650–625	
Nymphaeum	Miletus		580–570	Yes
Oasis Polis	Samos	before <i>ca.</i> 525		
Odessus	Miletus	585–539	<i>ca.</i> 560	
Oesyme	Thasos		650–625	
Olbia	Miletus	647	575–550	Yes
Paesus	Miletus			
Pandosia	Achaean/Elis	775/4 (Eusebius)	<i>ca.</i> 725–700	
Panticapaeum	Miletus		590–570	Yes
Parium	Paros, Miletus, Erythrae	709		
Parthenope	Cumae/Rhodes	12th century (Strabo)	675–650	
Patraeus	Miletus	550–500	mid 6th century	?Yes
Perinthus	Samos	602 (Eusebius)		
Phanagoria	Teos	<i>ca.</i> 545	<i>ca.</i> 540	?Yes
Phaselis	Rhodes	?688		
Phasis	Miletus		<i>ca.</i> 550–530	Yes
Pilorus	Chalcis			

SETTLEMENT	MOTHER CITY/CITIES	LITERARY DATES FOR FOUNDATION	EARLIEST ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL	EARLIER LOCAL POPULATION
Pithekoussai	Chalcis and Eretria		<i>ca.</i> 750–725	Up to a point
Poseidonia	Sybaris		<i>ca.</i> 600	No
Poteidaea	Corinth	625–585	<i>ca.</i> 600	
Priapus	Miletus			
Proconnesus	Miletus	before <i>ca.</i> 690		
Prusias	?Miletus	627 (Eusebius)		
Pyxus	Sybaris			
Rhegion	Chalcis (and Zancle)	8th century	720s	
Rhode	Rhodes	9th–8th centuries	late 7th century	
Samothrace	Samos	600–500	<i>ca.</i> 700	Yes
Sane	Andros	655		
Sarte	Chalcis			
Scepsis	Miletus			
Scione	Achaea			
Selinus	Megara Hyblaea	651 (Diodorus Siculus); 650 (Eusebius); 628 (Thucydides)	mid 7th century	Nearby
Selymbria	Megara	before Byzantium		
Sermyle	Chalcis			
Sestus	Lesbos			
Side	Cyme	7th–6th centuries		
Sigeum	Athens	620–610		
Singus	Chalcis			
Sinope	Miletus	1. pre-757 (Scymnus) 2. 631/0 (Eusebius)	last third 7th century	
Siris	Colophon	<i>ca.</i> 680–652	<i>ca.</i> 700	
Spina				
Stagirus	Chalcidians	656 (Eusebius)		
Stryme	Thasos	<i>ca.</i> 650		
Sybaris	Achaea	720s (Ps.-Scymnus); 710/9 (Eusebius)	720s	No
Syracuse	Corinth	735	<i>ca.</i> 750–725	Yes
Tanais	?Miletus		<i>ca.</i> 625–600	
Taras	Sparta	706 (Eusebius)	<i>ca.</i> 700	Yes
Tauchira	Cyrene		<i>ca.</i> 630	
Temesa	?Croton		<i>ca.</i> 500	
Terina	Croton		<i>ca.</i> 500	
Thasos	Paros	1425 (Eusebius); mid-7th century (Archilochus)	<i>ca.</i> 650	Yes



SETTLEMENT	MOTHER CITY/CITIES	LITERARY DATES FOR FOUNDATION	EARLIEST ARCHAEO-LOGICAL MATERIAL	EARLIER LOCAL POPULATION
Theodosia	Miletus	550–500	580–570	Yes
Tieion	Miletus			
Tomis	Miletus		early 6th century	
Torone	Chalcis	before <i>ca.</i> 650	late 12th century	Yes
Trapezus	Sinope	757/6 (Eusebius)		Yes
Tyras	Miletus	mid 6th century	second half 6th century	?Yes
Tyritace	Miletus		575–550	?Yes
Zancle	Cumae/Chalcis	8th century	third quarter 8th century	No

In 1994 A.M. Snodgrass agreed with J.-P. Morel that the motives for Greek colonisation were one of a series of subjects of research that had ‘become less important’.<sup>19</sup> Recent developments have allowed J.-P. Descœudres to go back to the reasons and present a completely different picture of the Greek circumstances that gave rise to it. Rather than Greeks ‘living in a poor country’, he convincingly demonstrates that their circumstances were much less straitened than hitherto thought: they were not desperate for metals or other natural resources, nor was mainland Greece overpopulated.<sup>20</sup> The main reason lies in a variety of circumstances which forced Greeks to leave their home cities.<sup>21</sup>

Despite all these doubts about retrojecting the modern concept of ‘colonisation’ onto ancient Greeks, there is a parallel and paradoxical development in Anglo-Saxon scholarship: a growing body of books, articles and collections not only comparing ancient Greek with modern European colonisation, but also seeking to understand the former through the latter<sup>22</sup> – although some doubt must be expressed about the depth, breadth and subtlety of their understanding of the many phases and facets of the modern period as it actually was. Various responses may be discerned: those who make heavy use of anthropologically inspired theoretical models derived from modern European colonisation (new analogies for old?); those who, although they seek to do so, cannot quite escape this entanglement; those who turn their backs and seek out other models, theories and explanations, drawn

<sup>19</sup> Snodgrass 1994, 1.

<sup>20</sup> Descœudres 2008.

<sup>21</sup> Descœudres 2008, 293–98.

<sup>22</sup> For example Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002; Gosden 2004; some contributions to Stein 2005 – but see Dietler 2005 in the same volume, especially his swipe at the ‘Whig (pre)history’ of the Early Iron Age (p. 61).

from other modern disciplines.<sup>23</sup> But if concepts such as Hellenisation, Romanisation, acculturation, etc. do not work, why should world systems, core-periphery, or other overarching schemes and themes about power relationships?<sup>24</sup>

One scholar of ancient colonisation well versed in modern empire was the Oxford-based Anglo-Australian, T.J. Dunbabin.<sup>25</sup> The criticism of his major work, published in 1948 but written mainly in the 1930s, is that the insights he brings from such a background are (more than) counterbalanced by seeking to draw too many parallels and lessons from and with the High Empire that had nurtured him and the Late Empire in which he wrote (if not the twilight in which he published),<sup>26</sup> all framed within a model that 'is misleading because Archaic Greek *apoikiai* and British colonies are not comparable phenomena'<sup>27</sup> – in effect, he was comparing apples and pears, and his knowledge and experience of modern empire had skewed, hindered or limited his understanding and interpretation of the Archaic 'western Greeks'. As U. Rothe suggests, however, in discussing the origins of 'Romanisation' and assessments of Roman imperialism, the pendulum has swung too far the other way, without necessarily coming any closer to the truth: the criticism of the more benign assessments of yore and the contemporary stigmatising of the supposedly prejudiced attitude of those writing in the age of colonialism<sup>28</sup> comes from scholars who seldom acknowledge that they are no less influenced or entrapped by contemporary ideologies than their predecessors. Here too the influence of a certain idea of British colonial and imperial history (within a narrow chronology) is paramount (see below).<sup>29</sup>

This appropriation of antiquity to produce analogies with modern colonisation and *vice versa* has led to circularity, a complex self-referencing system in which European colonialism drew upon perceived ancient models but then used (its) colonialism as a tool with which to understand these models, i.e. people chasing their own tails (and tales), analogies staring at each other in a series of mirrors, the chicken and the egg:<sup>30</sup> the British Empire set the tone of study of Greek settlement/

<sup>23</sup> Owen 2005, 11–20.

<sup>24</sup> See, for example, Dietler 2005; 2010, especially chapters 1–2.

<sup>25</sup> Dunbabin 1948; De Angelis 1998.

<sup>26</sup> De Angelis 1998; Shepherd 2005; Snodgrass. 2005. In passing, Shepherd is Anglo-Australian, which now means something completely different from Dunbabin's time (and De Angelis is Canadian). See Ward 2001 (especially chapter 1) for the continuing Anglo-Australian 'embrace' in the 1950s. But, in one sense, they are successors to what Sir Keith Hancock, another example of the phenomenon, sometime Oxford-based but a decade Dunbabin's senior, called 'British with a small "b"' (Davidson 2010, 107) or 'independent Australian Britons' (Hancock 1930) – see Davidson 2010 for all the tensions and contradictions in such a status, at least as felt by Hancock.

<sup>27</sup> De Angelis 1998, 545.

<sup>28</sup> Another troublesome word. See Sommer's contribution to the present discussion; Fieldhouse 1981; Dietler 2010.

<sup>29</sup> Rothe 2005.

<sup>30</sup> Tsetskhladze 2008b, 179; Owen 2005, 11; see also Tsetskhladze 2006a, xxv–xxviii.

colonisation in the West, the Greeks were culturally superior, now the British were and 'the glory that was Greece was reborn in Britain'.<sup>31</sup> Scholars, seduced in part by the similarity of vocabulary,<sup>32</sup> borrowed (inaptly if not ineptly) theories from modern colonialism; these yielded a set of assumptions about colonialism, the suitability and applicability of which (and of the analogies derived therefrom) was never properly justified – 'with weak examples continuing to dominate because few were prepared to say how threadbare they were'.<sup>33</sup> As J. Boardman has remarked, 'the mere mention of modern colonialism in the same breath as ancient should invite caution'.<sup>34</sup>

If Dunbabin carried baggage – 'the Greeks as "ourselves"' – so too do 'post-colonial' scholars,<sup>36</sup> part of which is to assume that with the demise of the European empires we are in a post-colonial world (an incongruous example of Eurocentrism), more of which seems to be a late 20th-century antipathy to the late 19th century, and post-imperial guilt as (over)reaction to High/Late Empire.<sup>37</sup> Too much of this commentary appears to make the false assumption that the (British) Empire of *ca.* 1900 is the only sort of 'colonial empire' there was (and that it was far more monolithic than was ever the case). Snodgrass, in considering Dunbabin and responses to him, remarked that

when it comes to drawing lessons from real life scholars like everyone else, are apt to turn to the era lived through by themselves, their parents and their grandparents. Thus, inevitably, it was recent British imperial experience that shaped their subconscious thought.<sup>38</sup>

Snodgrass's own awareness ensures that does not fall into this trap. His knowledge of modern colonisations and empires is such that he can find genuine analogies, weak or sometimes facile as he admits they are, but from the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, including the Ulster plantations (William of Orange as spurious *oikist* and recipient of a founder-cult).<sup>39</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Shepherd 2005, 42.

<sup>32</sup> 'Word magic': Finley 1976, 174.

<sup>33</sup> Tsetskhladze 2008b, 179; Owen 2005.

<sup>34</sup> Boardman 2002, 12.

<sup>35</sup> Snodgrass 2005, 58.

<sup>36</sup> See Gosden 2004 (a not uncritical sympathiser with post-colonial theory), especially 20.

<sup>37</sup> Hardwick and Gillespie 2007. And see Boardman 2002, 11–15; Schörner 2005.

<sup>38</sup> Snodgrass 2005, 45. Snodgrass is of the generation to have known the twilight of the European empires (and from a family background that would have been fully exposed to empire?). To gain some perspective on the diverse nature of (mainly) the British Empire, see most recently Darwin 2010; Hyam 2010, especially Part I. 'Dynamics; geopolitics and economics', but brimming with sharp historiographical *aperçus* throughout.

<sup>39</sup> Snodgrass 2005, 49, 55.

Previous generations were comfortable with terms and concepts such as Hellenisation and barbarian, even if here too they sought and misidentified modern analogies. Nowadays, the terms are falling into disuse before the onslaught of 'political correctness', another Anglo-Saxon preoccupation. It is true that Hellenisation was often used to imply that local peoples, or 'barbarians', who were deemed to have nothing significant to offer in return but everything to gain, were experiencing the benefits of being civilised by the Greeks and converted, to a greater or lesser degree, into pseudo-Hellenes. As more has become known about the local peoples it is clear that they were often far from benighted and backward and, moreover, that Greeks arriving in their territory, needing to adapt their own ways of life to hitherto unknown circumstances, had much to learn from them and did not forgo the opportunity.<sup>40</sup>

Similarly, the term barbarian in a colonial context, especially in the Archaic period, should be used as it was by the Greeks themselves: a term to describe locals not speaking Greek, and without any further cultural connotations. It is not until the Classical period that it is used to underline the superiority of Greeks over locals – a time when the Athenians introduced the concepts of 'Greeks' and 'Others', 'West' and 'East', so that Greeks and West, not even the whole of 'Greece' but especially Athenians, were above the salt. Here too new terms and theories have been advanced, yet again taken from modern colonial experience. One such is the 'Middle Ground', used to describe encounters between Europeans and American Indians in the Great Lakes in the 17th–19th centuries;<sup>41</sup> others are acculturation and (even more interestingly) hybridity, borrowed from literary and cultural theory and 'Post-colonial Studies'.<sup>42</sup> More examples can be given. Again, this highlights an obsession with theory and terminology, again largely in Anglo-Saxon scholarship. In reality, the descriptions and examples are new wine in old bottles, or rather new nomenclature for old concepts.

Another preoccupation is with ethnicity, which is yet another instance of imposing modern concepts, concerns and obsessions on Archaic Greece, where we know full well that there were no such things as a unified country or a 'national' identity or, until the Classical period, any real self-identification as Greeks.<sup>43</sup> We are forgetting to let the Greeks talk for themselves about their own practices and concepts and how they considered themselves. They were well able to do so, as Thucydides (1. 3) and Herodotus (8. 144) amply demonstrate.

<sup>40</sup> See discussion in Tsetskhladze 2006a, li–lvi. See also Owen 2005, 13–14.

<sup>41</sup> Malkin 1998; 2002.

<sup>42</sup> Antonaccio 2003; 2005.

<sup>43</sup> See discussions in Tsetskhladze 2006a, lix–lxii; *AWE* 4.2 (2005), 409–60.

A recent attempt to impose 'race', another modern concept, on the ancient world,<sup>44</sup> judged less than completely successful,<sup>45</sup> says more about now than about then (just as to some Dunbabin may tell us more about the Anglo-Australian embrace in Late Empire, his 'now', than about his ostensible subject). Current 'concern with racial differences between immigrant and indigenous peoples'<sup>46</sup> is just part of the thrusting of 'the desired modern standards on to antiquity' deplored by Boardman.<sup>47</sup> Maybe we should try to understand the ancient world through the ancient world itself: eschewing 'political correctness' and embracing an older Anglo-Saxon school of historical research – empiricism.

Trade and the search for materials have been adduced as a motif for colonial/imperial endeavour ancient and modern. In some circumstances trade followed the flag, in others the flag followed trade.<sup>48</sup> In the modern era there might be much trade and economic involvement but no flag – 'informal empire' or, perhaps a caricature, the planting of a flag on some barren, barely strategic rock (Rockall?) simply to deny it to others (*cf.* the 1930s cartoon by Pont in the magazine *Punch*: 'Imperialism').<sup>49</sup> As Descœudres has demonstrated, trade cannot be considered a primary reason for Greek overseas settlement.<sup>50</sup>

One of those in the forefront of seeking a conceptual definition of modern colonialism was M.I. Finley, and his clear answer was one that excluded not merely most 'colonial' ventures in antiquity and beyond but also many of those of the modern era.<sup>51</sup> Generally, 'Historians have shied away from attempts at terminological precision of the term "colonialism" because of its myriad facets.'<sup>52</sup> Nowadays, unlike a century ago,<sup>53</sup> practitioners of (British) imperial history seldom look over their shoulders to seek models from antiquity to help them or make reference to those writing on antiquity, if the *Historiography* volume of 'The Oxford History

<sup>44</sup> Isaac 2004.

<sup>45</sup> See discussion in *AWE* 6 (2007), 327–45.

<sup>46</sup> Snodgrass 2005, 55.

<sup>47</sup> Boardman 1999, 268 (and of which Snodgrass believes Boardman himself not to be entirely innocent: Snodgrass 2005, 58).

<sup>48</sup> For 'trade before the flag' and clear analogies between Archaic Greek colonisation and the activities of the (British) East India Company before it became a pseudo-government in the mid-18th century, see Blakeway 1932–33.

<sup>49</sup> Ingrams 1985, 28–29.

<sup>50</sup> Descœudres 2008, 332–41, 360–61.

<sup>51</sup> Finley 1976, especially 184; Purcell 2005, 134.

<sup>52</sup> Osterhammel 1997, 3 (a good short account of not just European colonialism/colonisation by a leading German scholar – though his conceptions of colonisation and colonialism diverge vastly from Finley's). An example of confusion comes in the commentary by L. Meskell in Yoffee 2007, 215–18.

<sup>53</sup> Though Rome was the obvious model from antiquity: Cramb 1900; Lucas 1912; Bryce 1914.

of the British Empire' is at all typical.<sup>54</sup> Things have moved on, just as they have from a largely metropolitan focus, and then a concentration on constitutional development, to accounts in which local peoples and circumstances are given due weight<sup>55</sup> (just as study of Greek antiquity has moved on from excessive Hellenocentrism). But most of the possessions of most of the European 'colonial empires' were not 'colonies of settlement', to use the terminology of Imperial and Commonwealth historians, and if examining Greek colonisation through a modern focus leads to the conclusion that it was not colonisation at all, then the reverse applies with equal force, as Finley discovered.

How far can (or should) we go in applying the concept of Thalassocracy to the 'first' British Empire? Leave out North America and it has some plausibility until inward expansion in India (as it has, if we force the analogy, to the last years of empire, reduced to a chain of miscellaneous islands, peninsulae and strategic enclaves – at Simonstown, Aden, on Cyprus, in the Maldives, Singapore(?) – between Gibraltar and Hong Kong). There is, of course, a parallel between the harbours, promontories and near offshore islands that attracted the Greeks and attracted the British: maritime access and basic defensibility (at least in theory – *cf.* Singapore). And from many such outposts complex patterns of interaction with the peoples and states of the hinterland developed. But has anyone applied the terminology of *peraia* to Province Wellesley *vis-à-vis* Penang?

The work of M.H. Hansen and the Copenhagen Polis Centre,<sup>56</sup> even for those who have criticised it for a degree of over-refinement, is viable and valuable when applied to Greek antiquity. But what would such an approach have to offer recent colonial ventures?<sup>57</sup> Would it produce comparisons between the French practice of incorporating settler territories into metropolitan France (pre-1962 Algeria) or organising them as overseas *départements*, with Dutch and even Portuguese echoes, and that of Britain? Would disentangling the Indian Empire and native states, dominions (South Africa but also Newfoundland), colonies (Southern Rhodesia but also Labuan), protectorates (Northern Rhodesia), hybrids (Sierra Leone), sub-protectorates (Barotseland within Northern Rhodesia), protected states (Tonga), states in a suite of tailor-made subordinate treaty relationships (for instance, the patchwork of 'states' in an arc from Kuwait to Lahej),<sup>58</sup> mandates/trust territories, leased territories, concessions (as in Shanghai) and so forth be of interest to any but

<sup>54</sup> Winks 1999. Even Gibbon rates barely a mention. See particularly the contribution of W.R. Louis, the series editor (pp. 1–42).

<sup>55</sup> In this respect the great departure is Robinson and Gallagher 1961.

<sup>56</sup> Culminating in Hansen and Nielsen 2004.

<sup>57</sup> The Polis Centre extended its geographical and chronological purview in Hansen 2000.

<sup>58</sup> See Trevaskis 1968, for example, for the complexities in one part of South Arabia/South Yemen/the West Aden Protectorate/Aden/the Hadhramaut. See also Darwin 2009, 1–2.

a handful of legal and constitutional historians? Might this be further refined to comparisons between colonies with nominated, partly- and fully-elected legislative councils, with unofficial majorities in the executive council, with full cabinet government, etc.<sup>59</sup> Or between 'colonies of settlement' and others, colonies in a legal sense, without any settled European population? And what about places of settlement that were not colonies? – such as the Welsh in Patagonia, within a country that was 'shortly to be thought of as an "honorary dominion", and that is probably as accurate a description [of the Anglo-Argentine relationship] as the imperfect terms available to historians... will allow'.<sup>60</sup> A prime example of a country in which trade (and investment) neither followed nor preceded the flag. Whatever cross-currents, influences and counterinfluences may have once existed between colonial-imperial activity and ancient colonisation, no historians of the former have ever tied themselves in knots discussing the status of 'colonial' Calcutta, Bombay, Penang or Weiheiwei in terms of *emporion*, *polis* or port-of-trade – they have enough problems with their own terminology. There might, however, be benefit in comparing/contrasting the European concession territories (and treaty ports) in China, or the early East India Company factories in India, with various Greek colonies and *emporia* (Naucratis comes to mind), and particularly with the quarters of native settlements occupied by Greek craftsmen and Greek-established settlements with a mixed population.

Has the concept of the *oikist* anything to tell us? It was not on the lips of Mr Rhodes when he despatched the Pioneer Column to Fort Salisbury in 1890,<sup>61</sup> though Rhodes as 'The Founder' was the object of veneration by the white population of the Rhodesias: the man, the cult, the 'Rhodes and Founders' public holiday on the anniversary of his birth, the Rhodes Centenary Exhibition in Bulawayo in 1953, the tomb in the Matopos.<sup>62</sup> Could *oikist* be applied corporately to the char-

<sup>59</sup> Wheare 1938, and subsequent editions under evolving titles (reflecting the evolving nature of the dominions and the Empire-Commonwealth), for diversity even within 'dominion status' (Sir Kenneth Wheare was another Oxford-based Anglo-Australian contemporary of Dunbabin's); see also Ward 2001; Hancock 1937. The *Colonial Office List* for 'dependencies'. To take what is now Malaysia, this includes parts of a colony (all of it briefly), *viz.* the Straits Settlement, another colony (Labuan), a former company-administered protectorate later a colony (North Borneo/Sabah), a grouping of protected states (the Federated Malay States), more states in individual treaty relationships – one perhaps separately protected (the Unfederated Malay States), and Sarawak, *sui generis*, neither quite protectorate nor protected state and later a colony. See also Tsetschladze 2008b, 180.

<sup>60</sup> Cain and Hopkins 1993, 315.

<sup>61</sup> Keppel-Jones 1983, 157–76. Or *archegetes*? – although it was Col. E.J. Pennefather who commanded the Column. Another oikistic figure in the (northern) Rhodesias was Sir Robert Codrington at Fort Jameson, etc., whose forebears had a proprietorial role in Barbuda in the Leewards contemporary to that of the Penns and Calverts on the American mainland (see below).

<sup>62</sup> Maylam 2005, *passim*. And one might also consider the local pecking order in which 'Pioneers' had a status above 'Early Settlers' (a defined category), followed by early settlers (generic), etc., etc.



tered companies in the Rhodesias and North Borneo,<sup>63</sup> or how would it describe James Brooke, first Rajah of Sarawak, which was a family concern for a century before becoming a British colony? – but the *oikists* of antiquity did not set up dynasties.<sup>64</sup> Perhaps it might fit Edward Gibbon Wakefield, a sort of serial *oikist* with his promotion of the settlement of South Australia and then New Zealand in the 1830s, or the proprietary (puritan) Sir William Penn of Pennsylvania and the Calverts/Baltimores (Roman Catholic) in adjacent Maryland, both late 17th century? But the Baltimores were conspicuous absentees. Here, a more pertinent parallel is between the exiles – loosely, the losers in the many and various political-religious battles in all parts of the British Isles in the 17th century – who settled these colonies and the Bacchiad exiles from Corinth in Corcyra,<sup>65</sup> the Syracusans, exiled in the period of Dionysius, who founded the colony of Ancona (Strabo 5. 4. 2), or the 6th-century Miltiades in Thracian Chersonese (Herodotus 6. 36. 1) or Dorieus in Sicily:<sup>66</sup> socio-political conflict at the root of and solved by migration, with the antithesis *miasma–katharmos* as code for this, discussed by F. Bernstein<sup>67</sup> in connection with the foundation of Syracuse by Corinth, Rhegion by Chalcis, Croton by the Achaeans and Cyrene by Thera. If some ancient foundations resulted from a desire to export an ‘undesirable surplus population’,<sup>68</sup> in 17th-century Britain various ‘undesirables’ exported themselves. Perhaps, comparisons are closer when we pass towards the Athenian imperial period – *oikists* were more under the control of the founding polity, and the 5th-century BC Athenian Hagnon, having founded Amphipolis, retired home.<sup>69</sup>

Should we regard the New Territories as the *chora* of Hong Kong, or the extensive protectorate of Sierra Leone (rich in resources) as that for the earlier small colony (appropriately a peninsula and adjacent areas containing just 1% of the land

For *oikists*, and the exaggeration/fabrication of their role in Archaic colonisation, see Tsetskhladze forthcoming.

<sup>63</sup> The British South Africa Company enjoyed a status in Southern Rhodesia into the 1960s that owed something to its association with Rhodes – corporate founder’s kin – not just to its economic power and influence – or such is the impression gained from the papers of Sir Roy Welensky in Rhodes House Library, Oxford (Hargrave 1995); and the deposit there of his papers, and those of several other prominent Rhodesians, is an indication of the talismanic quality of any connection with ‘The Founder’ – something on which the Rhodes Trust and the Rhodes Birthplace Museum have long turned their backs (Maylam 2005, especially 60–61; Ziegler 2008, Parts IV and V – published by Yale, not Oxford!). Jessel, of the British North Borneo Company, had to be content with the naming of the capital after him – Jesselton.

<sup>64</sup> Barley 2002. Established 1841; protectorate 1888; colony 1946. Malkin 2009, especially 386.

<sup>65</sup> Graham 1983, 111.

<sup>66</sup> Malkin 2009, 381.

<sup>67</sup> Bernstein 2004.

<sup>68</sup> Graham 1982, 158.

<sup>69</sup> Malkin 2009, 376–77. To the Athenian forerunner of Cheltenham Spa, perhaps?

area of the whole territory; a colony both in legal status and the place of settlement of the bulk of Sierra Leone's Creole population)?

Are there modern parallels to the phenomenon of secondary colonisation, itself complex and diverse, found in the Greek world?<sup>70</sup> As to 'colonies of settlement', perhaps the Boer republics established by people of Dutch descent fleeing the now British-controlled Cape in the 'Great Trek',<sup>71</sup> but then also Southern Rhodesia (mainly British from South Africa but also Boers); as to administered territory, South West Africa (South Africa), Papua New Guinea or Christmas Island (Australia), most of Samoa (New Zealand), and other unrealised transfers in the same regions. Perhaps, modern secondary colonisation should be identified with the settlement of individuals from one colonial domain in another – Indians in Fiji, East Africa or Trinidad; freed slaves from the Caribbean in Sierra Leone – as well as the accretion of Thalassocratic outposts by the (British) Government of India, to be settled by Britons, Indians and others (for example Aden, or the Straits Settlement – which leads back to discussion of mixed populations, separate and specialised quarters, etc.).

Lord Palmerston's 'civis Britannicus sum', in connection with the Don Pacifico affair in the mid-19th century, was a melodramatic, self-conscious echoing of Rome. Later it reflected one of the many strange realities of the evolving Empire-Commonwealth up to recent times: the parallel 1948/49 'British' nationality legislation in the United Kingdom, all the dominions, even the newly independent ones, and Southern Rhodesia, creating in many a passport nationality within a pan-imperial, rather than strictly pan-Britannic citizenship.<sup>72</sup> How far can and should links and comparisons be made with the examples of sympolity and isopolity of colonies and mother-cities practised in the Greek world?<sup>73</sup>

Does Hellenisation have modern echoes? Indeed so, if its analogy is the 'civilising mission' deemed part of European 'colonisation'. At a serious level, one may call up the British-educated elites who led both India and Pakistan, for example, to independence.<sup>74</sup> They took a great deal, but they took what they needed and wanted;

<sup>70</sup> Frisone and Lombardo forthcoming.

<sup>71</sup> Die Groot Trek of 1836–54, leading subsequently to the establishment of the Transvaal ('South African Republic') and the Orange Free State (Osterhammel 1997, 5).

<sup>72</sup> As a British subject. Australia for a further generation issued passports that described holders thus (Curran and Ward 2010, 131). A continuing anomaly is that pre-1983/84 'British', i.e. Empire-Commonwealth/British Subject, residents of Australia enjoy voting and other rights and obligations without needing to take Australian citizenship. And similar privileges are still extended to citizens of Commonwealth countries (some ex-) in the United Kingdom.

<sup>73</sup> Graham 1983, 98–117, 154–65.

<sup>74</sup> Or Ceylon, or Malaya. How deep this went into and beyond the elite is open to debate – compare Burma with Pakistan, the different regions within Nigeria, the leading figures in Freetown and those in the Sierra Leone hinterland, etc., etc. Freetown might better be grouped with the Commonwealth Caribbean, where society as a whole, black, white and, to a lesser degree, Asian, was

and the process was not entirely unidirectional: the culture(s) of the Subcontinent was different but hardly primitive. As in antiquity, how much was adoption, how much adaptation? How far was it a veneer of the local elite? As farce or tragedy there is the spectacle of the Savile-Row-tailored 'Comrade' R.G. Mugabe stepping out of an ex-gubernatorial Rolls-Royce to process for the State Opening of the Parliament of Zimbabwe, judges be-wigged and in scarlet robes, Mr Speaker now more formally dressed than at Westminster. Or Fiji, a republic after multiple coups by a military based at Queen Elizabeth Barracks, led by a man sitting under a portrait of the same Queen Elizabeth and hoping for her return, observing her (official) birthday as a public holiday and still incorporating the Union flag in its own.

Just as there was a Greek world, so it is possible to speak of a British world too. How comparable were their multiple layers of identity?: Panhellenism and multiple Hellenisms *vs* a Pan-Britannic identity and the multiple Britishnesses, many of the latter supposedly better or purer than the original,<sup>75</sup> evident in the settler territories of the Empire-Commonwealth, and the attendant attachment to symbols and rituals discarded, if ever practised, 'at home'. Maybe some useful parallels and contrasts can be drawn with the attitudes, deities and cult practices, civic rituals, etc. carried with them by ancient Greek settlers – some of these too might have survived unchanged or more fully beyond their original home, but here we are hamstrung by our relative lack of evidence/knowledge. Wider self-identification, Greekness?, came to the Greeks gradually over the centuries (see above), whereas Britishness had a reverse trajectory: present from the outset, mutating and eventually receding (a dominant, parallel, then echo of an identity). At some point they intersected, but how instructive is it to pursue this?

Certainly, there are examples modern colonies outstripping their parents in terms of planning and political development (if the secret – 'Australian' – ballot, manhood suffrage and votes for women are signs of it), as did Megara Hyblaea and the Achaean colonies of antiquity.<sup>76</sup>

Encountering the 'Other' is a common thread. From a European perspective, religion aside, there could be encounters with something so 'Other', for instance

thoroughly Anglicised; and, like Barbados (Codrington College – the same Codringtons), it enjoyed from an early date a university college, both coincidentally linked to the University of Durham.

<sup>75</sup> Curran and Ward 2010, especially 8–15, 20–30. It was said of post-war settlers in Central Africa that the year they left Britain could be identified by the attitudes they brought with them. And the Queen's Birthday is a public holiday in somewhat-republican Australia, unlike the United Kingdom (where it is relegated to a Saturday to avoid disturbing the London traffic). Britishness, in this context, is partly cultural-institutional, partly a matter of 'race patriotism' (see Ward 2001), etc., i.e. 'between ethnicity and culture', to borrow the subtitle of Hall 2002 and invite comparison with the 'Hellenicity' addressed there; it should not be construed simply as a modern nationalism.

<sup>76</sup> Malkin 1996 for ancient examples. Australia and New Zealand for the modern political.

the Aborigines of Australia, that it was apt to reinforce all those notions of superiority that are redolent of ancient Athens in its time of empire,<sup>77</sup> but which do not advance our understanding of Archaic Greece.

If we search for modern examples of (settlement) 'colonisation' driven by demographic pressure, economic opportunity and the hunt for raw materials, in combination with a culture not prone to self-doubt, then probably the recrudescence of Chinese activity in Tibet and Sinkiang ('New Dominion', otherwise East Turkestan) is an apt example,<sup>78</sup> or the Javanese in western New Guinea.

These examples are simply to illustrate the difficulties. As we hope we have shown, if one has a mind to it, it is possible to claim or deny colonisation in any number of contexts, ancient and modern, drawing out models and analogies to a point close to parody.<sup>79</sup> Recent historians of modern colonialism, whatever that may mean, do not use or abuse the tools, models and classifications of ancient colonisation, though some of their predecessors did. But some of those investigating ancient colonisation, whatever that may mean, seem to have been attracted to a falsely identified monolith that they think is a recent equivalent – misled by the similarity in terminology (metonym *vs* metaphor?), like many of their predecessors, but in new ways. The practice of thrusting modern standards onto antiquity<sup>80</sup> has had a long enough history for the standards of the early practitioners to be far removed from what is now in vogue amongst their successors. So let us be content to accept that words such as 'colonisation', 'colony', etc. can only be approximations, necessary but imperfect, prone to comparative confusion, burdened with great weights of meaning and inference even just in the period of High Empire, never mind across the millennia. To some they may seem little more than a seductive siren, dragging many vessels travelling to different destinations and loaded with varied cargoes onto the rocks; to others, the least bad port (exact status uncertain) in which to shelter from the storm of ever more varied and obscure terminologies. As the philosopher-broadcaster C.E.M. Joad would have said on the *Brains Trust*: 'It all depends on what you mean by... [colonisation].'

<sup>77</sup> 'Here were the inhabitants of the land that had just invented the steam engine meeting folk who could not boil water' (Geoffrey Blainey, probably Australia's leading historian, quoted in Attwood 2005, 139).

<sup>78</sup> Taking up from the 'barbarian office' that handled these regions and Mongolia when they were acquired under the Ch'ing dynasty (Osterhammel 1997, 9).

<sup>79</sup> Tsetskhladze 2008b.

<sup>80</sup> See n. 47 above.

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# COLONIES – COLONISATION – COLONIALISM: A TYPOLOGICAL REAPPRAISAL

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## Abstract

Colonies, colonisation and, in particular, colonialism are concepts carrying heavy ideological subtexts – yet they loom over the current debate about the dynamism of the Iron Age Mediterranean. Forty years after M.I. Finley's 'attempt at a typology', this paper tries to thin out the terminological jungle: by employing cross-cultural historical comparison, it demonstrates how complex and manifold seemingly straightforward ideal types are; and that 'colonies' and 'colonialism' in the classical period of European imperialism were altogether different from the settlements Greeks and Phoenicians established in their Mediterranean diasporas.

## Intellectual Rigour: Logomachies?

All scholarship works with concepts, ideas. This holds true especially for the humanities and again in particular for the historical disciplines which attempt at explaining and understanding the past by applying paradigms and terminologies derived from the present. Max Weber has taught us to view such concepts not as reflections of a – however defined – historical 'reality', but as images of thought ('Gedankenbilder'): utopias, emerged from our minds, 'ideal types', how he calls them.<sup>1</sup> Ideal types are a tool, not the purpose of knowledge: theory serves historical knowledge, not the other way round. By means of abstraction and generalisation, the scholar creates the instruments of his investigation by himself.<sup>2</sup>

From the historian, Weber's methodology demands a great deal of modesty, intellectual self-discipline and rigour. Not only must he be aware that his conclusions based on ideal types bear their expiry date in themselves, are subjective and depend on a series of assumptions; he also needs to distinguish ideas from ideals: the ideal types he constructs are not exemplary, neither positively nor negatively, but explanatory; ideal types are indifferent to normative points of view.<sup>3</sup> Who

<sup>1</sup> Weber 1956a, 235: 'In seiner begrifflichen Reinheit ist dieses *Gedankenbild* nirgends in der Wirklichkeit empirisch vorfindbar, es ist eine *Utopie*, und für die historische Arbeit erwächst die Aufgabe, in jedem einzelnen Falle festzustellen, wie nahe oder wie fern die Wirklichkeit jedem Idealbilde steht [...].'

<sup>2</sup> Weber 1956a, 250.

<sup>3</sup> Weber 1956a, 245: 'Demgegenüber ist es aber eine *elementare Pflicht* der *wissenschaftlichen Selbstkontrolle* und das einzige Mittel zur Verhütung von Erschleichungen, die logisch *vergleichende* Beziehung der Wirklichkeit auf *Idealtypen* im logischen Sinne von der wertenden *Beurteilung* der

leaves the ground of normative indifference, violates intellectual rigour: 'Die Worte, die man braucht, sind dann nicht Mittel wissenschaftlicher Analyse, sondern politischen Werbens um die Stellungnahme der anderen. Sie sind nicht Pflugscharen zur Lockerung des Erdreichs des kontemplativen Denkens, sondern Schwerter gegen die Gegner: Kampfmittel.'<sup>4</sup>

Weber's appeal for intellectual rigour may sound somewhat old-fashioned in an academic world soaked with post-modernist paradigms, but it should make us aware for the pitfalls of analytical terminology. If concepts are loaded with normative assumptions – negative and positive – they are likely to prove difficult to operate in an analytical investigation. Terminological accuracy is hence the precondition for any serious academic debate.

Colony, colonisation, let alone colonialism *are* terms loaded with historical, if not ideological weight; and around them and their applicability to processes of expansion, settlement and conquest in the ancient Mediterranean has evolved a vigorous discussion which has not always been led *sine ira et studio*. Especially in the Anglo-Saxon world, which is only too aware of its own complex colonial past (and no less of the patterns of neo-colonial dependency that characterise our present), the debate as to whether and how 'colonial' (and, respectively, 'post-colonial') paradigms should be applied to the study of the Greek – and, often ignored – Phoenician overseas expansion. Whereas a book published a few years ago has undertaken to reverse the perspective and view colonisation in the Iron Age Mediterranean through the eyes of the 'colonised' (i.e. the local populations of the areas affected by overseas settlement),<sup>5</sup> some scholars have suggested that 'colonial' terminology be dropped altogether from the discussion.<sup>6</sup> Still others have embraced the jargon of 'post-colonial' studies, some very cautiously and for purely analytical reasons,<sup>7</sup> some more cheerfully and with considerable anti-colonial zeal.<sup>8</sup>

Classicists and archaeologists from outside the Anglo-Saxon world dealing with the Iron Age (and indeed other periods of antiquity) find it difficult to understand

Wirklichkeit aus *Idealen* heraus scharf zu scheiden. Ein "Idealtypus" in unserem Sinne ist, wie noch einmal wiederholt sein mag, etwas gegenüber der *wertenden* Beurteilung völlig Indifferentes, er hat mir irgend einer anderen als einer rein *logischen* "Vollkommenheit" nichts zu tun.'

<sup>4</sup> Weber 1956b, 325.

<sup>5</sup> Hodos 2006; see also Hodos 2010.

<sup>6</sup> Most notably Osborne 1998, 119–20; 2005; 2009; Purcell 2005, 134–35. See also Hall 2007, 93–94 (who calls the colonial terminology 'misleading'); and Horden and Purcell 2000, 395–400 (who have a much wider scope and emphasise the 'cosmopolitan' character of the 'Mediterranean colony', which has been, they criticise, often been represented as 'monochrome').

<sup>7</sup> Most prominently Malkin 2004.

<sup>8</sup> For instance Webster 1996; 1997; Webster and Cooper 1996; van Dommelen 1997; 1998; 2002; 2005; 2006.

why the debate about a period of Mediterranean history so remote is so charged with political tension: in particular, the allegation of ‘colonialism’ against pioneering scholarship in the field seems exaggerated.<sup>9</sup> Considering the current state of debate, one might be tempted to follow R. Osborne and N. Purcell in abandoning the ‘colonisation’ paradigm and emphasise aspects other than the relationship between newcomers and locals: aspects such as the ‘Mediterraneanisation’ of elites, the development of trans-Mediterranean networks and the adoption of certain commodities and consumption patterns, as archaeologists have done in recent years.<sup>10</sup>

In order to bring the debate about ancient ‘colonies’ back on track, refining our analytical tools might be helpful. Terms like ‘colony’, ‘colonisation’ and ‘colonialism’, as I understand them, are Weberian ideal types (and will hence be used from here onwards without inverted commas): we apply them knowing that they are our own constructs and were – though the word family comes from the Latin *colonia* – never used by Greeks or Romans the way we use them. Therefore, we need to ask a few rather simple questions: what is a colony? What is colonisation? What is colonialism? The best way of breaking down a complex term to its various meanings is a typology, and towards this M.I. Finley has pointed the way a generation ago.<sup>11</sup>

## Colony

Essentially, a colony is a collectivity of people. However, Finley demonstrates how manifold the seemingly straightforward concept actually is. He takes into account a vast array of variables: resources, the labour force, demography and the socio-political framework in which colonisation occurs. However, his study remains indeed an *attempt* at a typology (albeit a very sophisticated one), as Finley focuses on the *variables* rather than on classifying *types* of colonies. A true typology needs to establish some sort of hierarchy, through which Finley’s parameters can be ranked, resulting in a classification.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Dunbabin 1948 and Boardman 1999 may have pursued a Greek perspective in their work; they may have underestimated local elements in ‘colonial’ cultures; their language may seem outmoded; their investigation may also have been implicitly guided by modern paradigms (the British Empire); but the allegation of ‘colonialism’ seems far-fetched.

<sup>10</sup> Networks: see the contributions in Malkin *et al.* 2009. Elites and patterns of consumption: see, for instance, Kistler 1998; Matthäus 1999–2000; Malkin 2002; Niemeyer 2003a; Kistler and Ulf 2005; Lemos 2005. For an overview and discussion, see Ulf 2009.

<sup>11</sup> Finley 1976.

<sup>12</sup> For European colonial empires in general, see Geiss 1976; 1991; 1994; 2007; Reinhard 1983; 2008; Osterhammel 1997; 2009; Marx 2004. For the British Empire, see Ferguson 2004; for the Spanish Empire, see Elliott 1990; Brown 2005.

Demography appears to be the most decisive variable: how many people are involved in the establishment of colonies? Frequently, processes of colonial expansion entail the transfer of substantial (sometimes: entire) populations.<sup>13</sup> Overseas settlements in the Iron Age and in Hellenistic Asia and Egypt, Roman *coloniae*, Spanish, French and English 'plantations' in the Americas and Australia – they all depended on the influx of newcomers, who eventually outnumbered the locals. Other colonies are founded and maintained by settlers who were still numerous, but less numerous than the local populations (English, Dutch and German settlers in Southern Rhodesia, South and South West Africa; Spanish and Portuguese settlers in Latin America; the French Maghreb; Dutch Indies). Still others involve the mobility of only a few civil servants deployed for the administration of conquered territories (British India, European colonies in sub-Saharan Africa).

Colonies established by few or some migrants tend to be peripheries of strong political centres ('empires'). Almost invariably, they are imperial colonies politically depending on the motherland (British India, Africa; in principle, provinces of the Persian, Roman, Ottoman, etc. empires). Colonies with substantial immigrant populations are sometimes imperial (British and French North America, parts of Spanish South America, Australia) sometimes non-imperial (Greek and Phoenician colonies in the Iron Age). The stronger the immigrant population of the colony (New England, the Thirteen Colonies in North America), the stronger is usually its strife for political independence from the motherland.

Immigration in strong numbers usually results in the assimilation, marginalisation or extinction of the original population (North America, Australia, some parts of Latin America, Greek colonies in the Iron Age). Extinguished or shrinking local populations often require the importation of labour from third parties (African slaves in the Americas, free Chinese workers in Indonesia). Colonial immigration in smaller numbers tends to entail the enslavement or disenfranchisement of local populations and/or the creation of a colonial elite of immigrant descent (Spanish America, British India, Africa, Iron Age Mediterranean, Hellenistic Asia and Egypt). Imperial colonies usually become subject to tributary exploitation, with taxes and contributions being extracted by, and transferred to, the centre.

Another factor, largely independent of the other variables, is the driving force behind the establishment of colonies. We need to distinguish between individual and collective motivations. Individuals settle away from home because they seek adventure or freedom. First and foremost, however, they pursue 'happiness' in

<sup>13</sup> Here, further questions of gender and age arise. Who migrates? Young men? Men and women?

its original, very basic meaning: leaving behind dismal economic conditions, they hope for better luck abroad. They are both pushed and pulled. Collectivities also use colonies to improve their wealth; but they serve political and strategic ends, as well. To colonies, societies export excess labour force (like the Greeks), through colonies they gain access to markets and deposits of raw materials, from colonies they obtain agricultural goods and tributes. Arable land, raw materials and trade are the economic pull factors allowing further differentiation. But colonies are also the starting points for further imperial expansion; they can serve as naval bases or command centres; and they can be used to infiltrate enemies.

Finally, an all important parameter is space. The distance or proximity between motherland and colony is decisive (albeit decreasingly, with improving technology) for the relationship between the two entities and the quantity of migrants. In a pre-modern environment, sea routes tend to narrow the gap and create proximity over substantial distances. Accordingly, most colonial expansions throughout history resulted in overseas colonies (with the Russian East and the American West, which can hardly be labelled ‘colonies’, being the most significant exceptions).

Given the chameleon like manifoldness of colonies, the term is hardly operational as an ideal type. British Nigeria, ruled by a limited number of professional British administrators who were dispatched for limited periods of time, and Greek Sicily, which was settled by a massive wave of immigrants from, but not territorially annexed by, mainland Greece, have hardly anything in common. If used as an analytical concept, ‘colony’ needs to be broken down to its constituent parts. We have to distinguish between at least four types:<sup>14</sup>

1. Pure imperial colonies (‘provinces’), established through conquest for the purpose of tributary exploitation; low influx of colonial immigrants (specialised administrative personnel only): British India, French Indochina, British Egypt, African colonies, provinces of (Assyrian, Persian, Roman, Ottoman, etc.) empires. Special cases are the Hellenistic empires, the Seleucid one in the first place, where military conquest was flanked by colonial settlement of Greeks and Macedonians.
2. Imperial settlement colonies, established through massive settlement colonisation flanked by military power with the purpose of exploiting local labour and/or exporting excess population. Colonisation may involve extinction or marginalisation (New England, Canada, Australia) or disenfranchisement (Southern Rhodesia, South and South West Africa, French Algeria) or importation of labour-force deported from third countries (Caribbean). Colonies are dependent

<sup>14</sup> The following considerations are inspired by Osterhammel 1997, 17–18.

on imperial centres ('motherland'), but ties tend to be looser than in the case of pure imperial colonies (often resulting in independence).

3. Pure settlement colonies, established through massive settlement colonisation, often flanked by violence, with the purpose of land seizure. This type of colonisation tends to result in local populations being marginalised (the Russian East, the American West, Greek Sicily, Magna Graecia, partly Phoenician colonies in North Africa, Sardinia and Spain).
4. Outpost colonies, established through conquest or peaceful agreement, with a moderate influx of (usually specialised) colonial immigrants, for the purpose of gaining (strategic or commercial) access to a hinterland: Hong Kong, Batavia, Malacca, Singapore, Aden, Shanghai, Pithekoussai, Phoenician trading posts in Spain, Sicily and North Africa.

The typology yields some rather surprising results – and it confronts us with a big caveat. First, if the dynamics of the Iron Age Mediterranean is comparable to any development in the modern age, it is the land-based frontier type of colonisation we encounter in 18th- and 19th-century North America and Russia (and, to some degree, the colonial networks of outposts like Hong Kong and Singapore) rather than the imperial forms of colonial conquest we have to look at. Second, the way a historian of the modern world would define the concept of colony (as a political entity created, by means of invasion, on the base of pre-colonial conditions, whose foreign authorities are permanently dependent on a spatially distant 'motherland' or imperial centre, which lays exclusive claim to the colony<sup>15</sup>), is not applicable to ancient colonial settlements. Namely the element of permanent dependence on a 'motherland' is generally absent from the Iron Age Mediterranean. We should, therefore, be very cautious when applying another other concepts – 'colonisation', 'colonialism' – largely associated with the modern definition of colony to ancient societies.

### Colonisation

The most general definition of colonisation could be 'invasion' or 'seizure of land'. There is colonisation without colonies (frontier colonisation like in the Russian East and the American West or 'internal' colonisation claiming so far unsettled

<sup>15</sup> Osterhammel 1997, 16: 'Eine Kolonie ist ein durch Invasion (Eroberung und/oder Siedlungskolonisation) in Anknüpfung an vorkoloniale Zustände neu geschaffenes politisches Gebilde, dessen landfremde Herrschaftsträger in dauerhaften Abhängigkeitsbeziehungen zu einem räumlich entfernten "Mutterland" oder imperialen Zentrum stehen, welches exklusive Besitzansprüche auf die Kolonie erhebt.'

areas from nature) and there are colonies without colonisation (the case of pure imperial colonies above). The common theme is expansion: societies exporting people to distant places, creating networks of outposts or pushing forward their boundaries into 'barbarian' peripheries are growing, regardless of whether they expand as political entities (empires, such as the Roman or British) or civilisations (Greek or Phoenician, for instance). Colonisation appears to be a sub-type of expansion: expansion as the result of permanent mobility of many ordinary people as opposed to expansion involving the temporary mobility of armies and few administrative staff.

Defined as such, the conquest of the American frontier was colonisation, establishing British India was not; the Romans' sending out veterans to build *coloniae* was, Caesar's conquest of Gaul was not; the foundation of Syracuse was, the transformation of the Attic League into an informal empire was not; the development of the east Elbian frontier in mediaeval Germany was, the establishment of the network of the Hanseatic League was not – and so forth.

Once again, we find the processes of expansion in the Iron Age Mediterranean under scrutiny in this series of articles and 'colonial' expansion from the 15th century onwards on opposite sides of the hermeneutic fence. Assyrian and Roman imperial expansion rather than the Phoenician and Greek city-states' migratory expansion in the Mediterranean (and Black Sea) are the ancient parallels to the processes that resulted in the colonial empires of the 19th and 20th centuries. This makes it doubtful that colonialism – a term tailored for the conditions created by such modern colonial empires – may work as a guiding concept for the study of Phoenician and Greek expansion.

## Colonialism

But what is colonialism? It has been defined as 'domination of people from another culture'. But this definition is too inclusive to be of analytical value; it embraces all forms of imperial rule, colonial or not, which by definition include cultural difference between the rulers and the ruled. To sharpen the ideal type, J. Osterhammel has added three attributes: colonialism implies (1) that one society completely deprives a second one of its potential for autonomous development; that an entire society is 'remote controlled' and reconfigured in accordance to the colonial rulers; (2) that the ruling and the ruled are permanently divided by a cultural gap; (3) the intellectual 'yoke' of an ideology whose purpose it is to legitimise colonial expansion. According to Osterhammel, colonialism is the rule of one collectivity over another, with the life of the ruled being determined, for the sake of external interests, by a minority of colonial masters, which is culturally 'foreign' and unwilling



to assimilate; this rule is underpinned by missionary doctrines based on the colonial masters' conviction of their being culturally superior.<sup>16</sup>

Greek ethnocentrism and its discourses of barbarian 'otherness' do not fit into this category. The 'spirit of colonialism' (Osterhammel) requires more: namely the translation of such discourses into a consistent ideology serving the colonisers' practical needs. It further requires the persistent unwillingness, on the part of the colonisers, to accommodate, in one way or the other, the culture of the colonised – and hence a continuing cultural gap between both collectivities, which need to be clearly defined as the bearers of distinct cultural and ethnic identities. Nothing of this applies to the people who, in the Iron Age, embarked on their Mediterranean adventure; nor does it apply to those whom they met at the destination of their journey. On the contrary: the data assembled so far by archaeologists studying the Greek and Phoenician diasporas, point in the opposite direction: the gap was narrowing; Greeks and Phoenicians were borrowers as well as teachers.<sup>17</sup> It was not before the Classical period, at the dawn of Hellenism, that some Greek intellectuals developed ideas which somewhat resembled the modern 'spirit of colonialism': Isocrates (*Pax* 24) suggests that Greeks divert their excess population to Thrace, invading the country and systematically reducing its native population to the status of helots. He develops a similar programme for Asia, which, he claims, can be annexed and plundered without any risk (*Panaegyricus* 166). His Athenian compatriot and contemporary Xenophon (*Anabasis* 6. 4. 6) considers possible the complete subjection and helotisation of Asia. Both authors justify and legitimise their programmes of conquest and colonisation with their fellow *Hellenes'* innate superiority.<sup>18</sup>

To conclude, the Greeks and Phoenicians of the Iron Age established colonies (of type 3 and, to a lesser extent, type 4) in a *longue durée* process of colonisation, transforming the entire Mediterranean and converting it, in the long run, from a conglomerate of heterogeneous local cultures and disparate, highly unequal political entities into Plato's proverbial frog pond. Both colony and colonisation, if applied properly, work as ideal types in order to *explain* and *understand*,

<sup>16</sup> Osterhammel 1997, 21: '[...] eine Herrschaftsbeziehung zwischen Kollektiven, bei welcher die fundamentalen Entscheidungen über die Lebensführung der Kolonisierten durch eine kulturell andersartige und kaum apassungswillige Minderheit von Kolonialherren unter vorrangiger Berücksichtigung externer Interessen getroffen und tatsächlich durchgesetzt werden. Damit verbinden sich in der Neuzeit in der Regel sendungsideologische Rechtfertigungsdoktrinen, die auf der Überzeugung der Kolonialherren von ihrer eigenen kulturellen Höherwertigkeit beruhen.'

<sup>17</sup> It is the achievement of Hodos 2006 to have shown this process of giving and taking. Cf. for Sicily, De Angelis 2003; for Magna Graecia, Musti 1988; for the Phoenicians, Coldstream 1982; Niemeyer 1990; 1995; 2002; 2003b.

<sup>18</sup> Briant 1982, 255.

in the Weberian sense, the dynamism of the period and the changes brought about by the mobility of people and ideas. Colonialism, on the other hand, is a much more exclusive category, from which classicists and archaeologists, when dealing with phenomena intrinsic to their period, should wisely abstain.

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# THE ORIGINS OF GREEK COLONISATION AND THE GREEK *POLIS*: SOME OBSERVATIONS\*

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## Abstract

Some examples used in recent years to minimise or deny the existence of Greek colonisation (for example Pithekoussai) can be interpreted differently today in light of recent excavations and surveys. On the other hand, the beginnings of the process leading to the formation of the *polis* in Greece may be anticipated as well, at least until the 9th century BC. This would suggest that the beginning of Greek colonisation must be analysed within the framework of the configuration of the *polis*. The strongly aristocratic nature of the emergent *polis* explains the role of the aristocracy in the colonial process. Furthermore, the aristocratic *polis* was responsible for the development of mechanisms aimed at obtaining the necessary manpower to carry out successful foundations.

Since the publication of R. Osborne's provocative article in 1998,<sup>1</sup> virtually any work devoted to Greek colonisation has been forced to take sides for or against his proposals; in addition to his now famous remark that 'A proper understanding of archaic Greek history can only come when chapters on 'Colonization' are eradicated from books on early Greece', there are other statements in his paper which deserve consideration. Thus, for instance, 'I have argued instead that the "private enterprise" which is widely and surely rightly assumed to have been responsible for the settlement at Pithekoussai, should be envisaged as responsible also for the vast majority of eighth- and seventh-century settlements',<sup>2</sup> or

Only when we accept that settlement in the West was a product of a world in which many were constantly moving across the seas, where there was a rich fund of knowledge about the shores of the Mediterranean, their peoples, and what those peoples' likes and dislikes were, and where individuals and small groups out for their own gain from time to time came to believe that more or less permanent settlement on foreign shores was both in their immediate best interests and was sustainable – only then will we get rid of the spectres of over-population, land shortage, and states with commercial policies.<sup>3</sup>

In this paper I shall comment on those and other statements.

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<sup>1</sup> Osborne 1998.

<sup>2</sup> Osborne 1998, 268.

<sup>3</sup> Osborne 1998, 268.

One of the major problems underlying the study of Greek colonisation is, as shown above by Tsetschladze and Hargrave, terminology. That there is no a Greek word equivalent to our 'colonisation' means only that the Greeks viewed the process not from a general and abstract point of view, like us, but as a fact more precise: the sending of colonies. This is what Thucydides says when he asserts that 'Greece sent colonies' (ἡ Ἑλλὰς ... ἀποικίας ἐξέπεμψε) (Thucydides 1. 12. 4). It can be argued (an easy resort), that Thucydides is presenting a 5th-century BC vision and that, therefore, it does not have to represent what was perceived in the 8th century BC, but one can also believe that the Greek language had developed a formula of this type to reflect a preference for giving more emphasis to acts of foundation and the creation of new *poleis* at precise times and in particular circumstances, than to something rather abstract, such as our concept of colonisation, just as the Greek *polis* is not usually called by the place name but by the ethnic of its inhabitants, although there may be exceptions.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, the fact that in Greek the word 'colonisation' does not exist, does not mean that the Greeks were not aware of the existence of 'colonies'.

Thus, in the *Odyssey* itself (6. 4–12) we find a colonisation process clearly described in the famous passage which relates the founding of Scheria, the city of Phaeacians and where the sequence departure-transfer (under the direction of Nausithous)-settlement (ἐνθεν ἀναστῆσας ἄγε Νηυσίθοος θεοειδής / ἔισεν δὲ Σχερίῃ), so often found in accounts of colonial foundations, is so evident. Of course, here we accept a date for the 'composition' and perhaps the putting into writing (at least in part) of the Homeric poems around the end of the 8th century BC.<sup>5</sup> One should not overemphasise the fact that the themes present in the Homeric poems were already well known in the Greek world at the time, as shown in the famous 'Cup of Nestor' of Pithekoussai (ca. 730 BC), establishing a parallel in a sympotic context with the famous cup described in the *Iliad* (11. 632–637)<sup>6</sup> or even early figurative representations in Late Geometric Greek pottery.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, it seems likely that the description of the 'foundation' of the city of Phaeacians may arise from real experiences, because at the time of the 'composition' of the poems, actual foundations had already begun to take place.

I have mentioned Pithekoussai, which has long served as an example of the debate on how to understand the oldest Greek 'colonisation': *emporion* or *apoikia*?, a special kind of *emporion* or *apoikia*?, none or both?, etc.<sup>8</sup> The progress of excavations and

<sup>4</sup> Hansen 2004.

<sup>5</sup> See most recently Osborne 2004; Fowler 2004, with previous bibliography.

<sup>6</sup> Murray 1994.

<sup>7</sup> Snodgrass 1998, 40–66.

<sup>8</sup> Ridgway 1992, 107–09; D'Agostino 1994; Greco 1994.

surveys in various parts of the island of Ischia, especially at Punta Chiarito on the southern coast, introduces significant changes to the previous ideas about the Greek presence there, to the extent that it may be thought that there was already a *chora* in the 8th century BC.<sup>9</sup> The published results of the Punta Chiarito site, where several stages have been identified, show that during the second half of the 8th century BC it had the same types of pottery found at the site of Lacco Ameno; there also existed evidence of the practice of agriculture.<sup>10</sup> Although some authors have suggested other functions for the site, especially during the 6th century BC (piracy, fishing),<sup>11</sup> I would suggest that this is not incompatible with practising agriculture, and the interesting fact is that already during the 8th century BC the island seems to have been occupied by a Greek population who had taken advantage of the peculiarities of each part of the island to exploit its capabilities. Although subsequent excavations conducted in Punta Chiarito have not yet been published, it seems necessary to change the previous image of the Greek settlement here, and even authors who had argued that 'Pithekoussai was an *emporion* ready to welcome external contributions of any type and whose population was made up primarily of artisans and merchants,' have come to recognise 'the great importance of control of the island's agricultural *chora*'.<sup>12</sup>

We can name the process leading to the Greek installation in Pithekoussai whatever we want, including the usual 'colony',<sup>13</sup> but the fact is that since the mid-8th century BC Ischia had witnessed the installation of an organised group that occupied the entire island and used all its resources (agriculture, fisheries, livestock) as well as its geographical position to increase the resources of its people, especially elite groups. There is a curious debate as to whether or not there were aristocrats in Pithekoussai of the type identified in Eretria or in neighbouring Cumae;<sup>14</sup> premature, when it is considered that of the necropolis of San Montano, whose levels of the 8th century are between 7 and 8 m deep, only some 10% has been excavated. It is accepted, however, that most of the people buried in this cemetery would correspond to a 'prosperous middle-class', with some individuals linked more to an

<sup>9</sup> De Caro 1994; Gialanella 1994.

<sup>10</sup> De Caro and Gialanella 1998; Gialanella 2003.

<sup>11</sup> Cantarelli and De Francesco 2001; Alecu 2004.

<sup>12</sup> D'Agostino 2006, 224–25; see also D'Agostino 1972.

<sup>13</sup> To enter also into the debate the rich Spanish terminology, I include the first four definitions of the word 'colonia' given by the Dictionary of the Royal Academy of Language, used by more than 400 million speakers of Spanish: '1. Conjunto de personas procedentes de un territorio que van a otro para establecerse en él. 2. Territorio o lugar donde se establecen estas personas. 3. Territorio fuera de la nación que lo hizo suyo, y ordinariamente regido por leyes especiales. 4. Territorio dominado y administrado por una potencia extranjera.'

<sup>14</sup> Ridgway 1992, 77.



‘upper middle-class’,<sup>15</sup> but clearly aware, through emulation, of aspects of the funerary customs of the Euboean aristocrats who, without doubt, lived on the island itself, even if their graves have yet to be located.

Pithekoussai may not have been as peculiar as was long believed, and excavations in Oropos have shown how Eretrians made a first trial by establishing entire family groups (*oikoi*) on the shore just opposite from the mid-8th century BC. This site, which also presents several similarities with Pithekoussai,<sup>16</sup> may have served as first test-bed for adventures further afield, although its chronology coincides, for the moment, with the settlement in Pithekoussai. Anyway, in Pithekoussai there are earlier remains (second quarter of the 8th century BC), but found in a dump and consequently of an unclear nature. The installation overseas of a complete section of home society (aristocrats and non-aristocrats) had taken place in order to reproduce the same way of life enjoyed in the place(s) of origin, but perhaps in better conditions. That people of diverse origins may have come together to Pithekoussai does not preclude the ruling circles having maintained traits brought from their places of origin: dialect, calendar, the organisation of the divine pantheon, etc. It is quite awkward to think that these groups may have remained for a long time in a loose organisational situation and only centuries later ‘chose’ to link themselves to a particular place of origin.

Although we have no foundation legends for Pithekoussai, where these exist, they stress the role of the *oikist*, and this has enabled some to think of private initiatives by powerful individuals acting in a private capacity and leading their own groups outside the community organisation. This is a mirage: the marked aristocratic bias of the Greek literary tradition blurs the facts and focuses only on significant figures. But this should not obscure the fact that aristocrats have their true framework for action within a society in which they interact with their peers and where the acts carried out by one of them affect all of his circle and even other social groups.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, the boundaries between ‘private’ and ‘public’ are difficult to establish in the Archaic world where both spheres are in constant interaction. Let me mention cases with colonial implications. For example, Strabo shows how the founder of the first colony in Sicily, Theocles, driven by the winds, came to the island and, once convinced of the weakness of the natives and the goodness of the land, tried to convince the Athenians to send a colony thence; when he failed, he moved to Euboea, where he convinced some Chalcidians and some Ionians and Dorians (including people from Megara) to found Naxos (Strabo

<sup>15</sup> Ridgway 1992, 77.

<sup>16</sup> Mazarakis-Ainian 1998; 2002, 183–202.

<sup>17</sup> Raaflaub 2004.

6. 2. 2). Clearer is the tradition of the foundation of Lampsacus: Phoxus, of the line of the Codrids, travelled to Parium to develop private activities (*idia pragmata*), becoming a friend and guest (*philos kai xenos*) of a local chieftain who offered land for Phocaeans if they wanted to settle there, which at last, and after various vicissitudes, they did (Plutarch *Moralia* 255 A 1-255 E 2). In both cases we see aristocrats travelling by sea to gain wealth through their private overseas enterprises, but at last they become the founders of new cities, and for this they need to recruit people, mainly from their home towns, to whom they offer better conditions of life and more hopes.

If we focus just on the figure of the *oikist*, we may gain the impression, as happened to Osborne, that we are dealing with a private enterprise. But if we look at the facts from the perspective of groups outside the elite, the picture is different. We do not know to what extent the rural population was linked to the land and, above all, to the ruling aristocracy, by relations of economic and social type; therefore, we do not know the actual freedom of movement of an important part of the Greek society during the 8th century BC. I suspect that the range was perforce limited by various situations of dependency.<sup>18</sup> If this were so, then the only way to get people to populate new settlements overseas might have been by a decision of the leading circles of the community.

D. Ridgway, while acknowledging that 'there was a degree of social, indeed urban, organization at Pithekoussai from the middle of the 8th century onwards,' found it 'hard to believe that the *polis* concept was already packaged for export at the first available opportunity'.<sup>19</sup> Naturally, this is connected with the period in which we believe the origin of the *polis* and other organisational structures to lie. If several years ago this was placed in the 8th century BC, today some authors tend to suggest a broader range (*ca.* 850–750 BC),<sup>20</sup> while others consider the question of the 'rise of the *polis*' to be irrelevant.<sup>21</sup> Although the process was not uniform throughout Greece, it is interesting that nowadays it is increasingly accepted that even in the 9th century BC certain features may have begun to appear that betray a certain type of political organisation. Indeed, since the mid-10th century BC, structures such as the building at Lefkandi show a high level of social organisation as well as the power and prestige of certain individuals who would become focal points of the community after their deaths.<sup>22</sup> Even if we cannot speak of the exist-

<sup>18</sup> On the archaeological evidence of these situations of exclusion, see Morris 1987, 211–17; also a response to criticisms of his theory in Morris 1998.

<sup>19</sup> Ridgway 1992, 108.

<sup>20</sup> Hansen 2006, 45.

<sup>21</sup> Osborne 2009, 98–99.

<sup>22</sup> Popham, Calligas and Sackett 1993.

ence of the *polis* at the time, the beginning of the process was already there, as too in the communities that were organising themselves in Anatolia as a result of Greek migration thence.<sup>23</sup> The individuals who led these societies 'derived much of their power not only from their bravery and skills as warriors of their possession of arable land, but also from their abilities to offer feasts and their connection with metals and trade'.<sup>24</sup>

Thus, right from the 9th century BC, and with greater intensity in the 8th century, the Greek world began to have the political and economic background, as well as the means, to launch long-distance voyages of exploration, a prerequisite for gaining knowledge about the places where, over time, there would be colonial settlements. Both the re-evaluation of the literary tradition (Homer, Hesiod)<sup>25</sup> and new archaeological finds in Sardinia<sup>26</sup> and the Iberian Peninsula<sup>27</sup> suggest that already during the 9th century BC the Greeks, especially the Euboeans, had started their voyages to the western Mediterranean, certainly in collaboration with the Phoenicians.<sup>28</sup> Their explorations during the 8th century BC in other regions such as Sicily have also left some archaeological traces, but appraisal of these is not always easy.<sup>29</sup>

These activities are obviously not colonisation, but the term 'pre-colonisation' is too vague and generic. Yet they show how, before the emergence of the first stable settlements from the mid-8th century, there existed the knowledge and resources that would be essential to start this new process. Nevertheless, they are different processes. It is perhaps misleading to try to include all of them within the concept of 'mobility',<sup>30</sup> because only 'colonisation' will produce stable and permanent settlement which will emerge as cities and as *poleis*.<sup>31</sup> In this sense, the founding of new cities, the Greek process has similarities with other cultures far removed from the Greek in time and space.<sup>32</sup> We can use these similarities to understand the processes and mechanisms, though eschewing the analogies that

<sup>23</sup> Vanschoonwinkel 2006.

<sup>24</sup> Mazarakis-Ainian 2006.

<sup>25</sup> Antonelli 2006; Debiase 2008.

<sup>26</sup> Ridgway 2006.

<sup>27</sup> González de Canales *et al.* 2006.

<sup>28</sup> The Greek presence in the eastern Mediterranean is dominated largely by the issue of Al-Mina. On this subject, see Boardman 2002; Luke 2003.

<sup>29</sup> Domínguez 2008a.

<sup>30</sup> This is the recent suggestion by Vlassopoulos (2007, 177): 'The time has come to see colonisation as simply one form of mobility: we need to study the colonist along with the mercenary, the sailor, the trader, the craftsman, the doctor, the sophist and the exile; the story of mobility in these larger terms remains still to be written.'

<sup>31</sup> Hansen 2006, 45.

<sup>32</sup> Smith 2006.

have hampered so much our understanding of Greek colonisation and led to excessive reaction.<sup>33</sup>

Returning to what was said above, there is no doubt that it was aristocrats, members of the elite, who took the initiative in the processes of establishment: it was they who had begun long-distance voyages to obtain valuable products necessary to maintain their privileged status. These groups needed to get closer to the production centres in search of raw materials (metals) and manufactured products, but to do so with the best guarantee of success, it was necessary to encourage the transfer of other social groups as well, to ensure the production of food, craft development, shipbuilding, defence, etc. In short, it was necessary that all the social and economic activity which aristocrats were used to carrying out in their places of origin be transplanted to other places in the best possible way. To achieve this, it was necessary that there be available individuals to take charge of these tasks in the new location, and these could only be provided by the community of origin. To leave the success of the future enterprise to the chance of voluntary recruitment was too risky: there was no guarantee that the necessary individuals would go, in quality of quantity. This does not exclude, of course, the arrival of volunteers from the community itself or from elsewhere. In the same way, the success of the enterprise and the prospect of good conditions may have favoured individual or organised migration. Cyrene yields information about this, though not without problems, both in the account of Herodotus (4. 153) and in the inscription, which seems to record, in its essentials, what happened in the moments previous to the foundation (Meiggs and Lewis 5), as demonstrated, convincingly, by A.J. Graham.<sup>34</sup>

In these texts, it is the political community which selects the group that must embark with Battus, threatening with dire punishment anyone who tries to escape the call, whilst allowing those free individuals who desired to, to join the group. It might be objected that the foundation of Cyrene took place more than a century after the beginning of the colonisation process (*ca.* 630 BC) and that the inscription does not reflect the conditions of the second half of the 8th century BC, however we can also regard the decree of Cyrene as expressing in legal form what may have been the practice, more or less, in previous cases. This is even more likely when we consider that Thera had no previous colonial experience (Herodotus 4. 151) and may have sought examples, parallels and precedents in other areas more familiar with colonisation. Cyrene also serves as an example of new people arriving, attracted by the success of the city: we know that by 580 BC Battus II proclaimed

<sup>33</sup> Owen 2005, 10–18.

<sup>34</sup> Graham 1960.

the availability of land in the city to attract new settlers, and that these flocked there in large numbers (Herodotus 4. 159).

It is difficult to know what value to assign to other traditions which are preserved only in later writers: the founding of Rhegion, Tarentum or Locri Epizephyríi<sup>35</sup> presents several cases in which the future settlers appear as marginalised within their communities, which in some cases eventually brought about their departure from them. I do not think that this is completely a later invention. On the contrary, although modified and altered by time to represent various changing interests in each period, we can observe in all of them processes of social exclusion which are resolved through an organised and directed migration leading to the creation overseas of a new *polis*.<sup>36</sup> It is perhaps in this process that the political community is important because it gives legal support to the dispossession of a part of the community of its rights and place of residence. The explanation for this traumatic event, perhaps one of the first exercises of sovereignty of the emerging political communities, stresses the illegitimacy of the future colonists (the Spartan Partheniai), their execution of inappropriate acts (the *oiketai* of Locris), or the simple fact of them having been consecrated as a tithe to the god (the Chalcidian founders of Rhegion). Examples can be multiplied but, for the most part, these cases from the 8th century BC show how those who stay are those who have decided who should go, just as we see in the founding of Cyrene a century later.

Not surprisingly, this breakdown of the original political community has assumed, in Greek ideology, traits similar to conflicts involving murder:<sup>37</sup> in the end, in both cases, an extraordinary event can be resolved only by atonement and purification. In any case, behind it there are two elements to consider. First, the desire of the ruling circles to keep their privileges by regulating the access to land of subaltern groups, even lesser members of their own group. This implies the removal, using different means, of a part of the population. Second, the desire to acquire new territories and their raw materials. For this, and perhaps after learning the contemporary mechanisms of the Phoenicians, the best way was to force fellow citizens to move to new territories, once disenfranchised in their place of origin, with the hope and the prospect of acquiring in the new place the economic and social rights that were denied them in their homeland, especially land ownership, a requirement of citizenship.

<sup>35</sup> Domínguez 2000; 2007.

<sup>36</sup> Some scholars have tried to distinguish two moments in these foundations: the first one, the establishment and the second one the emergence of the *polis*, which is sometimes located several generations later; on the contrary, I agree with Hansen (2006, 45) that 'those colonies were *poleis* in the Classical sense of the word either simultaneously with their foundation or shortly afterwards'.

<sup>37</sup> Dougherty 1993, 31–44.

Of course, in speaking of political communities we refer to the *poleis*, but also to *ethne* which were also responsible for colonial activities, such as the Achaeans or Locrians.<sup>38</sup> Whether or not *poleis* already had significant weight within these *ethne* in the 8th century BC is a matter of debate. However, the fact is that the identity chosen by the colonies is that of the *ethnos*, not that of any of the *poleis* or territories that made it up. This is much more evident in the Locrian case, since the colony founded in Italy received the same name as the *ethnos*. We have data from Locrian territory for the 8th century BC suggesting the existence of nucleated settlements with a clear organisation, together with evidence of higher structures encompassing the entire *ethnos*, including the 'One Hundred Houses' so gratuitously minimised by some<sup>39</sup> but which seem to ensure the cohesion and identity of the Locrian aristocracy, united to perform cult tasks, which are the basis of the identity of the *ethnos*.<sup>40</sup>

At the beginning I quoted Osborne, who wanted to make the 'spectres' of 'overpopulation, land shortage, and states with commercial policies' disappear as explanations of 'colonisation', a concept that he rejects. There may indeed have been too much emphasis on these causes for too long, and new attitudes and interpretations are probably necessary to locate the colonising phenomenon more accurately in its historical context.<sup>41</sup>

Indeed, overpopulation and land scarcity are not absolute concepts; but they make sense within the social and economic structures of 8th-century BC society, in which not only the aristocracy but perhaps other intermediate groups were not willing to share their inheritance rights to land and perhaps their political rights (also related to their participation in war and spoils) with other more disadvantaged individuals. In this context, overcrowding or shortage of land does not mean that there are more individuals than resources in a particular territory; on the contrary, that taking into account the social and property structure, those who have most of the land are not willing to give up part of it, or even to allow the cultivation of communal areas not allotted, to improve the living conditions of those with insufficient land and who will become, therefore, a surplus population. The example of the Spartan Partheniai clearly illustrates the process when

<sup>38</sup> Morgan 2003, 199–202.

<sup>39</sup> Polybius 12. 5. 7; Walter 1993, 132.

<sup>40</sup> Domínguez 2008b.

<sup>41</sup> Vlassopoulos (2007, 40) is right when he observes that since Grote's time: 'The Greek communities of Magna Graecia, Asia Minor and the Black Sea were not an organic part of the history of Greece; they usually received a treatment in the narrative of the archaic colonisations, and then they were usually forgotten, until they entered the political-military affairs of the great powers of the mainland.'

we are told that, by virtue of their birth, which would eventually be considered illegitimate, they disputed land with those whom the Spartan community considered of legitimate birth. This is not a problem of population or land but of legal status, which of course influences access to property. Whether political communities had marginalised individuals or groups to force them to depart in an orderly fashion (colonisation), or whether those who sought to develop their economic interests overseas had found in these groups suitable candidates for their purposes, the fact is that both interests coincided in the second half of the 8th century BC.

As for states with commercial interests, it may be an anachronism for the 8th century BC, but there were aristocrats with commercial interests who had the capacity to mobilise the resources of the communities to which they belonged and who had the necessary tools, because it was they who led such communities, to provide community resources to carry out their interests. These interests sought, from the second half of the 8th century BC, to create permanent settlements at places of interest for the richness of their lands, a matter referred to quite often (for example Pithekoussai [Strabo 5. 4. 9] or Sybaris [Diodorus. 8. 17]), but also suitable for the deployment of the commercial interests of the aristocrats and closer to the points of origin of the precious objects (*keimelia*, *athyrmata*) which formed the basis of their system of relationships grounded on feasting, hoarding and sharing gifts. Naturally, these aristocrats also aimed to obtain in the new settlements a portion of land commensurate with their social status.

This perspective links the Greek colonising process to the mainstream of Greek history, from which it has often been detached. There is no need to cease writing chapters on Greek colonisation; on the contrary, Greek colonisation must be integrated into the formation of political communities in Greece.<sup>42</sup> It is possible to reach an intermediate point between the polarised positions that have been expressed about the relationship between the *polis* and colonisation.<sup>43</sup> The origin of the *polis* owed much to the mobility of certain groups in 9th- and 8th-century BC Greece, to go back no further in time. One consequence of this dynamic and close contact with other peoples, including the Phoenicians, was the consideration that the establishment of organised communities overseas could be a means of broadening the range of the interests of elite groups. The political communities in the

<sup>42</sup> In a book published several years ago, I raised this issue when I titled a section 'La colonización, en función de, y al servicio de la constitución de la *polis* griega' (Domínguez 1991, 98–101).

<sup>43</sup> See Hansen 2006, 44: 'Until recently historians were agreed that the rise of *poleis* in Greece was a precondition for the founding of all the colonies outside Greece. Today the opposite viewpoint is gaining support: that the *polis* arose as a *result* of colonisation, and that it was the rise of *poleis* in the colonies that was the efficient cause of their rise in Greece proper.'



process of formation provided sufficient mechanisms to ensure that there was enough manpower for these new settlements. They, in turn, were forced to advance their processes of organisation, internal (creation of nucleated centres, definition of spaces, management of agricultural resources) and external (contact with indigenous populations, interaction with other Greek centres, defensive needs), which developed at a faster pace than in Greece itself.

The shared experiences of Greeks beginning to occupy territories far away from their places of origin and Greeks remaining in Greece encouraged innovations that arose in one part of the Greek world to be applied immediately elsewhere. By integrating the history of Greek colonisation with the general history of ancient Greece, we are doing nothing more than recovering a global vision, one which perhaps the Greeks themselves had. The absence of a specific term for 'colonisation' in Greek has been mentioned already. Might this not be because, to the Greeks, this activity was not something forming a separate entity from what was their own perception of the *polis*?

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# HELLENISTISCHE KOLONISATION

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## Abstract

In order to provide arguments for the discussion about the notion of ‘colonisation’, the article deals with characteristics of the two large Hellenistic empires that had been established outside Europe in territories conquered by Alexander the Great, the Ptolemaic and the Seleucid. The central feature dealt with is the foundation of new settlements. The details discussed here are the founders, the settlers – Greeks and Macedonians, but also indigenes – special features of the settlements – military colonies and civic towns – the geographical situation, and the mixtures of peoples and cultures in the settlements.

Der Beitrag versucht, Charakteristika eines Vorgangs zu beschreiben und zu kommentieren, der in der neueren Fachliteratur in Buch- und Beitragsüberschriften nur extrem selten mit dem Wort ‘Kolonisation’ und zumeist mit Bezeichnungen wie ‘Städtegründungen’, ‘Städte’, ‘Siedlungen’ oder ‘(Militär)Kolonien’ bedacht wird.<sup>1</sup> Es geht, um dies möglichst allgemein zu formulieren, um Gründungen von Orten und die damit verbundenen Ansiedlungen und Umsiedlungen von Zivilisten und (ehemaligen) Soldaten und weiter um damit verbundene Absichten und Folgen. Obwohl dies keineswegs zwangsläufig so sein muss, steht in der Forschung die Gründung von Orten (Siedlungen) durch Griechen und Makedonen in geographischen Räumen im Mittelpunkt, die zwar nicht der Präsenz von Griechen überhaupt, aber doch griechischer – und makedonischer – Siedlungstätigkeit erst durch die Eroberungen Alexanders des Großen erschlossen worden sind, mithin im Inneren Kleasiens, in Vorder- bis Mittelasien und Ägypten. Mit dem Begriff ‘Ansiedlung’ sei hier ein Vorgang von solcher Art bezeichnet, dass Menschen von weither gekommen sind, insbesondere Griechen und Makedonen aus dem Mutterland und dem Ägäisraum, und nicht nur an einem für sie neuen Platz, sondern auch in einem für sie neuen Land ihren Lebensmittelpunkt erhalten. Ansiedlung bedeutet auch, dass Land für die Siedler bereit gestellt worden ist, Land, das unter Umständen den

<sup>1</sup> Eine der Ausnahmen im Gebrauch ist Briant 1978. Er behandelt denn auch mehr als nur Gründungen von Orten. Vgl. unten bei Anm. 47. In den Texten der Veröffentlichungen kann der Gebrauch anders als in ihren Titeln sein: So gibt es im Titel von Cohen 1978 nur ‘colonies’, bereits im ‘preface’ (X–XI) aber sowohl ‘settlements’ als auch ‘Seleucid colonisation’. – Der Verfasser dankt seinem Hallenser Kollegen Christian Mileta für wertvolle Hinweise und für die Überlassung eines noch nicht veröffentlichten Manuskripts (Mileta im Druck). Der *Companion to the Hellenistic World* (Ersine 2009) bietet hingegen – auch in Billows Beitrag über die Städte – für den Gegenstand wenig.

Indigenen zuvor weggenommen worden ist. Mit dem Begriff 'Umsiedlung' sei hier jedoch ein Vorgang derart bezeichnet, dass Menschen aus der näheren Umgebung des neu gegründeten Ortes stammen und in den neuen Ort überführt werden. Umgesiedelte werden zumeist Einheimische sein; in den für Griechen und Makedonen neuen Siedlungsräumen können es jedenfalls dann Griechen und Makedonen sein, wenn eine Neugründung nach kurzer Zeit aufgelöst und deren Bewohner in einen nunmehr gegründeten Ort überführt werden.<sup>2</sup>

Die eingangs genannten in Buch- und Aufsatztiteln immer wieder zu lesenden Begriffe heben vordergründig mehr auf den konkreten Gegenstand und den konkreten Vorgang ab, das viel seltener anzutreffende generalisierende 'Kolonisation' jedoch mehr auf eine abstrahierte Gesamtsituation. Dabei fällt denn auch auf, dass derjenige Althistoriker, der sich in den letzten Jahrzehnten am meisten mit dem Gegenstand befasst hat, Getzel M. Cohen, zuerst eine synthetische, Vorgänge und Zustände unter grundsätzlichen Gesichtspunkten angehende, im übrigen recht kurze Abhandlung vorgelegt und viel später zwei ausführliche, auf individuelle Details ausgerichtete und zugleich Vollständigkeit der Orte anstrebende geographisch angelegte Kataloge der hellenistischen Ortsgründungen nachgereicht hat, denen im übrigen ein dritter folgen soll.<sup>3</sup> Die beiden bereits erschienenen weitestgehend gleichartig aufgebauten Bücher liefern in ihren 'Appendices' Angaben und Daten, die zu einer Synthese geradezu herausfordern.<sup>4</sup> Eine – neuerliche – Synthese hat Cohen bislang indes nicht vorgenommen; er wird sie sinnvollerweise erst dann angehen, wenn er den dritten Katalogband geschrieben hat. John D. Graingers Buch über die Städte des seleukidischen Syriens geht über die Gründung von Orten weit hinaus, indem es im längeren seiner beiden Hauptabschnitte deren weitere Entwicklung beschreibt; es ist also historisch-genetisch angelegt und damit nicht auf eine Synthese ausgerichtet, die dem Startpunkt der von seinem Verfasser beschriebenen längeren historischen Vorgänge, also den Gründungen, gelten würde.<sup>5</sup> Ansätze zu einer solchen Synthese findet man immerhin in dem Kapitel

<sup>2</sup> So wurde etwa Antiocheia am Orontes unter der Einbeziehung der Bevölkerung der erst wenige Jahre alten und nunmehr aufgelösten Siedlung Antigoneia gegründet. Hinter dieser Neu- und zugleich Umgründung stand ein Herrscherwechsel in Nordsyrien von Antigonos Monophthalmos zu Seleukos Nikator, dessen Vater Antiochos hieß. – Für die einzelnen hellenistischen Gründungen wird hier ein für alle Mal auf Cohen 1995 und 2006, daneben auf Grainger 1990 verwiesen. In diesen Werken findet man auch die früheren Publikationen zum Gegenstand. Für Alexanders des Großen Gründungen sei eigens auf Fraser 1996 verwiesen.

<sup>3</sup> Das eine in Cohen 1978, das andere in Cohen 1995 und 2006. Der oben erwähnte geplante dritte Band soll nach Cohen 2006, XIII die Gründungen in Mesopotamien und weiter östlich gelegenen Regionen behandeln. Seine Bearbeitung ist weit vorangeschritten; er wird voraussichtlich 2012 erscheinen.

<sup>4</sup> Cohen 1995, 413–46; 2006, 399–436.

<sup>5</sup> Grainger 1990.

‘Seleukos’ Cities: Sites and Situations’ des ersten Hauptabschnittes, also desjenigen über die Gründungsvorgänge; freilich ist das auf die in der Kapitelüberschrift aufgeführten Sachverhalte beschränkt.<sup>6</sup>

In der Tat können aus der neueren Literatur im Wesentlichen nur indirekt Schlüsse auf einen Gesamtvorgang und -zusammenhang ‘Hellenistische Kolonisation’ gezogen werden. Hier können einige wichtige Sachverhalte dargelegt und diskutiert werden; eine umfassende Darstellung dieses Gegenstandes bedürfte jedoch eines eigenen Buches. Dass der Verfasser seinem Beitrag dennoch den anspruchsvollen Titel ‘Hellenistische Kolonisation’ gegeben hat, folgt aus der Konzeption des Bandes, für den der Beitrag geschrieben ist. Der Verfasser hat indes nicht vor, die umfangreiche, ja überbordende Diskussion über ‘Kolonisation’, die stark von der britischen Erfahrung des eigenen – mittlerweile längst ehemaligen – Kolonialreiches bestimmt und auch eingeengt ist, um ein weiteres Stück anzureichern.<sup>7</sup> Er wird vielmehr einige Vorgänge und Konstellationen um Ortsgründungen und Ansiedlungsvorgänge behandeln, die ihm für diese kennzeichnend erscheinen; und erst am Schluss und kurz und bündig wird er die Frage nach der Anwendbarkeit des Begriffs ‘Kolonisation’ aufwerfen.

Ein Wort sei noch zur Zeitstellung und zum politisch-geographischen Schwerpunkt der Arbeit vorausgeschickt: Antiken literarischen Quellen, etwa dem immer wieder zitierten Kapitel 57 von Appians ‘Syriake’, folgend, ist man versucht, vor allem an Alexander den Großen und noch mehr an Seleukos Nikator zu denken und damit die Gründungen und Ansiedlungen in den ganz frühen Hellenismus zu datieren; damals wurden – auch nach anderen Quellen – innerhalb nur einer Generation in der Tat erstaunlich viele Orte gegründet und vor allem mit Griechen und Makedonen besiedelt. Tatsächlich aber hörte das Gründen von Orten mitsamt dem An- und Umsiedeln bis zum Ende des Hellenismus nicht auf. Das zeigen in erschöpfender Weise Cohens derzeit vorliegende zwei Katalogbände, in denen als späteste Gründer Mithradates VI. und Kleopatra VII. aufgeführt sind. Ja es ging, wie man an Gründungen etwa des Pompeius in Kleinasien und an Herodes’ I. Gründung Kaisareia am Meer ablesen kann, ungebrochen in die Zeit der römischen Expansion im Osten und des Römischen Weltreichs hinein weiter.<sup>8</sup> Im vorliegenden Beitrag liegt das Schwergewicht auf den frühhellenistischen Gründungen, weil dies zugleich die Zeit der Etablierung der beiden großen hellenistischen

<sup>6</sup> Grainger 1990, 67–87.

<sup>7</sup> Hierzu sei nur verwiesen auf Tsetskhladze 2006, xxiii–xxx und Tsetskhladze und Hargrave (wie oben).

<sup>8</sup> Mithradates VI. in Cohen 1995, passim, vgl. Appendix I S. 417; Kleopatra VII. in Cohen 2006, passim, vgl. Appendix I S. 401. Gründungen wie die des Pompeius und des Herodes I. sind nicht mehr Cohens Gegenstand.

Monarchien im Osten gewesen ist und weil Seleukiden- und Ptolemäerreich diejenigen hellenistischen Reiche sind, in denen – in bislang außergriechischen Gebieten – die meisten Griechen angesiedelt und die meisten Orte gegründet worden sind. Damit stehen vorder- und mittelasiatische Gebiete vom inneren Kleinasien und Syrien bis Baktrien und Sogdiane sowie Ägypten im Mittelpunkt. Gründungen in den mittleren und kleinen hellenistischen Monarchien in Kleinasien und auf dem Boden Makedoniens und Griechenlands werden hier mit einer Ausnahme nicht berücksichtigt.<sup>9</sup>

### **Gründer und Gründungssiedler, Griechen, Makedonen und Indigene**

Hellenistische Gründer waren nicht griechische Stadtstaaten oder aus einem oder auch deren mehreren ausgesandte Gruppen; weiter befanden sie sich nicht am Ausgangsort einer Gründung, und sie wanderten auch nicht aus dem Ausgangsort in das Gebiet des zu gründenden Ortes aus. So ergab sich vom hellenistischen Gründer her keine unmittelbare Beziehung der neuen Siedlung zu einer Stadt im alten griechischen Siedlungsraum.<sup>10</sup> Es waren je Gründungsvorgang auch nicht mehrere Gründer, sondern staatsrechtlich jeweils nur einer, und dieser Gründer befand sich bereits im engeren oder weiteren Gebiet des zu gründenden Ortes; denn der Gründer war der Herrscher über das Territorium, in dem Orte gegründet wurden, und seine Herrschermacht und sein herrscherlicher Gestaltungswillen äußerten sich unter anderem im Gründen von Siedlungen. Die Gründe für eine Gründung konnten unterschiedlicher Natur sein, und sie schlossen sich nicht gegenseitig aus, insbesondere: in einem von Nicht-Griechen bewohnten und geprägten Gebiet über Griechen bzw. Makedonen, in einem ländlichen Gebiet über städtische oder stadtartige Siedlungen und in einem dünn besiedelten Gebiet überhaupt über Siedlungen zu verfügen. Das alles konnte bevölkerungspolitisch, wirtschaftlich und machtpolitisch-militärisch motiviert sein, und es verband sich mühelos mit zentraler Steuerung der einzelnen Siedlungsvorgänge. Vor einigen Jahren hat Kai Brodersen zugleich allgemein und konkret für Alexander den Großen und Seleukos Nikator im König den Gründer aller neuen Orte gesehen. Richtig dürfte er damit liegen, dass eine in der Literatur des öfteren getroffene grundsätzliche Unterscheidung zwischen Ortsgründungen mit dynastischen Namen und solchen mit Namen bestehender Orte in Makedonien und Griechenland mit der Zuweisung lediglich ersterer als königliche Gründungen und der Interpretation letzterer als spontaner

<sup>9</sup> Zu ihnen vgl. Cohen 1995, zu entscheidenden Aspekten Mileta 2009.

<sup>10</sup> Solche Beziehungen konnten allerdings über die Siedler bestehen bzw. entstehen, wie zwischen den Antiochenern in der Persis und den Magneten am Maiandros nach OGIS 233. Allerdings scheint dies der einzige bekannte Fall dieser Art zu sein.



Gründungen durch die Siedler selbst nicht zutrifft.<sup>11</sup> Freilich ist der Gründungsvorgang nicht so einfach, wie er von Brodersen stillschweigend vorausgesetzt wird, und das relativiert dessen Position.

Brodersens Quellenmaterial, das sich auf literarische, überdies im Zusammenhang hellenistischer Gründungen zumeist immer wieder zitierte Quellen beschränkt, ist hinsichtlich des jeweiligen königlichen Gründers sehr pauschal in der Aussage, zudem viel, teilweise extrem viel später verfasst als die beschriebenen Vorgänge, ohne dass die Qualität der Zwischenquellen sicher erwiesen werden könnte, und, geschrieben in der De-Facto-Monarchie des Römischen Reiches, zumindest verdächtig, von vornherein auf die eine Person an der Spitze eines Reiches fixiert zu sein.<sup>12</sup> Diese griechischen und römischen Autoren werden dazu tendieren, nur im König den Gründer von Orten zu sehen. Damit gerät das Mitwirken, bisweilen entscheidende Mitwirken von 'Funktionären' bzw. 'Freunden' des Herrschers, letztere individuell und als Gremium, und ihr Anstoß zu Maßnahmen des Herrschers allzu leicht in Vergessenheit, obwohl doch bekannt ist, dass selbst absolutistische Herrscher – und Diktatoren – nicht ohne Ratgeber regieren. So haben denn hellenistische Herrscher von ihnen beschlossene Maßnahmen nicht nur durch 'Freunde' durchführen lassen, sondern bereits zu Erörterung und Beschlussfassung 'Freunde' herangezogen.<sup>13</sup> Dabei ist auch zu bedenken, dass die immense Erstreckung des Seleukidenreiches in der Fläche und seine Diversität, aber auch die Größe und Mannigfaltigkeit des Ptolemäerreiches mit seinen Außenbesitzungen Ortsgründungen ohne Informationen regional tätiger 'Funktionäre' oder eben 'Freunde' an den König und vielleicht auch ohne von diesen gegebene Anregungen und Vorschläge unmöglich gemacht haben muss.

Zwei Gründungsvorgänge, die auf Quellen unterschiedlicher Gattungen beruhen, sollen hier zu einer differenzierten Vorstellung hinsichtlich Gründungsinitiative

<sup>11</sup> Brodersen 2001, 363–69: ein, ja wohl sogar der Hauptpunkt in seinem Aufsatz. Freilich ist gegen Brodersen 364 'wirtschaftlicher oder politischer Zwang', unter dem man die Heimat verlässt, als Argument gegen eine Übernahme von Ortsnamen der alten in die neue Heimat durch die Siedler nicht stichhaltig: Gälte es, dann dürfte es beispielsweise nicht so viele Orte mit deutschen Stadtnamen in Nord- und Südamerika etc. geben.

<sup>12</sup> Brodersen zitiert in Übersetzung die folgenden Quellen in dieser Reihenfolge: Plutarch *Moralia* p. 328C-e (*De fortuna Alexandri* 1. 5); Curtius 10. 2. 8; Plinius *NH* 6. 138; Plutarch *Alexander* 61; Arrian *Anabasis* 4. 4. 1; die hier weiter oben bereits erwähnte Passage Appian *Syriake* 57. 295–298; Ammianus 14. 8. 6; Libanius *Oratio* 11 (Antiochikos). 101–103; Malalas *Chronographia* 8. 18 p. 203 Hrsg. Dindorf (1831) = p. 154 Hrsg. Thurn (2000). Hinzu kommen weitere von Brodersen herangezogene Quellen wie eine Passage (17. 108. 1–3) in der ältesten erhaltenen Darstellung Alexanders des Großen, in Diodors *Bibliothēke* (Weltgeschichte), geschrieben zwischen Caesar und Augustus, also im definitiven Umbruch Roms von der (Adels-) Republik zur De-Facto-Monarchie. Zu diesen Autoren und Werken vgl. generell Mehl 2001 und dessen englische Übersetzung Mehl 2011.

<sup>13</sup> Bikerman 1938, 40–50; Buraselis 1994; Savalli-Lestrade 1998; Meißner 2000, 11–13.

und Gründer anregen: (1) Die Beteiligung einer nicht-königlichen Person muss für eine Ortsgründung im entferntesten Nordosten des Alexander- und Seleukosreiches entscheidend gewesen sein: Die im antiken Baktrien/Sogdiane (heute Afghanistan) am Zusammenfluss von Amu Darja (Oxos) und Kokcha (Koktscha) am heutigen Platz Ai Khanoum (Ai Chanum) gelegene frühhellenistische Gründung, die nach ihrem königlichen Gründer wohl erst 'Alexandria' und dann möglicherweise nach Zerstörung und Wiederaufbau nach ihrem Wiedergründer, dem Seleukiden Antiochos (noch als 'Kronprinz', später als König Antiochos I. Soter) 'Antiocheia' geheißen haben wird, verfügt über ein Heroon.<sup>14</sup> Dieses stammt aus der Gründungszeit, zumindest aber aus der ersten Generation des Ortes. Es ist einem Kineas – nicht einem Alexander, Seleukos oder Antiochos – geweiht und damit am ehesten dem vor Ort im Auftrag des Herrschers tätig gewesenen unmittelbaren Gründer.<sup>15</sup> (2) In der Regierungszeit Antiochos' IV. wollten priesterliche Kreise in Jerusalem, angeführt vom Hohepriester Jason, Jerusalem zu einer griechischen Stadt machen bzw. in Jerusalem eine griechische Stadt gründen. Die Initiative ging eindeutig von dieser Gruppe Einheimischer aus, die zusammen mit ihrer leitenden Funktion in der jüdischen Religion die regionale Regierung und Verwaltung unter dem Seleukidenkönig wie zuvor schon unter den Ptolemäerkönigen, Alexander dem Großen und unter den persischen Achaimeniden-Großkönigen ausübte. Der Seleukidenkönig war also eindeutig nicht Initiator dieses Gründungsvorhabens, sondern Adressat eines Antrages, und er sollte überdies mit viel Geld, das man zusammengebracht hatte, zur Zustimmung veranlasst werden. Er reagierte auch im Sinne der Antragsteller – wohlgemerkt: reagierte, nicht agierte. Ebenso wurden die konkreten Maßnahmen zur Herstellung einer griechischen Stadt wie die Einrichtung eines Gymnasiums von dieser jüdischen Gruppierung getroffen. Auch wenn die Initiative nicht vom Seleukidenkönig ausging, sollte diese neue griechische Stadt doch 'Antiocheia' heißen, mithin den Namen des regierenden Königs tragen. Bemerkenswert daran ist auch, dass sie diesen Namen nach dem Willen bereits der Antragsteller erhalten sollte<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Die – französischen – Ausgrabungen dieses Ortes sind in *Ai Khanoum* 1973–92 sowie in zahlreichen Einzelveröffentlichungen beschrieben und historisch interpretiert.

<sup>15</sup> Robert 1968, bes. 435–38 und 442–54. Die Anbringung einer populärphilosophisch-pädagogischen Inschrift mit den so genannten delphischen Maximen am Heroon auf Veranlassung eines Klearchos, in dem man den Aristoteles-Schüler Klearchos von Soloi sehen wird, gibt von Aristoteles' Tod im Jahr 323 aus einen ungefähren terminus ante quem für die Errichtung des Heroons, der spätestens im frühen 3. Jahrhundert liegt.

<sup>16</sup> 1 Ma. 1, 1, 12–16 und 2 Ma. 4, 9–15 mit moralischer Verurteilung sowohl des Antiochos als auch der betreffenden Juden. Dass von 'Antiochenern' die Rede ist, entspricht griechischem Usus, eine Stadt als Gemeinschaft ihrer Bürger aufzufassen und so auch zu bezeichnen.

Nach beiden Fällen muss man davon ausgehen, dass zumindest eine Gründung griechischen Typs stets vom König und seinen Ratgebern beschlossen wurde. Die Initiative dazu konnte jedoch von außen kommen; in diesem Fall war der königliche Beschluss eine Genehmigung. Dass eine von außen im eigenen Interesse beantragte und genehmigte Gründung von den Antragstellern verwirklicht wurde, verwundert nicht. Anders als der Beschluss zur Gründung bedurften die Initiative dazu und die Durchführung der beschlossenen bzw. genehmigten Gründung des Königs nicht. Das war übrigens im hier nicht eigens behandelten Attalidenreich ebenso.<sup>17</sup> Nicht bei echten Neugründungen 'auf der grünen Wiese', dafür um so mehr dort, wo bereits ein Ort existierte, der wie Jerusalem in Judaea und Tyriaion in Phrygien noch nicht Stadt griechischen Typs war, konnte die Einwohnerschaft oder eine Gruppe in ihr auf den Gedanken kommen, die Erhebung zu einer solchen beim König zu beantragen – und zu erhalten. Immer gehörte dazu das Vorhandensein oder die nunmehrige Schaffung politischer und gesellschaftlicher Einrichtungen, die in einer griechischen Stadt üblich waren wie beispielsweise Rat oder Gymnasium.<sup>18</sup>

Die letzten Feststellungen leiten zum zweiten Gegenstand dieses Beitrags, den gegründeten Siedlungen, über, doch müssen zuvor noch die Gründungssiedler betrachtet werden. Man wird zuerst an Griechen und Makedonen denken. Das trifft die historische Situation. Allerdings ist es einseitig: Bereits ein Blick in gängige Geschichtsatlanten und dort in Karten mit der Überschrift 'Hellenistische Städtegründungen' zeigt eine Unterscheidung von 'Hellenistische(n) Neugründungen' und 'Hellenisierte(n) Städte(n)'.<sup>19</sup> Letztere können im Hinblick auf ihre Statusveränderung auch als 'Umgründungen' bezeichnet werden.<sup>20</sup> In der Tat wurden in vorhandenen Orten mit einer dort bereits lebenden Bevölkerung, die in sich homogen oder – wie im Vorderen Orient nicht selten – auch bereits heterogen war, Griechen und/oder Makedonen angesiedelt und diese Orte im Hinblick auf ihren neuen Einwohneranteil 'neu', richtiger umgegründet. Auch Orte ohne jeden eingewanderten und angesiedelten griechischen oder makedonischen Bevölkerungsanteil wie das oben vorgestellte Jerusalem konnten im Status verändert und auf diese Weise umgegründet werden.<sup>21</sup> In Umgründungen mit einem griechischen/

<sup>17</sup> Mileta 2009, 80–82, anhand der in Phrygien gelegenen Stadt Toriaion, ausgehend von der Umgestaltung Jerusalems und ihrer Problematik.

<sup>18</sup> Vgl. die beiden vorstehenden Anmerkungen.

<sup>19</sup> Hiervon weicht neuerdings der Atlasband des Neuen Pauly (Wittke, Olshausen und Szydlak 2007, 118) ab: Hier wird in Karte und Text lediglich nach Dynastien der Gründer unterschieden.

<sup>20</sup> So Mileta 2009, 82.

<sup>21</sup> Mileta 2009, 82–85 verweist darauf, dass in Kleinasien die meisten der rund einhundert hellenistischen Gründungen nicht Neu-, sondern Umgründungen gewesen sind und dass sie zur Zeit ihrer

makedonischen Einwohneranteil waren die Einwohnerschaft und insofern auch der Ort selbst zunächst rechtlich und organisatorisch zumindest zweigeteilt.<sup>22</sup> In griechisch-hellenistischer Bezeichnung hat man in derartiger Situation zumeist *Politeumata* vor sich, die in ihren Rechten je nach ethnischer Gruppe unterschiedlich ausgestattet sein konnten bzw. waren.<sup>23</sup> Ein auf diese Weise geteilter Zustand konnte zumindest kulturell, aber auch gesellschaftlich und politisch-institutionell überwunden werden durch die Hellenisierung des gesamten Ortes und aller seiner freien Einwohner nichtgriechischen Ursprungs. Andererseits konnten echte Neugründungen nicht nur allmählich eine gemischte Bevölkerung bekommen, sondern – wie etwa Alexandria an der Nilmündung oder Antiocheia am Orontes – eine solche bereits von der Gründung an haben. So lebten in Antiocheia bereits von der Gründung an nicht nur Griechen, präziser Athener, und Makedonen, sondern auch andere ethnische Gruppen, unter den man auch Einheimische, also Syrer, annehmen darf. Die an Zahl sehr beschränkte Bevölkerung im kleinen bisherigen Siedlungsraum von Griechen und Makedonen und die den Herrschern im Osten fehlende Verfügungsgewalt über sie veranlasste angesichts der schier unermesslichen Weite der unter Alexander eroberten neuen Siedlungsgebiete die Gründer dazu, ihre neuen Orte mit Menschen unterschiedlicher ethnischer Zugehörigkeit oder Herkunft zu füllen.<sup>24</sup> In Antiocheia am Orontes scheint diese gemischte Bevölkerung bereits in der gerade erst von Seleukos gegründeten Stadt, dem später so genannten ersten Stadtviertel, gemeinsam gewohnt zu haben und rechtlich nicht unterschieden worden, mithin nicht in *Politeumata* aufgeteilt und folglich nicht in ihre einzelnen ethnischen Gruppen zertrennt gewesen zu sein.<sup>25</sup> Zusammen mit der von Alexander vorgegebenen 'spezifischen Herrschaftsordnung des hellenistischen Ostens, der Dichotomie von *poleis* und *chora*', wird das Zahlenverhältnis zwischen einheimischen Bevölkerungsgruppen und verfügbaren Einwanderern aus Makedonien und Griechenland 'die relativ indigenenfreundliche Politik der Diadochen' bestimmt haben, mithin den Umstand, dass die Eroberer ihre Herrschaft über die

Umgründung zumeist ein Bevölkerungsgemisch aufgewiesen haben, einige aber auch 'indigene Dörfer' gewesen sind.

<sup>22</sup> Entsprechend wurde das indigene Jerusalem durch die Gründung des dortigen Antiocheias – wenn auch nur für kurze Zeit – zu einem in seiner Einwohnerschaft zweigeteilten Ort: von Jerusalemer Juden, die zugleich Antiochener waren, und von Jerusalemer Juden, die das nicht waren.

<sup>23</sup> Das ist die überwiegende Bedeutung von *Politeuma*. Allerdings kann diese Wort auch mit *Polis* gleichbedeutend sein. Dies ist in der Inschrift für die Stadterhebung Toriaions der Fall: Jonnes 2002, Nr. 393, Z. 26–28; vgl. Mileta 2009, 81.

<sup>24</sup> Zur Bevölkerungssituation in Makedonien äußert sich eingehend Billows 1995, 183–217.

<sup>25</sup> Zu Alexandria sei auf das monumentale Werk Fraser 1972 verwiesen, hier 1, 38–92 und 2, 112–72; zu Antiocheia vgl. die Quellen Strabon 16. 2. 4; Libanios *Oratio* 11. 92 und 119; Malalas *Chronographia*. 8. 18 p. 201 und 255–256 Hrsg. Dindorf sowie Mehl 1991, 101–09.

von ihnen Unterworfenen, verstanden als Möglichkeit und Mittel zu deren Ausbeutung, nicht in vollem Umfang ausgeübt haben.<sup>26</sup>

Unterschiede beim Gründungs- und Siedlungsakt können in der Freiwilligkeit oder Unfreiwilligkeit der Gründungssiedler, sich an einem bestimmten Ort niederzulassen, bestanden haben: Einheimische als eroberte Untertanen der neuen makedonischen Herrscher und Makedonen, die wohl ausschließlich als Soldaten in die bislang nicht-griechischen Gebiete gekommen sind, dürften eher Zwang ausgesetzt gewesen sein als diejenigen unter den Griechen, die nicht als Soldaten, sondern als Zivilisten in die neuen Siedlungsgebiete eingewandert sind.<sup>27</sup> Die auffallend große Dichte griechischer Siedlungen in Nordsyrien mit ihrem Zentrum in der antik so genannten 'Seleukis' kann nicht nur auf den Willen des Seleukos Nikator, diese am Mittelmeer gelegene oder diesem zumindest nahe Region als erstes Machtzentrum seines Reiches auszubauen, zurückgeführt werden, sondern auch auf die Unlust der ins Land gekommenen Griechen, sich weiter weg vom Mittelmeer und damit unter ihnen völlig unbekannten Völkern und ungewohnten geographischen und klimatischen Bedingungen anzusiedeln. Man wird hier an den Unwillen der von Alexander weit im Osten, insbesondere in Baktrien zurückgelassenen griechischen Militärsiedler über ihre Ansiedlung weit weg von der Heimat unter völlig fremden Menschen, also in extremer Diaspora-Situation, und über ihre durch die dortigen Umstände erzwungene, in ihren Augen absolut ungriechische Lebensführung denken.<sup>28</sup> Schließlich ist die hier zwischen Griechen und Makedonen getroffene Unterscheidung aus einem weiteren Grund wichtig, ja fundamental: Griechen standen in der Tradition des Stadtstaates oder des sich ebenfalls selbst regierenden Kleinstammesstaates. Das gab es im alten Königreich Makedonien nicht; hingegen waren Makedonen ihrem König und bis zu Alexanders des Großen Vater Philipp II. auch Regionalfürsten untertan. Beides ließ Makedonen nur sehr eingeschränkte Mitregierung und

<sup>26</sup> Mileta im Druck als Schlussfolgerung seiner Arbeit, der er den Herrschaftsbegriff von Franz Oppenheimer (1864–1943) zugrunde gelegt hat (Oppenheimer 1964). Die obige Feststellung bedeutet in Oppenheimers Erklärungssystem von Herrschaft auch, dass die noch sehr junge makedonische Herrschaft im Osten bereits als legitim anerkannt worden ist und dass nun ein 'Prozess des Ausgleichs' zwischen Eroberern und Unterworfenen, d. h. vor allem deren Oberschicht, eingesetzt hat (Mileta im Druck vor Anm. 19).

<sup>27</sup> Unfreiwillige Ansiedlung der Soldaten betont Billows 1995, 146–59.

<sup>28</sup> Der Unwillen, sich mit den Gegebenheiten vor Ort abzufinden, hat zum Versuch dieser Griechen – wohlgerne nicht Makedonen – im fernen Mittelasien geführt, Baktrien zu verlassen und in die Heimat zurückzukehren. Vgl. Diodorus 17. 99. 5–6; 18. 4. 8 und 7. 1–9; anderer akuter Auslöser, aber gleiches Ziel der Aufständischen bei Curtius 9. 7. 1–3. Zu dem Anpassungsverhalten, das den Griechen und Makedonen in Baktrien abverlangt worden ist und das diejenigen von ihnen, die dort ansässig geblieben sind, auch erbracht haben, vgl. einige Aspekte bei Mehl 2006, 52–55 und allgemein 62–66.

-verwaltung zu, die überdies nicht unter bürgerlichem Vorzeichen standen.<sup>29</sup> Griechen und Makedonen brachten in die neuen Siedlungsgebiete also recht unterschiedliche politische Verhaltens- und Denkweisen mit. Dieser Unterschied musste sich vor Ort in den neuen Siedlungen und zwischen den makedonischen Königen und ihren teils makedonischen, teils griechischen Untertanen in den Siedlungen auswirken.<sup>30</sup>

### Eigenschaften und Eigenheiten der neuen Siedlungen

Die Frage, was denn gegründet und mit Menschen gefüllt worden ist, mag spitzfindig und daher überflüssig erscheinen – sie ist es indessen nicht. Für den Archegeten der modernen Hellenismusforschung Johann Gustav Droysen war es einfach und klar: ‘Städte’, ‘städtische Gemeinwesen’ oder mit einem griechischen Wort ‘Politien’ wurden gegründet. Dies geschah deshalb, weil die ‘Barbaren... ohne städtische Gemeinwesen... leben’, indem ‘sie keine Städte, sondern Ortschaften haben’. Droysen präzisiert das: Die ‘Ortschaften (der Barbaren) sind entweder stehend gewordene Hoflager, oder um heilige Tempel zusammengehäufte Massen oder ungeheure Marktflecken, oder was sonst immer, nur Städte nicht, wie sie der Grieche meint’; denn, wie Droyen unmittelbar zuvor festgestellt hat, die Barbaren bzw. ihre Ortschaften ‘haben kein politisches Systema’. Eben deswegen ‘ist in den städtischen Gründungen (Alexanders, der Diadochen und der Epigonen) die rechte Basis des Hellenisierens’. Grundlage dieser Hellenisierung durch die gegründeten griechischen Städte ist deren ‘vorherrschendes’ Merkmal, ‘dass sich eine bunt gemischte hellenisch-makedonische Bevölkerung mit einer einheimischen zusammenfindet’.<sup>31</sup> Die Gründungen griechischer Städte in den von

<sup>29</sup> Vgl. zum makedonischen (Selbst)Verwaltungsgremium der *Peliganes* Hammond und Griffith 1979, 399 und 648; in Verbindung mit inschriftlich im seleukidischen Laodikeia am Meer nachgewiesenen *Peliganes* Mehl 1991, 108–09.

<sup>30</sup> Der Unterschied zwischen Makedonen und Griechen mit seinen Folgen in den neuen Monarchien der Seleukiden und der Ptolemäer wird allgemein gar nicht oder zu wenig beachtet. Vgl. dazu mit einigen Einzelheiten Mehl 1991, 106–09.

<sup>31</sup> Droysen 1878, 3, 1, 31–33, im unten aufgeführten Nachdruck 3, 23–24. Der Bedeutung, die Droysen hier dem Gegenstand ‘griechische Stadt’ in den Ländern der ‘Barbaren’ zugewiesen hat, entspricht die von Brodersen 2001, 356 hervorgehobene Tatsache, dass Droysen sein an sich politisch-ereignisgeschichtlich angelegtes Werk mit einer systematischen, überdies sehr langen Untersuchung ‘Die Städtegründungen Alexanders und seiner Nachfolger’ erweitert hat (Droysen 1878, 3, 2, 189–358). Brodersen verweist auf den sonderbaren Umstand, dass in allen ‘modernen Ausgaben’ von Droysens ‘Geschichte des Hellenismus’ diese Untersuchung nicht abgedruckt worden ist. Darüber hinaus ist – worauf Brodersen nicht hinweist – das gesamte Zweite Buch des Dritten Bandes in diesen Ausgaben nicht vorhanden. Andererseits sind in ihnen von der genannten Untersuchung über die Städte – worauf Brodersen ebenfalls nicht hinweist – zwei kurze resümierende Abschnitte unter dem Titel ‘Die Städtegründungen Alexanders und seiner Nachfolger in ihrem Zusammenhang’ zusam-

Alexander eroberten und von seinen Nachfolgern gehaltenen Gebieten treiben also deswegen Hellenisierung voran, weil die griechischen Städte den in ihnen lebenden Einheimischen das geben, was sie bislang nicht haben und kennen und was andererseits griechische Städte charakterisiert: die lokale 'politische' Gemeinschaft, gleichbedeutend mit der Stadt als Bürgergemeinde.

Droysens schöne einfache 'Basis des Hellenisierens' mit ihrer im Politischen total einseitigen Akkulturation ist freilich nicht zu halten. So engt Droysens Auffassung, der die Forschung zumindest der Sache nach lange gefolgt ist, die Bedeutung von *Polis* so sehr ein, dass sie antikem Sprachgebrauch nicht entspricht: *Polis* ist viel weiter und offener. Dessen ist man sich mittlerweile insbesondere durch die Arbeit des Kopenhagener Polisprojekts bewusst.<sup>32</sup> Das Wort kann wie beispielsweise deutsch 'Stadt' sowohl politisch als auch siedlungsgeographisch gebraucht werden.<sup>33</sup> Auf die griechischen Siedlungsgebiete ab Alexander dem Großen angewandt, bedeutet letzteres, dass bereits antike Autoren orientalische Orte zwar nicht stets, aber doch bisweilen als *Poleis* bezeichnet haben.<sup>34</sup> Die moderne altorientalische Forschung hat hinwiederum herausgearbeitet, dass der 'Orient' nicht nur autokratisches, gar despotisches Regieren von oben, sondern auch – wenn auch bei weitem nicht im Ausmaß der Griechen und schon gar nicht in ihrer theoretischen Unterfütterung – gemeinsames Lenken einer Gemeinschaft gekannt hat. Hier sei nur darauf verwiesen, dass die phönizischen Städte neben dem König auch eine Gemeindeorganisation besessen und abgabepflichtige

mengefügt abgedruckt (Droysen 1878, 3, 2, 249–54 und 351–58, im Nachdruck 3, 425–34). Die von Brodersen so genannten 'modernen Ausgaben' reduzieren sich – auch nach Brodersen 2001, 355 Anm. 1 – auf einen Nachdruck, der von E. Bayer 1952–53 (Tübingen) herausgegeben und mit einem Nachwort versehen worden ist, auf dessen Wiederabdruck 1980 (München) und auf dessen weiteren, nunmehr mit einem Vorwort H.-J. Gehrkes versehenen Wiederabdruck 1998 (Darmstadt). Daher fehlt Droysens genannte Untersuchung in allen diesen Ausgaben. Über die Weglassung von Droysens Untersuchung 'Die Städtegründungen Alexanders und seiner Nachfolger' und anderer 'Beilagen' informiert Bayer am Beginn der von ihm zusammengestellten Zusammenfassung und am Beginn seines Nachwortes kurz und ohne sachliche Begründung (3, 424 Anm. 397 und 3, 437). – Zusätzlich zu den genannten Ausgaben wurde auf griechische Initiative hin 2004 (Neuried) der – hier freilich nicht relevante – Erste Band, die 'Geschichte Alexanders des Großen', nach der 2. Auflage (1877) in deutscher Sprache neu veröffentlicht, und zwar 'auf der Grundlage der 3. völlig neu bearbeiteten und verbesserten griechischen Ausgabe (Athen 1996/1999), hrsg. von der Alpha-Bank' (Impressum).

<sup>32</sup> Dass das griechische Wort *Polis* insbesondere nicht immer 'Stadtstaat' bedeutet, ist innerhalb des oben genannten Kopenhagener Polisprojektes erstmals formuliert von M. Hansen und Raaflaub 1996, 28 und 33. Von den späteren Bänden vgl. insbesondere M. Hansen 2007. Grundsätzliche Kritik an der modernen Auffassung von *Polis* hat bereits Gawantka 1985 geübt. Zur weiten Bedeutung von *Polis* jetzt Mileta 2009, 70–76; vgl. unten Anm. 39.

<sup>33</sup> Auf dem 'siedlungsgeographischen Stadtbegriff' beruht etwa Frank Kolbs Buch 'Die Stadt im Altertum' (Kolb 1984, 11–13, Zitat 9).

<sup>34</sup> Darauf verweist auch Brodersen 2006, 356 mit Zitat von Plutarch *Alexander* 60; Mileta 2009, bes. 74.



Dorfgemeinden etwa im Achaimenidenreich sich selbst verwaltet haben.<sup>35</sup> So wird man schließen, dass Seleukiden und Ptolemäer über die von ihnen gegründeten Städte griechischen Musters und mit deren griechischer Siedlerschaft kommunale Selbstverwaltung qualitativ und quantitativ ausgeweitet haben, dass sie jedoch anders, als Droysen und seine Adepten das gesehen haben, damit dem Orient' nicht etwas gebracht hätten, was dieser bis dahin nicht einmal andeutungsweise gehabt hätte, die sich selbst verwaltende Kommune.<sup>36</sup>

Freilich, selbst wenn dem 'Orient' mit der griechischen Stadt etwas in jeder Hinsicht grundsätzlich Neues gebracht und geboten worden wäre, dann hat sich doch die Bedeutung der *Polis* für die neuen Siedlungsgebiete von der Seite der Herrscher, von ihrem Willen zur Durchsetzung ihrer Gestaltungsmacht her reduziert.<sup>37</sup> Zum einen siedelten Ptolemäer, Seleukiden und Attaliden Soldaten in eigenen Siedlungen (*Katoikiai*) an, modern so genannten 'Militärkolonien'. Man kann diese Einrichtung gut und gern als Rückgrat der militärischen Macht dieser Dynastien und mit ihr als Grundlage ihrer Durchsetzungsgewalt in der Fläche ihrer Reiche bezeichnen. Die mit Landlosen ausgestatteten Bewohner solcher Orte blieben Soldaten auf Abruf, und ihre innere Organisation blieb vor allem die militärischer Einheiten mitsamt ihren Musterungslisten.<sup>38</sup> Eben deswegen konnten diese Siedlungen sich nur eingeschränkt selbst verwalten. Mit Rücksicht vor allem auf die zahlreichen Militärkolonien hat der Autor in diesem Beitrag bisher das Wort *Polis*

<sup>35</sup> Elayi 1987, 21–25 und 39–44; Gschnitzer 1993; Ameling 1993. Letzterer geht noch einen Schritt weiter, indem er eine 'mediterrane *Koine* der *Polis*-Staaten' postuliert und die phönizische Kolonie Karthago dazu gehören lässt (resümierend Ameling 1993, 274). Zu Dorfgemeinschaften im vorhellenistischen und hellenistischen Asien vgl. Briant 1982 (1975).

<sup>36</sup> Unbeeinträchtigt von obiger Feststellung bleibt die von Droysen herausgestellte wichtige Eigenschaft griechischer und makedonischer Gründungen als Orten einer ethnisch gemischten Einwohnerschaft.

<sup>37</sup> Damit soll nicht gesagt werden, dass hier makedonische Herrschaftsprinzipien zur Geltung gekommen sind; es müssen indes auch nicht von den Herrschern makedonischer Herkunft unverändert angenommene im Orient verwurzelte Herrschaftsprinzipien gewesen sein. Zu dem seit einiger Zeit um die makedonisch-griechische oder orientalische Zuordnung insbesondere des Seleukidenreiches vgl. einerseits Kuhrt und Sherwin-White 1987 und 1993 (pro Orient), dazu die Diskussion im Band 4/2, 1994 der Zeitschrift *Topoi* und andererseits etwa Billows 1995 (pro Makedonien, vgl. bereits S. XIV, obwohl er die baldige Trennung der eroberten außereuropäischen Territorien von Makedonien herausarbeitet: 183–217), dazu kritisch Mileta 1998, 344–46.

<sup>38</sup> Uebel 1968; E. Hansen 1971; Bar-Kochva 1976, 20–48; Cohen 1978; Billows 1995, 146–82. Die aus *Katoikiai* im ptolemäischen Zypern und im Seleukidenreich bekannten *Koina* und die ihnen in Ägypten entsprechenden, ebenfalls in *Katoikiai* anzutreffenden *Politeumata* waren nicht Selbstverwaltungsorgane der *Katoikiai*, sondern gesellschaftliche Einrichtungen, die zwar bisweilen politisch aktiv werden konnten, allerdings nie die Stelle einer kommunalen Verwaltung einnahmen. Vgl. Cohen 1978, 72–83. Wie sich in Ägypten *Katoikiai* zur – häufigen, vielleicht überwiegenden – Unterbringung von Soldaten als *Kleruchen* in Häusern der Zivilbevölkerung verhalten haben, sei hier offen gelassen.

bzw. deutsch ‘Stadt’ nur sehr eingeschränkt und dann in präziser Bedeutung verwendet und zumeist andere Worte, vor allem ‘Ort’ und im Anschluss an Getzel M. Cohen (‘settlement’) auch ‘Siedlung’, gebraucht.<sup>39</sup>

Zum anderen war über die besondere Situation und Organisation der Militärkolonien hinaus Selbstregierung dort unmöglich, wo über einer Stadt eine weitere Instanz stand. Eine solche oberste Instanz war in den hellenistischen Reichen mit dem König gegeben. Abgesehen von den alten griechischen Stadtstaaten vor allem an der kleinasiatischen Westküste, war er in Städten machtvoll präsent mit einem Vorsteher (*Epistates*) und einer Besatzung (*Phroura*).<sup>40</sup> Dem entspricht ein nur reduziertes Vorhandensein bürgerschaftlicher Institutionen, wie es sich etwa für Antiocheia am Orontes und Seleukeia an der Orontesmündung feststellen lässt.<sup>41</sup> Wenn *Katoikiai* danach strebten, *Poleis* zu werden, und *Poleis* danach, die ihnen auferlegten Einschränkungen zu beseitigen, dann steht dahinter der doppelte Umstand, dass längst nicht alle Neugründungen *Poleis* waren, sondern viele von ihnen, zumindest in Ägypten weitaus die meisten, Militärkolonien und dass neu gegründete *Poleis* in ihrer Gemeindestruktur, gemessen an herkömmlichen *Poleis* als Stadtstaaten, defizitär waren. Nach alledem mag man davon sprechen, dass durch die Gründungen einige Regionen Vorder- bis Mittelasiens verstädtert worden sind; sie sind aber durch die Gründungen nicht im Sinn des griechischen Stadtstaats ‘politisiert’ worden, sondern ihre makedonisch oder griechisch geprägten Siedlungen haben diesen Weg erst viel später – im Seleukidenreich in dessen Niedergang – beschritten und überdies infolge der baldigen militärisch-politischen Präsenz der Römer nicht bis zur Etablierung als Stadtstaat gehen können. Man kann aus den letzten Feststellungen freilich auch folgern, dass die Idee der *Polis* als Stadtstaat im Hellenismus des Ostens nicht gestorben ist. Dies ist nicht verwunderlich, wenn man an die Herkunft eines großen Teiles der Gründungssiedler aus Stadtstaaten des alten griechischen Siedlungsraumes und an von diesen aufrecht

<sup>39</sup> Anders als Tscherikower 1927 ‘Städtegründungen’ hat Cohen 1978 im Buchtitel ‘colonies’ und im Vorwort S. X–XI spricht er von ‘settlements’, das dann auch in den Buchtiteln von Cohen 1995 und 2006 steht. Mileta 2009, 74 stellt für den hellenistischen Osten zwei unterschiedliche antike Gebrauchsweisen des griechischen Wortes *Polis* fest, deren weiter gefasste sich auch auf Siedlungen Einheimischer, auf Militärkolonien etc. erstreckt (vgl. oben bei Anm. 32–34). Insofern könnte man im vorliegenden Beitrag stets *Polis* schreiben. Wenn man es genau nimmt, müsste man dann freilich bei jeder einzelnen Verwendung des Wortes klarmachen, ob man es gerade in der engeren oder weiteren Bedeutung gebraucht. Das erscheint dem Verfasser misslich, und daher ist er in seinem Wortgebrauch anders verfahren.

<sup>40</sup> Nicht immer wird im Hinblick auf hellenistische Monarchen und Monarchien zwischen den alten Griechenstädten und den neugegründeten unterschieden. Trotz dem vielen, das später über erstere in ihren Beziehungen zu hellenistischen Königen geschrieben worden ist, überzeugt den Verfasser immer noch Heuss 1937 am meisten.

<sup>41</sup> Mehl 1991, 107–08. Zu den zyprischen Städten unter den Ptolemäern vgl. Mehl 1996, 132–36.

erhaltene und eventuell sogar erneuerte Verbindungen zur alten Heimat denkt.<sup>42</sup> Das haben hellenistische Herrscher indirekt erleichtert, indem sie ihre machtpolitischen Interessen auch im griechischen Ägäisraum verfolgt haben.<sup>43</sup>

### **Ergänzende Aspekte: Lage der neuen Siedlungen, Mischung der Kulturen und Mischung der Menschen**

Die neuen Siedlungen, vor allem Militärkolonien und Städte, entstanden in Gebieten, die für griechische Siedler, sofern sie nicht aus kleinasiatischen Küstenregionen stammten, und für makedonische Siedler überseeisch, in jedem Fall aber so weit von der Heimat entfernt waren, dass individuelle Unterstützung von daheim schwierig bis unmöglich war. Des weiteren entstanden die neuen Siedlungen nur teilweise am Meer oder wenigstens in einiger Nähe zu ihm. Viele andere Siedlungen wurden in Binnenlage gegründet; am weitesten vom Meer, insbesondere vom Mittelmeer, entfernt lagen die in den mittelasiatischen Landschaften Baktrien/Sogdiane etablierten. Hier – in geringerem Maß aber auch im nur wenig von Griechen und Makedonen besiedelten Babylonien und im stärker besiedelten Ägypten jenseits Alexandrias – waren die Lebensbedingungen bereits von der Geographie her von denen im Mittelmeerraum und speziell auf der Balkanhalbinsel und im Ägäisraum deutlich verschieden.<sup>44</sup> Das begann mit den Lebensgrundlagen sowohl des Pflanzenanbaus als auch der Tierzucht und reichte weit hinein in die Lebensführung des Einzelnen. In derartiger Binnenlage konnte man nicht umhin, sich dessen bewusst zu sein, dass man in einer anderen Welt als der griechischen lebte. Realität und Bewusstsein, Beharrenwollen und nicht Beharrenkönnen führten letztlich zu einer Mischkultur und damit zu dem, was man modern für das typischste Merkmal des Hellenismus zu halten geneigt ist – auch wenn man damals dem Glauben huldigen mochte, weiterhin rein griechisch zu sein und zu leben.

Mischung kam auch auf anderem Weg zustande: Alexanders Soldaten waren ohne ihre Frauen aufgebrochen. Im Lauf des vieljährigen Kriegszuges legten sie sich Frauen zu. Die Söhne aus solchen Verbindungen – und ihre Mütter – blieben im Heerlager, auch nachdem ihre Väter, makedonische Soldaten, zurück nach Makedonien geschickt worden waren, und sollten in makedonischer Weise militärisch ausgebildet werden.<sup>45</sup> Damit waren bereits in der Generation nach dem Alexanderzug

<sup>42</sup> Vgl. oben Anm. 10. Hier ist auch daran zu denken, dass in hellenistischen Stadtstaaten Demokratie durchaus noch praktiziert wurde. Vgl. Grieb 2008.

<sup>43</sup> Darüber hinaus befand sich das pergamenische Reich der Attaliden mit einem Teil seines Territoriums regelrecht in der herkömmlichen griechischen Poliswelt.

<sup>44</sup> Mehl 2006 wie oben Anm. 28.

<sup>45</sup> Arrian *Anabasis* 7.12. 2. Zum Folgenden vgl. Chaniotis 2002 und Ma 2002.

viele Soldaten nicht mehr rein makedonischer Abstammung. In der Nachbarschaft ihrer Militärkolonien konnten Soldaten in späterer Zeit ebenfalls nichtmakedonische und nichtgriechische Frauen finden. In der bürgerlichen Welt dürfte es entsprechend gewesen sein: In Orten mit gemischter Einwohnerschaft kam es zu Heiraten zwischen Griechen/Makedonen und Einheimischen. Von griechischer/makedonischer Seite aus kann das wegen des Vaterrechts für die Nachkommen-schaft dann kein Problem gewesen sein, wenn der Mann und künftige Vater Grieche/Makedone war.<sup>46</sup> Dort, wo man im Zuge der Eroberung die einheimische Bevölkerung stark reduziert hatte, muss – wie etwa in Baktrien/Sogdiane<sup>47</sup> – die Möglichkeit der Mischehe eingeschränkt gewesen sein. Allgemein muss der bekannte Umstand, dass die Griechen sich selbst nicht als Nation von der Abstammung her, sondern als Kulturnation verstanden haben, Mischehen erleichtert haben, freilich nur, sofern der von der Herkunft her nichtgriechische Partner griechisch akkulturiert war. Im übrigen waren Mischlinge nicht überall gern gesehen; und wer die griechische Sprache, das Eingangstor zur griechischen Kultur und zugleich deren wichtigster Bestandteil, nicht verstand und sprach, blieb auch bei räumlicher Nähe zu Griechen ein Fremder und Außenstehender und bekam dass immer wieder zu verstehen. Mischung hatte also ihre Grenzen.<sup>48</sup> Auch hier ist Sprache ein deutliches Indiz: Dass sich in Ägypten über den politischen Hellenismus und die Zeit des Römischen Reiches hin aus der altägyptischen Sprache in Form des Demotischen das Koptische und in Syrien aus dem Aramäischen die Altsyrische Sprache entwickelte, mithin beide weiterhin lebende Sprachen waren, wurde nur dadurch ermöglicht, dass eine hinreichende Zahl Einheimischer bei der Muttersprache blieb. Das war auf dem Land mehr der Fall als in der Stadt. Insofern ist Hellenismus als Kulturmischung mit griechischem Übergewicht ein städtisches Phänomen gewesen.

### Kolonisation?

Die Möglichkeit der Siedlungsgründung wurde durch Eroberung des betreffenden Gebietes geschaffen. Auch wenn Kontakte mit Griechenland und griechischen Mächten blieben und neue Kontakte geknüpft wurden, koppelten sich die erobernden Herrscher und ihre Nachfahren, beginnend mit Alexander dem Großen, in ihren Regierungshandlungen weitgehend oder völlig von der – ehemaligen – Heimat ab, und ihre reale Macht beruhte sehr schnell kaum noch bzw. gar nicht mehr auf

<sup>46</sup> Das von Perikles initiierte athenische Bürgerrechtsgesetz, das für den Bürgerstatus der Nachkommenschaft das athenische Bürgerrecht beider Elternteile verlangte, entstand in einer bestimmten verfassungspolitisch-gesellschaftlichen Situation. Vgl. Bleicken 1995, 656–57.

<sup>47</sup> Briant 1978.

<sup>48</sup> Vgl. etwa Momigliano 1993.

Herrschaft über ferne nunmehr überseeische Gebiete in der einstigen Heimat, sondern ausschließlich über eroberte außereuropäische Territorien und deren teils einheimische, teils zugewanderte Einwohner. Teils gründeten die Herrscher Siedlungen in ihrem außereuropäischen Reich (Seleukiden), teils in dessen außereuropäischem Kernland und in von diesem aus gesehen überseeischen Besitzungen (Ptolemäer).

Die Herrscher hatten die neuen Siedlungen zumindest beschlossen oder genehmigt; damit waren sie auch ihre Gebieter. Kommunale Selbstverwaltung war vom Herrscher her gegeben und zugleich eingeschränkt, Selbstregierung nach Art des griechischen Stadtstaates ausgeschlossen. Da die Herrscher in der Ausübung ihrer Macht nicht an die – vormalige – Heimat gebunden waren, waren auch die von ihnen gegründeten Orte, abgesehen von Beziehungen ihrer von außen gekommenen Bewohner, an nichts in der Heimat ihres Herrschers oder ihrer Siedler gebunden; sie waren ausschließlich Teil des Reiches, in dem sie sich befanden. Auch die Lebensbedingungen des einzelnen Siedlers wurden von daher und außerdem von der geographischen Lage des jeweiligen Ortes bestimmt.

Zwiespältig waren die Verhältnisse zwischen unterschiedlichen ethnischen Gruppen, vor allem zwischen eingewanderten Griechen/Makedonen als Eroberern und insoweit neuen Herren und Einheimischen als Unterworfenen. Sie waren dies hinsichtlich des Zusammenlebens bis hin zur Verschwägerung, im Sprachgebrauch und in der Teilhabe am kulturellen und kommunalen Leben sowie in der Einschätzung der einen durch die anderen. Einerseits wurden Einheimische ausgegrenzt, andererseits waren sie von Anfang an neben Griechen/Makedonen Einwohner von Städten oder sogar mit diesen zusammen deren Bürger.

Unterschiede gegenüber der sogenannten Überseeischen oder Großen Kolonisation der Griechen auf der einen Seite, römischen Kolonien auf der anderen Seite und schließlich neuzeitlichen Kolonie- und Kolonialreichsbildungen drängen sich auf, aber ebenso Gemeinsamkeiten. Soll man also einen gemeinsamen Überbegriff 'Kolonisation' ablehnen oder verwenden, mithin das Trennende oder das Verbindende betonen? Wem es nicht nur um das je Einzelne geht, sondern um größere Zusammenhänge, der wird letzteres bevorzugen.

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# THE FIRST WESTERN GREEKS: TERMINOLOGY AND PRIORITIES

DAVID RIDGWAY

## Abstract

This brief contribution to a wide-ranging discussion arises out of the author's long experience of the area and period indicated by the title. He concludes that the current attention to terminology would gain in perspective from a census of unpublished excavations. He deplores the all too frequent dichotomy within the Anglo-Saxon tradition between those who handle the evidence and those who try to interpret it: J.C. Carter's work around Metaponto is a shining exception.

*'Colonization', in the language of a former imperial power, is a somewhat misleading definition of the process of major Greek expansion that took place between c.734 and 580 BC.<sup>1</sup>*

I am flattered, though rather surprised, that the first sentence of the entry *s.v.* 'colonization, Greek' that I contributed to the third edition of *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* in 1996 should be credited above by Tsitsikhladze and Hargrave with 'mark[ing] a new approach to the phenomenon', and to the increasingly complex issues that have since emerged in the Anglo-Saxon tradition regarding the terminology and concept of ancient Greek expansion. This brief contribution to the current discussion is restricted in the main to the area and period that I know best.

Like much of my *OCD* entry, the sentence in question was extracted from a lecture on the Western Greeks that I had recently contributed to a first-year university course on Classical Archaeology; the student audience for whom the course was designed could not realistically be expected to follow up my winged words with much more than a cursory glance at the then current edition of J. Boardman's *Greeks Overseas*.<sup>2</sup> The sentence passed unremarked in subsequent tutorial discussion, but I recall that undergraduates whose idea of colonisation was coloured by their somewhat variable general knowledge of the British Empire (and Commonwealth) were far more intrigued by the concept expressed in the second sentence of my *OCD* entry. This eventually appeared in an expanded form at the

<sup>1</sup> Ridgway 1996, 362.

<sup>2</sup> See more recently Boardman 1999.

beginning of my discussion of what I still regard as a ground-breaking collection of papers:

‘Greek colonisation’... bears no more than a superficial resemblance to colonisation in the modern European sense; and it can be defined as ‘Greek’ only to the extent that the British Empire would still have been perceived by others as ‘British’ if its colonies had been founded independently by the city fathers of Birmingham, Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester and so on.<sup>3</sup>

That said, I see no reason to conceal that I have always regarded myself as a working archaeologist (although not primarily an excavator) rather than as an interpreter of the evidence yielded by the ancient written and material records. I was shocked and frustrated at an early stage in my modest professional odyssey by the extent to which important excavations were largely or even completely unpublished: hence my hardly career-enhancing decision in 1966 to help the late Giorgio Buchner to publish his 1952–61 excavations in the Valle di San Montano cemetery at Pithekoussai.<sup>4</sup> My interest in the field designated for discussion here thus resides primarily in the correct identification of the contents of the tins rather than in their arrangement on the shelves by one or other of the many ideologically or strategically oriented caucuses<sup>5</sup> that are now active. I am naturally well aware that some invisible cargoes are likely to have had at least as great an effect on those who received them as the visible imports and local versions that archaeologists try to identify and classify.<sup>6</sup> ‘The Euboeans who settled on Ischia (and soon afterwards founded Cumae on the mainland) were the carriers of a powerful virus – the Ionian (and now panhellenic) epic tradition’,<sup>7</sup> famously represented in the material record by ‘Europe’s first literary allusion’:<sup>8</sup> the verses, referring to Nestor’s cup, inscribed on an imported kotyle from a late 8th-century grave at Pithekoussai. We do not, however, have to believe at any stage in a one-way traffic in ideas: suffice it to recall here that, at the end of a long life devoted to the study of architectural

<sup>3</sup> Ridgway 2002, 13 (discussing Tsatskheladze 1999).

<sup>4</sup> Buchner and Ridgway 1993.

<sup>5</sup> For the use of this term in current archaeological research, see the web-site <[http://www.classics.cam.ac.uk/faculty/caucuses/d\\_caucus](http://www.classics.cam.ac.uk/faculty/caucuses/d_caucus)> (consulted 17 September 2011) of the Cambridge University Faculty of Classics, where the names and farflung academic affiliations of 13 individuals are listed, along with the confident assertion that ‘Our graduates are preferentially sought for appointments in universities throughout Britain and America, while their publications have generated a worldwide response’.

<sup>6</sup> As at Pithekoussai: Nizzo 2007 (reviews: Cuzzo 2009; Ridgway 2009); Merlati, forthcoming.

<sup>7</sup> Wiseman 1995, 35.

<sup>8</sup> Powell 1991, 167.

mouldings in Greece and Italy, L.T. Shoe Meritt came to the conclusion that certain features of architecture in Magna Graecia were 'perhaps (probably, I dare to say) inspired also by neighbors on the Italian peninsula'.<sup>9</sup>

'Greek expansion', 'the Greeks overseas', or, in the geographical area in which I have operated, 'the Western Greeks' strike me as perfectly adequate descriptions of the heading under which I have expended much time and effort over the last four decades and more. They define a field that provides a generous helping of food for thought regarding not only history, by which I mean the establishment 'of what happened, and even to some degree of why it happened',<sup>10</sup> but also such major and currently fashionable issues in the whole Greek world as ethnicity (with particular reference to intermarriage)<sup>11</sup> and the ancient economy. In the latter respect, for example, how much iron ore was transported from Tyrrhenia beyond the Bay of Naples to the Greek homeland, if 'there was certainly no need for Euboeans to seek the ore overseas'?<sup>12</sup> Or is it true that

iron obtained in one's home territory or at least from nearby sources was not as desirable as iron obtained at a distance... Iron (or any other commodity) generated at or near home was perceived as obligated in some way to the community in which it was generated; iron (or any other commodity) obtained at a distance was not so obligated and could be used by individuals (and groups) without concern for the community at home.<sup>13</sup>

Under these and other headings, we shall clearly never be able to take account of all the relevant archaeological evidence that still awaits discovery; and even if we could, it would not tell us everything that we want to know. As for the unknown proportion that *has* been recovered, we should bear in mind that brief preliminary reports in *AR* and elsewhere, short notes on single atypical items, and sumptuous exhibition catalogues give us access to no more than a fraction of the unpublished evidence that is ready and waiting to be made available. Pithekoussai is a notorious case: but it is certainly not the only one of its kind in the West,<sup>14</sup> and the West is by no means unusual in this respect.

<sup>9</sup> Shoe Meritt 2000, xv.

<sup>10</sup> Boardman 1990, 186.

<sup>11</sup> Coldstream 1993; Shepherd 1999; Lemos 2003.

<sup>12</sup> Descœudres 2008, 305.

<sup>13</sup> Tandy 1997, 64.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. the last sentence of my review (Ridgway 2009) of Nizzo 2007: 'we would all learn a lot more about Pithekoussai, its connections, and more besides if the remarkable talents of Nizzo's generation of Italian specialists could be harnessed in the first instance to the transfer into the public domain of the evidence yielded by the post-1961 campaigns in the Valle di San Montano'. One of many similar situations in southern Italy is described by Mercuri 2004, 260–62: the '[p]rès de 3500 tombes... [i]nédites' in the early 7th–early 5th century range excavated at Gioia Tauro (Metauros) by the Calabrian Superintendency between 1956 and 1985.

It seems to me that the current terminological wrangles admirably delineated by Tsatskheladze and Hargrave would gain a great deal in the way of much-needed perspective from the compilation of a census of unpublished excavations. And since this discussion is limited to the Anglo-Saxon tradition, I should like to draw attention to the distressingly frequent lack of contact within that tradition between those who handle the evidence and those who try to interpret it. J.C. Carter's work around Metaponto is a shining exception to this depressing dichotomy: is that, I wonder, why his recent major synthesis has been promptly translated into Italian and comprehensively damned in these pages by R. Osborne as 'a text which is both over- and under-ambitious'?<sup>15</sup>

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# ON THE ORIGIN OF THE WESTERN GREEK *POLEIS*\*

EMANUELE GRECO

## Abstract

In the light of the debate on colonisation or so-called colonisation, the question is if by this term the process is under attack. In southern Italy, the relationship between the Greeks and local populations is the main issue. The hermeneutic path developed in Magna Graecia in the last century is summarised. There is no doubt that, at first, the point of view that assigns to the Greeks a civilising function towards an indigenous world thought as a unit has prevailed. The archaeological finds put that model in crisis, without denying the main role of the Greek *apoikoi*.

Recent literature has seen a remarkable increase in contributions and debates on the theme of Greek ‘colonisation’ in the West. While not always informed by stringent logic, they are nevertheless helping us to clarify things by doing away with certain aporias, but without throwing out the baby with the bath water, as Tsetskhladze and Hargrave have rightly observed.

First problem: nominalism. On this subject all I can do is express the deepest astonishment. We who have some familiarity with Latin, as well as Greek, know that *colonia* comes from *colère*, and that the Greek movement called *apoikismós*, which produces *apoikiai*, has nothing to do with *colère*. Thus, there is no Greek ‘colonisation’ in the etymological sense of the word and the many *nuances* of meaning it picked up along the way from the Roman period to modern times. Finley and Lepore already addressed this subject with exhaustive clarity many years ago.<sup>1</sup> I do not understand why some scholars do not just refer to these authors, rather than invoke a problem that has no *raison d’être*, being based on a wrong premise. It is thus surprising to see Etienne<sup>2</sup> enthusiastically adhere to Osborne’s criticism of studies on Greek colonialism, vitiated, the latter argues, by the influence of modern colonialism. This is entirely an Anglo-Saxon problem. We, in Italy, never thought of looking at British colonies to study Greek ones. Do we want to abolish the word ‘colonisation’? No problem: let us all call it ‘apoikism’, so everybody will be happy.

\* Translation by Federico Poole.

<sup>1</sup> Now published together in Finley and Lepore 2000.

<sup>2</sup> Etienne 2010, 6.

But 'apoikism', not bands of adventurers roaming the Mediterranean; which is not to deny the existence of concomitant phenomena, such as the mobility of restless *metanastes*, sometimes represented as making up the bulk of the migratory movement. Besides helping to avoid confusion between Greek and Roman, or modern (for example, British) colonisation, this terminological clarification should also suffice to avoid idle discussions about the purposes of colonisation; especially the recurrent and overworked settlement/trading colony dualism, which is totally inadequate to describe the complexity of the phenomenon of colonisation and the diversity of its manifestation through space and time.<sup>3</sup>

If it is the process itself, not just the term, that is under attack, the question calls for a different answer. But first, I need to make a premise: for quite some time now, a trend has prevailed to limit discussions to literature in the English language, with rare exceptions. Sad, but legitimate, to say, writings in English hardly account for the whole scholarly production on the terraqueous globe on this subject. Just as an example, for 50 years meetings have been held at Taranto on Magna Graecia, admittedly a destination of the Greek migratory movement (although in small measure, after all we are *only* talking of southern Italy). So far, 48 volumes of acts of these meetings have been published (nos. 49 and 50 are forthcoming), dealing with a vast range of issues and featuring contributions from scholars from all over the world in a number of different languages. However, I have been unable to find in the recent debate on Greek colonisation even a single reference to this encyclopaedic store of knowledge (about 25,000 pages, quite a mouthful, but analyses are indispensable to avoid creating abstract models such as those constructed by some of the participants in the debate). Whoever chooses to overlook this body of writings should also accept to be addressed with the celebrated motto attributed to Apelles: *ne sutor ultra crepidam!* An example of a certain ideological confusion can be found in an article by Owen,<sup>4</sup> who produces methodological reflections and formulates many questions, from which, however, one can deduce that she lacks thorough knowledge of both archaeology and literary sources on Greek colonisation. Like Osborne, she believes that studies on colonisation are vitiated by the modern colonial model, but this is only true of the literature she cites, systematically overlooking Ciaceri, Bérard, Vallet, Lepore and an immense body of writings and debate produced in Italy as well as elsewhere.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See most recently Descœudres 2008 (but the bibliography on the subject is much richer).

<sup>4</sup> Owen 2005.

<sup>5</sup> A not dissimilar attitude is displayed by Shepherd 2005, who begins from Freeman's racism to end up with Dunbabin's neocolonialism, but to clear the field – Anglo-Saxon readers, we do not have this problem! – of modernist misunderstandings. Tsetskhladze 2008 wisely distances himself from this position.



To say that there was no single experience in the Greek migratory movement is an unnecessary truism for those who studied on the books of Bérard, Mazzarino and Vallet, or attended Lepore's lectures at Taranto. Reading the arguments of negationists, one gets the impression that they believe that defenders of the migratory (apoikistic) movement refer to a single model.<sup>6</sup> Wrong. When one indicates alternative interpretive paths, one must avoid banality, because banality is deadlier than a lethal weapon. Likewise, there may be some utility in criticising the historiographical matrices of Dunbabin, or other protagonists of the debate (what author would be immune to this kind of criticism?), but one should not reduce the scholar to a caricature by representing him as an unwitting abettor of the British colonial empire. In any case, we have long been accustomed to distinguishing between different approaches adopted by the communities of *apoikoi* who settled in the West. And, despite our Hegelian awareness of the fact that at night all cows are black, we can still tell night from day. Recognising the existence of different models does not mean that we should attribute each to a distinct type of rationality and then relate it to a corresponding ethnic group (Euboeans, Achaeans, Corinthians or Spartans). We who have adopted a prevalently – but not exclusively – archaeological perspective to assess phenomena occurring at this chronological level<sup>7</sup> prefer to speak of a diversity of outcomes of the encounter between Greeks and natives in the various situations we have been able to learn about and investigate. According to Morris,<sup>8</sup> studies on the ancient Mediterranean have gone from the Cold War era (perceivable in the works of Braudel and Finley) to that of web connectivity, as exemplified by Horden and Purcell's book.<sup>9</sup> But when we consider the huge attention currently being devoted to the role of non-Hellenic Mediterranean populations in the construction of ancient society and, above all, in the urbanisation process – as we shall see further on – we can hardly regard it as independent of the very modern attention for the Third World. I have no objection to this, of course, on condition that it does not distort the historical interpretation of the facts.

The relationship between the incoming Greeks and the local populations is undoubtedly a central issue. I will try to briefly summarise the hermeneutic evolution we have witnessed in Magna Graecia in the second post-war period.

There is no doubt that until the 1970s the prevalent point of view assigned the Greeks the function of civilisers of an indigenous world usually perceived as a

<sup>6</sup> Indeed, we distinguish between an Archaic *apoikia* and a *klerouchia* of the Classical period or a foundation by one of Alexander the Great's successors (see Purcell 2005, 132).

<sup>7</sup> Antonaccio 2009, 319: '...archaeology is what we have to write the history of the late Iron Age and early archaic west in particular (from roughly 1000 BC)'.

<sup>8</sup> Morris 2005.

<sup>9</sup> Horden and Purcell 2000.

unitary, undifferentiated whole. Prevalent, but not exclusive: there were several dissenting voices, such as Napoli's protest at the Third Taranto Meeting (*Metropoli e colonie della Magna Grecia*)<sup>10</sup> against Mazzarino's comparison of the Italian natives to Vico's *bestioni*, or Coarelli's invitation (at the 11th meeting: *Le genti non greche della Magna Grecia*) not to regard Greek culture as a unity, because that would have been an anti-historical abstraction.<sup>11</sup> In any case, if we remain at the level of the use of archaeological evidence, an important reference for our understanding of the historiography of those years can be found in an article by de la Genière<sup>12</sup> summarising a whole previous season of studies. The coasts of southern Italy and Sicily, she argues, were inhabited by local populations distributed in a great variety of forms. The arrival of the Greeks involved (a) the physical suppression of the natives, or (b) the crushing of their ethnic and cultural identity by the superiority of the newcomers, or (c) the natives' withdrawal to inland areas where they retained their identity until Romanisation. As early as the Taranto Meeting of 1967, however, Finley and Lepore had invited scholars not to overlook Frontier History in their interpretation of some phenomena highlighted by archaeological discoveries.<sup>13</sup> The problem was eventually given full consideration in 1997 (*Confini e Frontiere*)<sup>14</sup> and 2000 (*Problemi della chora coloniale*).<sup>15</sup> Malkin<sup>16</sup> recently also introduced the concept of 'middle ground' to explain certain phenomena observed in the Great Lakes region in North America; something that is not acculturation (a one-way transfer involving an active agent and a passive recipient), but a form of cultural mediation. Others<sup>17</sup> speak of 'hybridisation'. These are useful concepts, but in my opinion this phenomenon is best approached from the perspective of 'frontier dynamics'; of cultures, that is, that arise in border areas and are something different from either of the parts that come into contact.

It is truly surprising that Anglo-American scholars do not use the concept of 'frontier dynamics' – a lofty product of Anglo-American anthropological culture formulated by the likes of Turner and Lattimore, just to name two titans – to

<sup>10</sup> Napoli 1964, 184–85.

<sup>11</sup> Coarelli 1972, 331: 'La cultura greca "*ut sic*" è un'astrazione, non esiste, come non esiste d'altra parte un mondo indigeno, che a quella si opponga in un complesso sistema di influssi e relazioni, in una facile e illusoria dialettica' (Greek culture '*ut sic*' is an abstraction, it does not exist, just as there exists no indigenous world on the other side opposing itself to Greek culture in a complex system of influences and relationships, in a facile and illusory dialectics).

<sup>12</sup> de la Genière 1970.

<sup>13</sup> Finley 1968, 186–88; Lepore 1968, 365–66.

<sup>14</sup> See Corcella 1998; Greco 1998.

<sup>15</sup> See Greco 2001 and discussion 159–60.

<sup>16</sup> Malkin 2002b.

<sup>17</sup> Antonaccio 2009, 320–21.

explain phenomena such as the territorial organisation of Western *apoikiai* and their relations with indigenous communities, both those integrated within the so-called colonial *chora* and those lying at its fringes or outside of it.<sup>18</sup> This kind of approach is noticeably lacking, for example, in the approach to archaeological evidence of Yntema<sup>19</sup> and Kleibrink,<sup>20</sup> both exponents of indigeno-centric revisionism. These authors, when they recommend using archaeology rather than writings to investigate colonial history, seem to imply that material testimonies have an objectivity that texts lack; as if the former were not themselves filtered by the subjectivity of the interpreter. Furthermore, they freely employ categories such as *apoikia*, *emporion*, etc., without the necessary anthropological support of a vast literature that teaches us that behind terminology are concepts and categories that need to be structurally defined to avoid confusion. It is also sad to see the rules of grammar offended when one reads *ethnai* as the plural of *ethnos*,<sup>21</sup> a neuter noun with a sigma-dropping stem whose plural is actually *ethne*. In the haste to relegate Greek culture to a *prope nihil*, one ends up mangling the Greek language as well.

What has changed in recent years? Archaeological discoveries have radically challenged the traditional model (which means that fortunately digging is not useless and our knowledge is advancing!). Attempting to draw a balance of the question ten years ago, I argued that the indigenous *milieu* was clearly perceivable as a cultural survival in the archaeological record, especially in settlements – such as Siris, Metaurus, Palinuro – where an emporic vocation probably prevailed. These sites yielded evidence of the coexistence of indigenous and Greek inhabitants in an integrated community. (To use a metaphor to describe this phenomenon, I borrowed the term ‘cohabitation’ from French political language.)<sup>22</sup> In the mid-1990s, a protagonist in this debate reasserted her traditional point of view, which had held sway in the previous decades.<sup>23</sup> Later on, especially after De Siena’s discoveries at Metapontum, it seemed evident enough to me that we needed to transcend the traditional vision in favour of a new perspective recognising that the autochthonous populations did not find themselves in an exclusively passive and losing position, but in several cases collaborated with the newcomers in the formation of the political community.<sup>24</sup> (Metapontum can be classified as an archetypical example of an agricultural settlement,

<sup>18</sup> I largely subscribe to Purcell’s environmental approach (2005) and its regard for microsystemic aspects.

<sup>19</sup> Yntema 2000.

<sup>20</sup> Kleibrink 2001; 2004.

<sup>21</sup> Kleibrink 2001, 42.

<sup>22</sup> Niemayer 1990 had already employed the term *enoikismós* (‘cohabitation’).

<sup>23</sup> de la Genière 1992; 1995.

<sup>24</sup> On De Siena’s excavations at Metaponto, see Nava 1999, 700; and my reply at p. 803.

although this category, again, should be used with caution, without granting it an absolute value, and especially without assuming that it somehow reflects the perception of first-generation *apoikoi*: as I have repeatedly stressed in the past, population colonies are a modern abstraction.) It goes without saying, in any case, that the *polis* was an expression of Greek culture.<sup>25</sup> There has also been a lot of discussion about ethnicity, especially following the publication of an article by Morgan and Hall.<sup>26</sup> We organised a meeting on the ethnic identity of the Achaeans in the West,<sup>27</sup> striving to make sense of the apparent contradiction between an advanced Achaean Western world and a motherland that was practically non-existent before the end of the 6th century BC; a full two centuries, that is, after the Achaean *poleis* of Sybaris and Croton were established, with all that followed, namely, the foundation of Metapontum and, 30 years later, Poseidonia. The Achaean world actually displays remarkable cultural unity, for example in its vast shared pantheon, not to mention an extraordinary similarity in the organisation of the urban space. Today, the progress of archaeological research in Achaea has finally freed this region from its isolation of the Late Geometric period, revealing a very different world from what it appeared to be only 15 years ago.<sup>28</sup>

Much attention has been devoted in our debate to the figure of the *oikist*.<sup>29</sup> Malkin, and especially Moggi, have written interesting things on this subject, and I refer the reader to their essays.<sup>30</sup> As an archaeologist, however, rather than dwell on the tradition on the *oikists* of Naxos, Syracuse, Leontini, Catania, Megara, Selinus, Gela, Agrigento, Zancle, Himera and Camarina, called to banquet every year in Callimachus' well-known fragment (*Aitia* F 43, 30 ff. Pf.), I would like to focus on the archaeological finds concerning the *oikist* of Gela and the mention of the *oikist* of Sybaris on the incuse coins of Poseidonia, datable to the third quarter of the 6th century, so little more than half a century after the foundation of the city. Little needs to be added to what has already been said about the *oikist* of Gela, Antiphe-mos. I only wish to emphasise that Orsi, who found the fragment mentioning the

<sup>25</sup> Greco 2006; Mele 2007. From the progress of research we expect to learn what the status of natives in the city was, if eminent positions can be detected, or if the surviving indigenous evidence rather points to the existence of subjugated communities. In the meantime, a certain progress has been made with respect to traditional visions. We can now state that after the *ktisis* the indigenous *milieu* that existed before the arrival of the *apoikoi* did not totally disappear, as was argued until recently.

<sup>26</sup> Morgan and Hall 1996.

<sup>27</sup> Greco 2002, with Mele 2002's reply to the reconstruction proposed by Morgan and Hall 1996.

<sup>28</sup> Interesting new evidence in this regard can be found in M. Petropoulos's and A. Gadoulou's papers presented at the 50th Taranto Meeting (October 2010), forthcoming.

<sup>29</sup> For a broad overview on the historicity of the figure of the *oikist* and on some cases where the role of the metropolis is apparent, see Mele 2007, 51–56.

<sup>30</sup> Malkin 2002a; Moggi 2003.

*oikist*, immediately recognised its importance, commenting: 'So far it was not really known that Antiphemos had a cult at Gela, although as a general rule the cult of heroised *oikists* is something normal and unsurprising in Greek cities.'<sup>31</sup>

The fragment with the dedication to the *oikist* of Gela is datable to the early 5th century BC. According to the negationists, here we are at the beginning of the great manipulation: the invention of the *oikist*, of ethnicity, of everything. But there is another item of evidence to which attention has already been drawn in the past and which I would like to bring up again here. It is the mention of the name Fiis on incuse coins from Poseidonia, which corresponds to the name handed down in written sources for the *oikist* of Sybaris.<sup>32</sup> This is not a minor consideration: a second-phase *apoikia* (one of what Lombardo called 'colonies of colonies', which was also the title of the fine meeting he organised on the subject<sup>33</sup>) keeps alive the name of the *oikist* of its mother city, thus confirming his historicity. This is all the more significant when we consider that in the 5th century double-relief coins carry another name, that of a Megyllos, certainly to be identified as the *oikist* of Poseidonia, clearly brought back to prominence at the conclusion of a historical period that witnessed a political conflict between the early aristocracies, loyal to the memory of the founder of Sybaris, and a new ruling class that had shaken off this loyalty. It is frankly difficult, in the light of this evidence, to dismiss all tradition about *oikists* as later manipulation, or, worse, brand archaeology as slave to texts.<sup>34</sup>

Finally, I would like to dwell on a debate that has some connections with the one I have been reviewing and critiquing so far. I am referring to the debate on urbanisation. Etienne<sup>35</sup> rightly points out that here there is a need for terminological clarification. Let us start from some apodictic statements. According to Kleibrink, the true colonists of southern Italy were its natives: 'The native inhabitants are the true colonists of S. Italy if we mean by colonization the effort to change the landscape into production unit.'<sup>36</sup> According to van Dommelen,<sup>37</sup> a comparison between Greek, Punic and indigenous settlements proves that the urban phenomenon is not a colonial invention, but a regional and indigenous process. As I have remarked before, these authors continue to treat the urban phenomenon as if it was a technological invention. It would almost seem that somebody could imagine that

<sup>31</sup> P. Orsi in *NSc* 1900, 273–75; *MonAnt* 17 (1906), col. 558.

<sup>32</sup> Mele 2007; Greco 2006.

<sup>33</sup> Lombardo and Frisone 2009.

<sup>34</sup> Purcell 1997. See also Purcell 2005, where the author uses 'colonization' between quotes and makes an acceptable premise (although obvious, in my opinion): 'Ancient "colonization" is more like agrarian power structures than political hegemony' (p. 117).

<sup>35</sup> Etienne 2010, 8–9.

<sup>36</sup> Kleibrink 2004, 87.

<sup>37</sup> van Dommelen 2005.

the urban form is transmitted as if it was not the result of a dynamic process arising from the interaction between various elements, such as the separation between the city and the countryside, the development of production, and social stratification. Almost as if phenomenic aspects were sufficient evidence for a judgment to be expressed, and reality did not manifest itself in an infinite variety of forms. Besides, it is depressing to see Megara Hyblaea's status as a city denied because it lacks monumentality, using the same naive approach of Pausanias (in his famous passage about Panopeus in 10. 4. 4), and especially to see scholars turn into involuntary defenders of a trite teleological vision of history picturing the city as a point of arrival and reducing its archaic precursors to the level of an indefinite rural agglomerate. Etienne<sup>38</sup> criticises de Polignac<sup>39</sup> for not defining *a priori* what a city is before going into a critique of various picturesque arguments set forth by other scholars. My answer to Etienne would be that from a material point of view nothing is less definable *a priori* than urban status from an archaeological standpoint, because if he did not have literary sources but only archaeological evidence, he would end up having to deny that Sparta was a city; something that Thucydides (1. 10) warned us against many centuries ago. The same reasoning applies, in my opinion, to Pithekoussai, like Megara Hyblaea an extraordinary example of a *polis*, but with a degree of development corresponding to that of a *polis* of the 8th century BC, and hence not comparable in monumentality with later cities. Let us then go back to the Greeks, without presumption and without arrogance, and make them act again, along with the Others and without cultural genocides, to be sure, but respecting that part of the tradition that is firmly holding its ground against arbitrary and groundless criticism.

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### Abbreviation

*Atti Taranto*      *Atti del ... Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto* (Naples/Taranto).

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# ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE *ORIGO* MYTHS OF THE GREEK *APOIKIAI*\*

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## Abstract

This paper deals with a crucial moment in the migration processes: the initial stages of the migrant settlements. It focuses on the character of ancient written sources on this subject and their relationship to the archaeological data. First, a very broad outline is given of the traditional views on this matter. These are based almost exclusively on the writings of ancient Greek authors. A short excursion into the field of post-antique colonisation raises the first doubts about the traditional paradigm. New data supplied by relatively recent archaeological excavations are adduced in order to generate new insights into this subject. These insights produce a new image of the Greek migrations of the 8th and early 7th centuries BC and suggest alternative explanations of the ancient Greek written sources. The case study concerns south-east Italy, but the insights gained from this migration area may well have a much wider significance.

## Introduction

Ancient Greek colonisation is a hotly debated issue in both archaeology and ancient history and has spawned a huge bibliography. The present volume of *AWE* pays ample attention to the various problems posed by these Greek transmarine migrations and by the Greek diaspora communities that resulted from them. These communities were the Greek settlements in the coastal strip of the Mediterranean outside the traditional Greek core area (i.e. outside the central and southern Aegean).

This paper deals specifically with a very crucial moment in the migration processes: the initial stages of the migrant settlements. It focuses on the character of ancient written sources on this subject and their relationship to the archaeological data. The reader may have noted that I prefer to use the neutral term 'Greek (transmarine) migration' rather than the classic term 'Greek colonisation'. In my view the concept of colonisation has been applied to phenomena of such vastly different nature that it has essentially become meaningless (*cf.* Roman colonisation, French colonisation, etc.).

\* Photographs and drawings: Institute of Archaeology, VU University Amsterdam. Correction of the English text: Annette Visser Translations, Wellington, New Zealand.

First a very broad outline will be given of the traditional views on this matter. These are based almost exclusively on the writings of ancient Greek authors. A short excursion into the field of post-antique colonisation will raise the first doubts about the traditional paradigm of the early phases of Greek transmarine migration. New data supplied by relatively recent archaeological excavations will be adduced in order to generate new approaches to and new insights into this thorny subject. These insights will produce a new image of the Greek migrations of the 8th and early 7th centuries BC and suggest alternative explanations and new interpretations of the ancient Greek written sources.<sup>1</sup> The case study presented here concerns south-east Italy, but the insights gained from this migration area may well have a much wider significance.

### Greek Migrations: The View of Ancient Authors

Greek colonisation, or preferably Greek transmarine migration, had its heyday between *ca.* 750 and *ca.* 550 BC. If we can believe the ancient authors who wrote on this subject, it was a truly astonishing phenomenon. By about the late 8th century BC the Greek world in the Aegean began – suddenly and unexpectedly – to burst at the seams. Large numbers of Greeks migrated from their Greek homelands in the central and southern Aegean and travelled by sea to many other parts of the Mediterranean. They founded Greek towns in coastal areas from Spain to the Ukraine. As Aristotle (born in one such migrant settlement on the Thracian coast) put it: the Greeks sat like frogs around the pond. And that pond was, of course, the Mediterranean.

By Aristotle's time (4th century BC) the Mediterranean was indeed surrounded by a considerable number of fairly small political entities, each consisting of a town and its territory (the 'city state' or *polis* and its *chora*). The inhabitants of these diaspora communities spoke some variety of Greek, had political institutions of more or less Greek character, participated in pan-Hellenic games such as those at Olympia and Delphi, and mostly used Greek names for their gods and themselves. The Greek word for a migrant settlement of this type is *apoikia* (an 'away-from-home' or 'away-from-the-family-group'). Modern historians of the ancient world called these settlements 'Greek colonies'. Although the notion of a widely shared *Greek* identity came rather late to the Greek-speaking world (4th century BC),<sup>2</sup> the fact that someone from Sicilian Syracuse could perfectly well understand someone from the settlement of Panticapaeum in the Crimea created a kind of common ground.

<sup>1</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the nature of ancient written sources and their relationship to archaeological data on Greek colonisation, see Yntema 2000.

<sup>2</sup> On Greek identity (*Hellas*, *Hellenes*), see J. Hall 2002, 45–47, 205–06.



Fig. 1: Sites in south-east Italy mentioned in the text.

These are general observations concerning the phenomenon of ancient Greek 'colonisation'. But how did the ancient Greeks themselves perceive this process? How did they visualise the numerous migrations that left the Greeks sitting like frogs around the pond? What was their view on this particular aspect of early Greek history? Why and how – according to the ancient Greek historians – did these Greek speaking settlements in originally non-Greek territories come into being?

We shall focus on south-east Italy for a brief case study. According to ancient Greek authors the area on the Gulf of Taranto had four Greek *apoikiai*: Sybaris, Siris (now Policoro), Metapontum (now Metaponto) and Taras (present-day Taranto) (Fig. 1). These were reportedly founded in *ca.* 720 (Sybaris), *ca.* 650/640 (Siris), *ca.* 680 (Metapontum) and 706/705 BC (Taras), with Taras eventually becoming by far the most important of these. In the 4th century BC the town was the unchallenged leader of the Italiote league, the rather loose confederacy of Greek-speaking towns of southern Italy. A fairly complete account of the foundation (*ktisis*) of this migrant settlement survives in the works of ancient authors.

The most complete texts concerning the foundation of Taras can be found in the works of the Greek author Strabo who lived in the age of Augustus. In his *Geography* he quoted the *ktisis* of Taras as reported by the Greek authors Antiochus of Syracuse (5th century BC) and Ephorus of Kyme (4th century BC). According to these texts there was a plot in Sparta in which a man called Phalanthos played a crucial role:

When the plotters perceived that the plot had been revealed, some of them began to run and others began to beg for mercy. But they were bidden to be of good cheer and were kept in custody. Phalantos was sent to the god [the oracle of Apollo in Delphi] to consult with reference to founding a colony. And the god responded: 'I give to thee Satyrion and the fat lands of Taras to live in and to be a scourge of the Iapygians' (Strabo 6. 3).

According to the stories told by Antiochus and Ephorus the former plotters started to travel westward. They had been told (again by the Delphic oracle) to found the new town when it started to rain from a clear sky. So when Aithra (= clear sky), the wife of the prospective founder, started to weep as a result of the harsh circumstances (Pausanias 10. 10), the people following Phalanthos knew what to do. Although this latter romantic story about Aithra's tears was certainly not taken at face value by modern historians of the ancient world, much of the remaining information has often been regarded as 'historical truth'.

Probably every Greek migrant settlement had a similar foundation story that spoke of the provenance of its inhabitants (i.e. the metropolis of the *apoikia*), mentioned its founder (the *oikist*), quoted the foundation oracle and related the

events concerning the town's *ktisis*. Several of these stories have survived in the writings of ancient authors and we have snippets of information from many other foundation stories.<sup>3</sup> These are known as the 'Iron Age' foundation stories. For the inhabitants of these migrant settlements, it was evidently crucial to know where they had their roots and what the origins of their settlement were. These stories about the original homeland and the *ktisis* of the settlement clearly formed an integral part of their local identities. They were especially important to the inhabitants since they lived among foreign tribes with vastly different languages, customs, norms and values.

In addition to these Iron Age foundation stories, there were stories about Homeric heroes acting as the founding fathers of both Greek *apoikiai* and non-Greek tribes and settlements in Italy. The writings of ancient authors feature several reports about protagonists of the Trojan War acting in this way. These were Trojan princes who had managed to flee from their burning town or Greeks heroes who attempted to sail to their homes after the fall of Troy, only to be driven to far-away coasts by angry gods.<sup>4</sup> They somehow ended up in Italy and founded towns or fathered tribes. Since the Greeks believed that the Trojan War took place many generations before the Iron Age *ktiseis* (in our terms *ca.* 1200 BC), these stories pushed the origins of *apoikiai* some 400–500 years back in time. These are the 'Bronze Age' foundation stories. The best known of these heroes is, of course, the Trojan prince Aeneas who features prominently in Virgil's *Aeneid*.<sup>5</sup> He was the *Urvater* of the Latins and an ancestor of the founder of Rome. Metapontum on the Gulf of Taranto was reportedly founded by King Nestor of Pylos, Odysseus was the founding father of the Etruscans, and King Diomedes of Argos was said to have founded several 'native' towns in Apulia.<sup>6</sup> It should be stressed that these Bronze Age foundation stories differ from their Iron Age counterparts in that both Greeks *and* non-Greeks in Italy referred to Greek or Trojan heroes of the Homeric songs as founders of their town or tribe.

The most influential scholar on the Greek migration to southern Italy is the historian Jean Bérard, writing in 1957. He considered the 'heroic' foundations immediately following the Trojan War as stories that did not really happen: they

<sup>3</sup> For example Bérard 1957.

<sup>4</sup> The 'returns' (*nostoi*) of Greek heroes of the Trojan War are a subgenre in the Greek epic tradition (*cf.* Odysseus return to Ithaca, which is the subject of the *Odyssey*); on this subject, see Malkin 1998.

<sup>5</sup> Stories about the Trojan prince Aeneas in Latium circulated as early as the 6th century BC. See, for instance, the exhibition catalogue *Enea nel Lazio, archeologia e mito* (Rome 1981), 3–5.

<sup>6</sup> For example, Diomedes was believed to have founded south Apulian Brindisi and a series of important native settlements in northern Apulia (for example Arpi, Canusium).

belong indisputably to the realm of myth. Unfortunately, fairly substantial quantities of Aegean ceramics dating from the Greek Bronze Age have been found in southern Italy.<sup>7</sup> These have, of course, fuelled new discussions on Homeric founders, but analyses of both the Bronze Age finds and ancient sources have validated Bérard's view.<sup>8</sup> Generally speaking, ancient historians continue to see these stories as myths (invented history). But why these *origo* myths with Homeric founders came into existence, has never been explained.

The Iron Age foundation stories have been widely accepted as more or less 'historically true'.<sup>9</sup> As far as Taras is concerned, for instance, many ancient historians and archaeologists believe that a substantial group of Spartans set out from the Peloponnese under the guidance of a founder (Phalanthos) and that these people travelled to southern Italy and actually founded the town of Taras in 706/705 BC. They accept the view that the new town was a scourge to the Iapygians and carved its territory out of the district inhabited by this Italic tribe. It should be noted, however, that such actions require the use of brute force. For example, according to ancient written sources, the *ktisis* of the *apoikia* of Siris, some 60 km west of Taras, resulted in sacrilege, rape and genocide (Strabo 6. 1. 14).

These Greek Iron Age foundation stories have many features in common. Their main characteristics are:

- One mother city (metropolis);<sup>10</sup>
- A substantial group of migrants;
- The foundation of a *new Greek community* abroad;
- Strong opposition between Greeks and native populations;
- Greek military superiority.

### Greek Migration and Pre-modern 'European' Migration

The question is, of course, whether this picture of Greek mass migration and brute force against resident populations in a new world is a credible one. According to the written sources, the Greeks came, they saw, they conquered. This widely accepted view of Greek colonisation raises some difficult questions. Can we really believe that a fleet containing a few hundred or perhaps even a thousand Greeks crossed the Mediterranean in the 8th and 7th centuries BC, founded a Greek town

<sup>7</sup> For example Vagnetti 1982.

<sup>8</sup> For example Van Compernelle 1988.

<sup>9</sup> For the traditional image of ancient Greek colonisation, see Dunbabin 1948 and Boardman 1980; the traditional image of Greek colonisation is still gallantly defended by Emanuele Greco (for example Greco 2005).

<sup>10</sup> A few Greek *apoikiai* were believed to have two metropoleis.



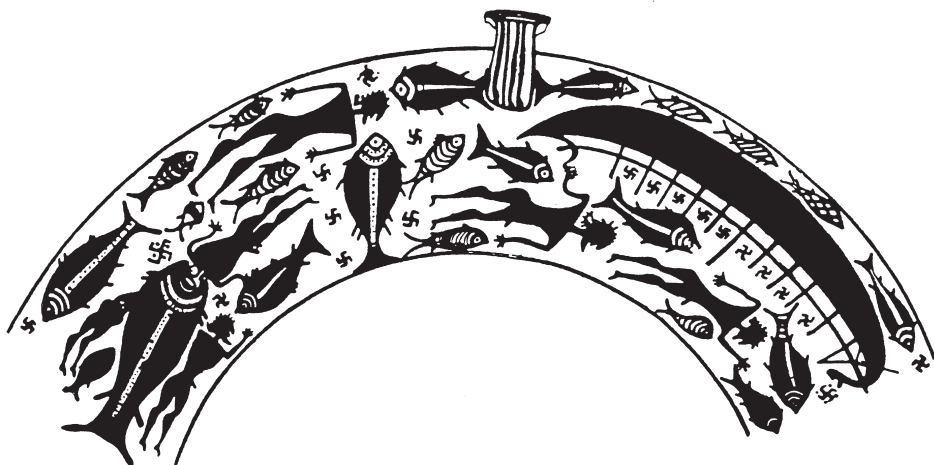


Fig. 2: Greek Iron Age shipwreck. Decoration of a Greek pot produced at Ischia (Bay of Naples), ca. 730 BC.

in a new world and used brute force against indigenous, non-Greek groups? Did the Greeks of the Iron Age have the means and the level of organisation required to accomplish such a risky venture? Since the Greek ships of the 8th and 7th centuries BC had only limited carrying capacity, it would have taken a lot of ships to transport the migrants, livestock and food for several months (Fig. 2). Is it really so easy to found a settlement in a basically unknown world as the Greek authors would have us believe?<sup>11</sup>

We can acquire new insights by looking into a few fairly well documented cases from more recent migration history. Of course, the 'European' diaspora assumed many different forms. Those with the explicit purpose of founding a migrant community on foreign shores may be particularly instructive. Here three cases will be briefly discussed: La Isabela on the island of Hispaniola in the Caribbean (end of the 15th century), Jamestown in Virginia (end of the 16th–early 17th century) and Botany Bay, Australia (in the 1780s).

The settlements founded by Christopher Columbus on the island of Hispaniola were decidedly *not* successful. La Navidad (founded in 1492) has been rhetorically described as 'the first "European" settlement in the Americas'. It is likely to have been an existing village of a *cacique* (chieftain) of the local Taíno population in which Columbus settled a group of Spaniards before returning to the old continent. But when Columbus came back to Hispaniola in 1493, the Spanish settlers

<sup>11</sup> For serious doubts regarding the traditional view of ancient Greek colonisation, see Osborne 1998.

he had left behind in the preceding year had disappeared without trace. La Isabela was Columbus's second attempt to found a settlement in the New World (1493). It was an entirely new settlement surrounded by fortifications and predominantly inhabited by Spanish migrants. Three outposts were created in inland Hispaniola in the following year in order to control vital resources. These, however, appear to have been wiped out by the Taínos within a very short time, although the Spaniards definitely had a military superiority (guns). The main settlement of La Isabela was abandoned after only five years (in 1498). Famine, discord among the colonists and conflicts with the native population were recurring problems. Surprisingly, one of the main causes of discord was intimately linked with differences in status. When Columbus claimed the horses belonging to the *hidalgos* (Spanish local gentry) to the transport of building materials, there were vehement protests: their horses were important status symbols that ranked them above the commoners. In their letters to relatives in Spain the same *hidalgos* asked to be sent new clothes befitting their status. Without such clothing, the differences between the ordinary folk and the *hidalgos* of slightly higher status were invisible: within about a year after the arrival at Hispaniola everybody at La Isabela looked the same.<sup>12</sup>

The first more or less successful European settlement in North America was Jamestown in Virginia, founded in 1607 by John Smith. This was the eighteenth attempt to found a settlement in this part of the world and it took Jamestown some 30 years to stand on its own feet. It was only thanks to the often good relations with the neighbouring Algonquian tribe that the settlement survived its first precarious years: the romantic story of Pocahontas (the daughter of a local chief) suggests that the new colonists relied heavily on the indigenous population for their food.<sup>13</sup>

A very successful European transmarine enterprise in pre-modern times was the expedition to Botany Bay, now known as Sydney. Here in the 1780s the English founded the first stable settlement in Australia. The expedition was extremely well planned. The first fleet with migrants, livestock, many months' corn and seeds for food cultivation was followed by several successive expeditions that continued to bring the basics needed to survive in a foreign environment. It was in particular these regular follow ups that appear to have been the key to a lasting success.<sup>14</sup>

This albeit small sample suggests that migrant settlements such as La Isabela, Jamestown and Botany Bay – created in a new basically unknown environment – faced enormous problems: highly effective measures were needed to guarantee their survival. Columbus's La Isabela survived for only five years, John Smith's James-

<sup>12</sup> For both the excavations and the archival sources concerning La Isabela, see Deagan and Cruxent 2002.

<sup>13</sup> For example Andrews 1985.

<sup>14</sup> Frost 1990.

town was saved by Indian food and Botany Bay was well planned with follow-up fleets carrying food, livestock, corn and other commodities that helped the migrants to survive the first perilous years, giving them ample opportunity to start farming and to build up their stores.

We learn from these data that the founding of a new community in a new environment peopled by bands and tribes with ways of life that differed vastly from those encountered in Europe, was incredibly difficult between the 15th and 18th centuries. The cases that met with success were basically those in which there was close co-operation between the resident population and the newcomers.<sup>15</sup> The main exception is the relatively late and extremely well-planned foundation of Sydney. In order to be successful you have to ship people, animals, food for many months, and seeds for establishing agriculture. Moreover, the migrants have to display strong social cohesion under stressful conditions. Discord is fatal. One bad harvest in the first four to five years (when you are still building up your stock) is likely to prove disastrous. And since Fernand Braudel has repeatedly demonstrated that this happened every three to four years in the ancient Mediterranean,<sup>16</sup> a migrant community's chances of survival in a new environment far from home must have been rather slim in the 8th or 7th centuries BC. The best guarantees of survival were the support given by indigenous groups (Jamestown) or a seemingly endless stream of follow-ups (Sydney). It was only after quite a few years that such new settlements and their lands were able to stand on their own feet and to sustain a population of a few hundred inhabitants. Migrants have to learn the properties of the soil and experience the vicissitudes of the microclimate. In short, newcomers have to acquire a feel for the land, and that takes time. This learning process leads to hardship, discord and famine, and is likely to be fatal in the absence of good relations with people who actually possess this knowledge (i.e. the indigenous population; *cf.* Jamestown) or frequent back-up expeditions from the original homeland (*cf.* Botany Bay).

With these data on early Spanish and English migrant settlements in mind, let us return to the ancient Greek migrations of the 8th and 7th centuries BC. If what the ancient authors tell us is true about the large groups of migrant farmers, about violent actions against local populations resulting in strong Greek-native opposition, etc., then the Greeks were either extremely lucky, or their foundation stories do not tell us what really happened when the first Greek migrants arrived on foreign shores. It is almost inconceivable that substantial groups of Greeks migrated to

<sup>15</sup> *Cf.* La Isabela, initially with a close co-operation between Columbus and the local *caciques*, but *cf.* also the Portuguese colony of Diu on the coast of India established with the aid and consent of a local prince.

<sup>16</sup> For example Braudel 1967, 55–58.

a *terra incognita* and managed to found settlements and control farmlands in an unfriendly native world far from their original homelands. The level of organisation in the Greek world of the 8th and 7th centuries hardly differed, for instance, from that of the indigenous tribes of contemporary southern Italy or Sicily. And while the Europeans of the 16th and 17th centuries definitely had military superiority (cannons, guns) over the American Indians, Africans and Asians, the migrating Greeks of the 8th and 7th centuries BC had no great military advantage over the indigenous peoples of other parts of the Mediterranean. For the period under discussion Greek superiority is definitely a myth.

We may well feel a certain uneasiness about the image of the 'Greek colonisation' presented by the modern historians of the ancient world. This uneasiness increases, however, when we delve into historical and anthropological studies on the relations between European travellers and settlers on the one hand and peoples in America, Asia and Africa on the other.<sup>17</sup> While European settlement across the oceans appears to have been arduous and took many different forms (for example trading stations, settlements inhabited by both natives and migrants, migrant farmer settlements), the Greeks – without substantial difficulties and with preciously few exceptions – were incredibly successful and seem to have produced a single form of overseas settlement: Greek city states populated by Greek farming communities.

### **Greek Migrations: The Archaeological Data**

Hitherto we have looked exclusively at the passages on early Greek migration written by ancient authors. There is, however, an alternative source of information that helps us to understand this phenomenon. These are the archaeological data. Until well into the 1970s the archaeological evidence was thin and open to various interpretations. The finds were mainly used to illustrate the well-established historical narrative based on ancient authors. In the 1980s, however, the archaeology of southern Italy developed with breathtaking speed. Large subsidies from the Council of Europe to the Italian Mezzogiorno resulted in the rapid increase and intensification of agriculture and the large-scale building of infrastructure such as roads, highways and pipelines for the mass transport of water, gas and oil. As a result of all these activities, archaeological research by means of rescue excavations intensified enormously. The data generated by this exponential increase in archaeological excavations were discussed in publications and conferences during the 1980s and 1990s.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> For example Wolf 1982.

<sup>18</sup> For congresses dealing with the host of new information, see, for instance, De Siena and Tagliente 1986; and *Atti Taranto* 35 (for 1994).

The first thing highlighted by these new data was that the Greeks did not found their new settlements in a complete *terra incognita*. Some 50 years before founding the first settlements they had started to sail to Italy and had exchanged goods with the local populations. These goods included well-datable Greek pots whose earliest specimens in Italy can be dated to the end of the 9th or the early years of the 8th century BC.<sup>19</sup> This phase was aptly called the 'pre-colonisation phase'.<sup>20</sup> Clearly, trade preceded the flag.

The numerous excavations have also shed light on the earliest phases of the Greek city states of southern Italy. The interpretation of the data thus recovered, suggests however that these Greek settlements started in a way that differed substantially from what the ancient authors would have us believe. There are in fact many discrepancies between the archaeological data and the information supplied by ancient authors. As the archaeological finds have been discussed in considerable detail in another context,<sup>21</sup> we will stick to the archaeological basics in the context of this paper.

As for Taras, the earliest Greek Geometric ceramics found there date to the *early* 8th century BC. These have been interpreted as signs of pre-colonisation contacts, because the Greek *apoikia* of Taras was reportedly founded towards the *end* of the 8th century (706/705 BC) and because the site was inhabited by an indigenous population from the Bronze Age onward. The earliest burial interpreted as Greek (cremation) can conveniently be dated to around 700 BC<sup>22</sup> and has been perceived as confirmation of the traditional dating of the foundation: by about the end of the 8th century a person was buried here in a patently Greek way. There are, of course alternative interpretations (*cf.* a small necropolis with cremations at Brindisi; see below).

The *apoikia* of Siris, however, appears to be much more problematic. According to the ancient authors, this Greek settlement was founded around 650/640 BC, whereas the earliest settlement traces date to about 680 BC. It seems that the ancient author reporting the foundation made a mistake. But when we go to the site of Metapontum, matters become still more complicated. Here, the earliest traces of the settlement dated to approximately 620–610, although the *ktisis* of the Greek settlement happened some 60 years earlier according to most ancient Greek authors. Archaeologists and ancient historians have come up with ingenious theories in order to explain away this problem. But fortunately, in 1985, a small settlement nucleus of five or six huts dating to *ca.* 680/670–640/630 came to light under a northern

<sup>19</sup> D'Andria 1995.

<sup>20</sup> Ridgway 1992.

<sup>21</sup> Yntema 2000.

<sup>22</sup> Dell'Aglia 1990.

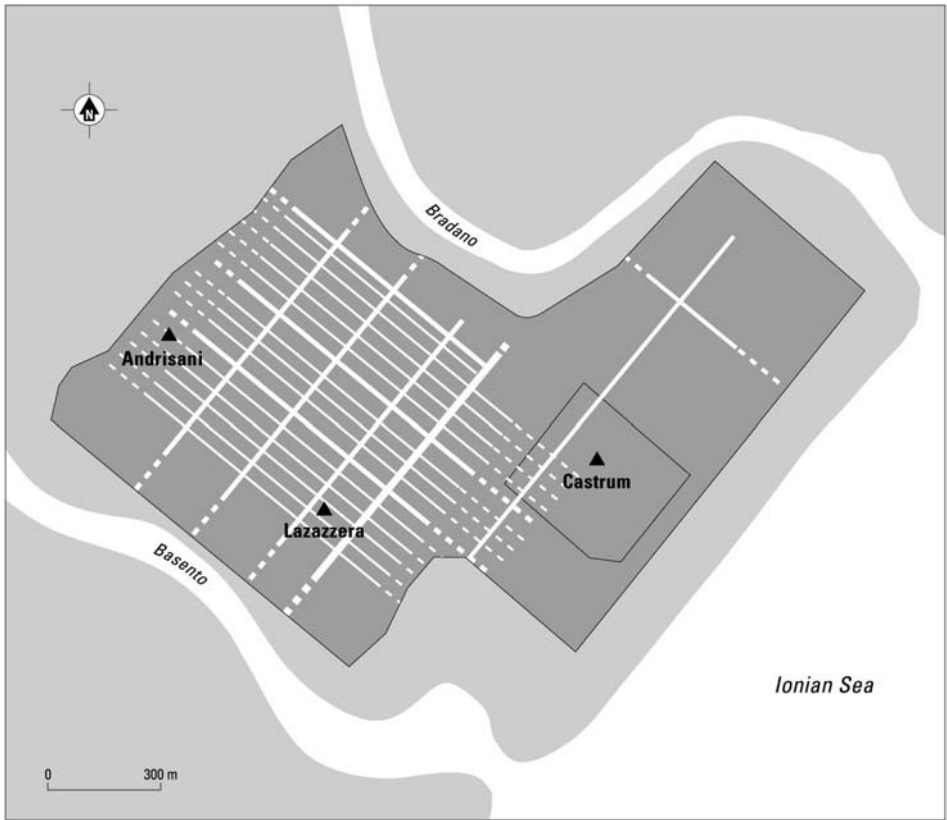


Fig. 3: Town plan of the *polis* of Metapontum (6th–5th centuries BC) with the location of the settlement nuclei of the second to third quarters of the 7th century BC (triangles).

quarter of the later Greek town of Metapontum.<sup>23</sup> Subsequently, traces of two other nuclei of the same type have been found, each at a distance of 500–700 m from the others. The ancient author reporting the foundation of Metapontum was redeemed. However, the earliest phase of Metapontum was not what we would have expected on the basis of the foundation stories. In its earliest phase Metapontum was an undefended, dispersed settlement consisting of at least three, and perhaps four or five nuclei of probably five to eight huts. As we have seen, the distances between the three clusters of huts actually found by the archaeologists, were very considerable (Fig. 3). Metapontum, moreover, was not the only case in point. The excavations of nearby Siris revealed very similar patterns. Like Metapontum, early Siris was a dispersed settlement consisting of a few spatially separated nuclei of huts.

<sup>23</sup> First report on the settlement nucleus at Metaponto-Andrisani, see De Siena 1986; 1996 (on the discovery of more 7th-century settlement nuclei: Metaponto-Lazzazzera, Metaponto-Castrum).

The archaeological data, therefore, produce a rather surprising picture of the early phase of the settlements that in later centuries would become Greek city states.<sup>24</sup> According to the archaeological evidence neither early Metapontum nor early Siris had a substantial population. Three clusters of six huts (early Metapontum) makes a population of approximately 90–120 people, and if we assume that there are two other clusters that have not been traced in well-researched Metapontum, the total population of the settlement will have amounted to 200 at most, women and children included. Moreover, these people lived dispersed over a large area. As we have seen, the same holds true for Siris. And when ancient written sources tell us about the brute force used by the Greeks in founding a colony, our uneasiness increases. What would a resident Italic population do with some two hundred Greek migrants living in an undefended and dispersed settlement after these Greeks had taken their land, murdered their tribesmen, raped and enslaved their women and dishonoured their gods?

When both the earliest phases of Metapontum and Siris are subjected to close scrutiny, more disquieting information emerges. Early Siris, a settlement consisting of spatially separated nuclei of huts, had at least *three* spatially separated burial grounds. Each of these was probably linked with one of the spatially separated settlement nuclei: each nucleus was a small community having its own necropolis. In these burial grounds of Siris (whose colonist reportedly set out from the town of Colophon in Asia Minor) we can observe burial customs stemming from *various* parts of the Greek world and from the non-Greek world of southern Italy. Judging by these data, the inhabitants of Siris came not only from Asia Minor, but also from the Peloponnese, perhaps from the island of Rhodes and from the neighbouring tribal districts of southern Italy. Actually, the study of the burials suggests that the population of Siris was a mishmash of people from surrounding native districts and various parts of Aegean Greece.<sup>25</sup>

And when we study the objects found in the settlement areas of early Siris and early Metapontum, we are in for a few more surprises. They include objects that are definitely Greek in character and some that are definitely native Italic in character. In addition, there are hybrids (i.e. objects displaying features of two radically different traditions in material culture) which seem to confirm that both Metapontum and Siris had rather mixed populations. The material culture encountered at early Siris, moreover, does not differ from that of early Metapontum: both sites, for instance, have the same types of mid-7th-century dwellings and ceramics. And that is very surprising indeed, because according to the ancient written sources Siris

<sup>24</sup> For a first and nuanced assessment of the new archaeological data, see Carter 1993.

<sup>25</sup> Berlingò 1986; 1993.





Fig. 4: The site of L'Amastuola, 16 km north-west of Taranto (8th–5th centuries BC).

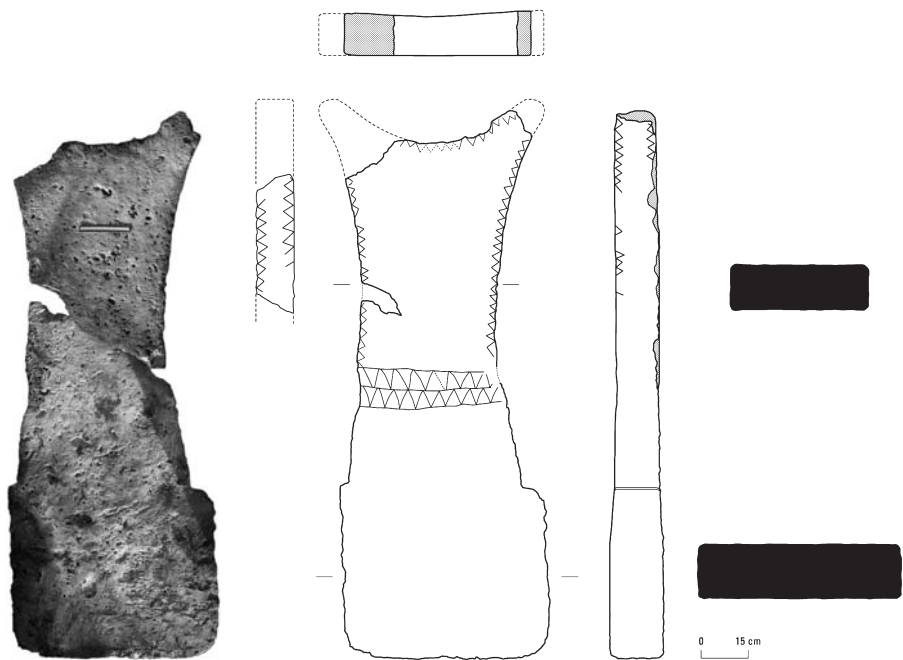


Fig. 5: L'Amastuola. Headstone of non-Greek type found in the 7th–5th-century necropolis of Greek type.

was founded by Greeks from western Asia Minor, whilst Metapontum was founded by colonists from the northern strip of the Peloponnese. Therefore, one would have expected to find substantial differences between the material culture of these two migrant settlements. The archaeological finds also provide information about the character of the Greek presence in these two *apoikiai*-to-be. The Greek migrants living there were potters, traders and probably adventurers and mercenaries. The same may be true for the people with Italic roots who lived in the same settlements.

Still more amazing is the fact that there were several other settlements in the coastal zone of southern Italy in the same period which display the same or very similar features as Siris and Metapontum. These, however, never developed into Greek *apoikiai*. Both Brindisi and Otranto were probably native settlements that harboured small Greek communities during the 8th and 7th centuries BC: at Brindisi, for instance, a small necropolis was discovered at the periphery of the native settlement with cremation burials according to Greek burials customs (*ca.* 680–640 BC), whereas the indigenous population inhumed their dead. The native settlement of Brindisi, therefore, seems to have been home to a small Greek community.<sup>26</sup> In the area between Metapontum and Siris there was a large indigenous settlement (San Teodoro-L'Incoronata) where a handful of Greeks started to settle around 680 BC ('L'Incoronata greca'). We may conclude from the finds (which have close parallels at both Siris and Metapontum) that they were partly traders, partly craftsmen, the latter working for a predominantly native clientele. A settlement with a very similar occupational history and an almost identical material culture has been excavated at the site of L'Amastuola, 16 km north-west of Taranto (Fig. 4). The material culture of the 7th-century phase of the site of L'Amastuola is practically identical to those of contemporary Metapontum, L'Incoronata and Siris.<sup>27</sup> The ceramic assemblage, for instance, consists of imported Greek pottery, locally produced pottery of Greek type, locally produced pottery of indigenous type and hybrids. As to all appearances Greek burial at L'Amastuola could have a headstone of traditional native type (Fig. 5).

The archaeology of the coastal strip of southern Italy of the 8th and much of the 7th century BC tells us a substantially different story from the one told by the ancient authors. The first Iron Age Greeks sailed to Italy as early as the late 9th century BC. They were traders and adventurers in the Odysseus mould. Trade and plunder were close friends at that time. This type of contact continued until the final decades of the 8th century BC. By the early 7th century, however, the coast was littered with smaller and larger settlements where Greeks and natives coexisted.

<sup>26</sup> Lo Porto 1966.

<sup>27</sup> Burgers and Crielaard 2007.

These settlements consisted of dispersed groups of huts. In many, the native element dominated, but in two entirely new and relatively small settlements at the mouth of rivers giving access to inland Italy (Siris and Metapontum), the Greek element was more or less dominant (perhaps Sybaris was of this type). The latter were probably small trading stations that attracted both Greeks and people with indigenous roots. In addition, there was a series of native settlements – often with Bronze Age origins – that played host to limited groups of Greeks (Otranto, Brindisi, L'Amastuola, San Teodoro-l'Incoronata, perhaps Taranto).<sup>28</sup>

It was not until *ca.* 630–620 BC that more compact settlements came into being. This happened, for instance, at the trading stations of Siris and Metapontum. At the latter site the inhabitants started to build a first religious shrine (the '*sacello* CI') and a wooden structure where the population probably gathered to discuss matters of common interest (known as the '*ikria*').<sup>29</sup> This suggests that, by the end of the 7th century BC, there was definitely a coherent local community at Metapontum and that the inhabitants of this community co-operated and took the initiative to construct a meeting place and a sacred building of definitely Greek type. This relatively modest start produced a very rapid development of the settlement. By the end of the 6th century BC the now patently Greek city state of Metapontum had three large stone temples, a market place (*agora*), a regular grid with streets crossing at right angles (see Fig. 3) and a substantial territory dotted with one-family farmsteads. Taras and Sybaris may have developed in a comparable way. Siris, was less successful: it was conquered by its Greek neighbours around 540 BC and led a fairly lacklustre existence till its revival as the city state of Heraclia (in Lucania) in 435 BC.

### Comparing Two Types of Foundation Story

It appears that we have two types of story on the early years of the *apoikiai* on the Gulf of Taranto: one told by the ancient Greek authors and one that we can construct on the basis of the archaeological finds. We may therefore ask which one produces the most convincing picture of the earliest phases of these Greek migrant settlements. Until well into the 1980s (when the archaeological evidence was thin) the narrative was almost exclusively based on the ancient written sources. The data

<sup>28</sup> The information on 8th- and 7th-century Taras is relatively scant and can be interpreted in various ways. The earliest Greek graves are currently interpreted as the first burials of the new migrants (Dell'Aglia 1993). An alternative interpretation of these graves (in the same vein as the contemporary burials of Brindisi) is that they refer to a small Greek community living in, or at the periphery of, the native settlement.

<sup>29</sup> For example De Siena 1979.

collected by means of excavations were often used to support the written evidence. The latter still continues to be of paramount importance in the construction of the colonial Greek past and is often used rather uncritically because of 'the widespread sentiment that anything written in Greek or Latin is somehow privileged, exempt from the normal canons of evaluation'.<sup>30</sup> But as we have seen, there is a host of entirely new data on the 8th and 7th centuries in the coastal area of southern Italy. And these data suggest a radically different picture of early Greek settlement in southern Italy than the one presented to us by ancient authors.

It is useless to try to reconcile the ancient written evidence with the archaeological data. They differ not just in the dating of the *ktiseis*, but above all in the general atmosphere emanating from these sources. While the ancient written sources suggest that substantial groups of migrants sailed to southern Italy, the archaeological data indicate that small groups of Greeks migrated, that migration was more a steady trickle than a large-scale enterprise to colonise a foreign land. While the ancient sources tell us of conflicting interest between Greeks and natives, and of strained relations and of brute violence, the archaeological data suggest a fair measure of peaceful coexistence. The written sources tell us that a substantial group of Greeks migrated in order to found a new, Greek *community* and farm the lands, whereas the archaeological data suggest that the first generations of Greeks who settled in southern Italy were adventurers, mercenaries, traders and artisans. The ancient sources suggest that the colonists came from a single 'mother city', whereas the highly diverse material culture suggests that the various coastal settlements of south-east Italy were inhabited by a cultural and ethnic mishmash.

The interpretation of the archaeological data for the 8th and earlier 7th centuries BC creates an alternative, entirely new image of early Greek migration to south-east Italy. They can be plausibly explained as indications of a Greek trade diaspora:<sup>31</sup> small groups of Greeks from various parts of the Aegean who often lived peacefully among native populations. These Greeks lived in – or at the periphery of – native settlements (*cf.* Brindisi, Otranto, L'Amastuola, L'Incoronata, perhaps Taras). Individuals with native roots lived in the new, predominantly Greek trading stations (for example Metapontum, Siris, perhaps Sybaris). The archaeological data concerning the late 8th and first half of the 7th century can certainly not be interpreted as evidence of the birth of new and aggressive Greek polities (farmer-states) on foreign shores. It was not until the last third of the 7th century BC that the first signs of coherent communities with a more or less Greek character can be found in the digs at the well-researched sites of Siris and Metapontum. The archaeological data suggest

<sup>30</sup> Finley 1986, 10.

<sup>31</sup> For trade diaspora and the diaspora concept, see Curtin 1984; Cohen 1997.

that the first signs of the emergence of the *polis* in south-east Italy date from the last two or three decades of the 7th century BC.

We may, therefore, follow Finley's advice and make a critical assessment of the ancient written sources. The foundation stories were written down by Greek authors of the 5th century BC and later, i.e. at least some 250–300 years after the earliest *ktiseis*. It is clear that Greeks produced no history books in the 8th and 7th centuries: the shared past of Greek communities was embodied in epic poems such as the songs of Homer. It was not until the later 6th century BC that the first 'cosmologies' were written that could have contained such foundation stories.<sup>32</sup> This means that foundation stories may have been transmitted orally for a considerable time. And it is generally acknowledged that stories transmitted in this way, are likely to be remodelled over time to meet the new requirements of the present.<sup>33</sup>

Although new data from numerous excavations began to raise the first doubts about the foundation stories as told by Greek authors, the first critical assessment of them came from the perhaps unexpected quarter of discourse analysis. Carol Dougherty has analysed the structure of Greek foundation stories in two articles.<sup>34</sup> It appears that these stories have a very consistent structure with four recurring elements:

- (1). social stress in the community in the Greek core area;
- (2). consultation with Delphi;
- (3). oracle: divine approval to settle abroad;
- (4). return of stability: *two* communities (metropolis and *apoikia*).

The story about the *ktisis* of Taras in southern Italy originating from Sparta epitomises this structure. It is, moreover, suspiciously similar to the equally well-documented *ktisis* of Cyrene in Libya starting from the island of Thera. This recurring narrative scheme of foundation stories suggests that they are actually a kind of literary *topoi*. They are almost compulsory elements in the history of a Greek migrant settlement. Like the description of landscapes and battlefields or the speeches of army commanders they appear to be standard elements in history writing with fixed narrative schemes.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Hecataeus of Miletus (late 6th century) was the author of one of these cosmologies called '*Periodos ges*' (Description of the Earth). He was probably the first Greek author to assess critically the many tales told by the Greeks. The first line of his *Genealogies*: 'I write down what I think is true, because the stories told by the Greeks are ridiculous in my opinion ...' Only a few fragments of his work survive.

<sup>33</sup> For example Raaflaub 1998.

<sup>34</sup> Dougherty 1993; 1994.

<sup>35</sup> For standard descriptions of landscapes/battle fields, see Horsfall 1985.

Further indications of new and more nuanced interpretations of the ancient written sources came from physical anthropology. A first (as yet unpublished) survey of the human bones from the early phases (6th century BC) of the cemeteries of Metapontum suggests that many inhabitants of Metapontum had (partly) native roots.<sup>36</sup> The people buried in both rural and urban necropoleis of Metapontum were probably all citizens of the settlement. They spoke Greek, they acted in the way expected of Greeks and they waged war on the natives in the hills above Metapontum. But one third or even a half of these Metapontines seem to have had a native pedigree. It seems reasonable to assume that Italic tribes contributed considerably to the rapid growth of Metapontum (and probably other Greek *apoikiai* in Italy as well), but for reasons unknown these Italic tribesmen completely assimilated and assumed a Greek (or rather: Metapontine) identity. Future research into colonial Greek DNA is needed to reveal the importance of the Italic contribution to the unparalleled demographic growth of these Greek states.

The material culture, the burial customs and the 'Italic' features of a substantial percentage of the human bones in the Metapontum cemeteries indicate that this town – and probably other migrant settlements of south-east Italy as well – had a strongly mixed population in the earliest phase of its existence. This population consisted of people from Italic tribes of southern Italy and from various parts of the Greek world. In other words, Metapontum and other rapidly growing towns of 6th-century BC southern Italy were inhabited by a strange hotchpotch of individuals with very different roots. They were truly melting pots. Their population needed cohesion and coherence in order to survive and thrive in the strongly competitive atmosphere that characterises 7th- and 6th-century southern Italy. The foundation story (earliest version probably constructed in the 6th century BC) forged an identity shared by all members of the local society. It was one of the elements that helped groups with a considerable variety of ethnic backgrounds to become a coherent community. It may have been a strongly adapted or even an invented past which linked them to the mother city in Aegean Greece. The foundation story is undoubtedly a historical source, but it tells us little (perhaps even nothing) about the first phase of the settlement: it supplies vital information on a much later phase of the town by telling us how the inhabitants viewed their origins, their town and themselves in the 6th to 4th centuries BC. The story of the foundation of a Greek *apoikia* as handed down by ancient writers, is basically a historical construct and should be regarded as an *origo* myth.

<sup>36</sup> MA thesis by W. Smith (VU University Amsterdam). Between 30% to 50% of the people buried in the cemeteries of Metapontum are likely to have had at least partly Italic roots.



### Bronze Age 'Foundations'

In the final section of this paper we return to the still unsolved problem of the Bronze Age foundation stories: Homeric heroes acting as founding fathers of both Greek and non-Greek settlements in southern Italy. The earliest of these probably date to the 5th century BC. These stories (as we have seen above) are nowadays considered to be entirely fictitious. But the question is, of course, why these invented histories referring to Bronze Age origins were created. We have suggested above that the Iron Age foundation stories (which we have discussed at length) were constructed in order to provide a distinguished past, to create social coherence and to forge a local identity shared by all individuals in the diverse mix of people that populated the Greek *apoikiai*. But why did the Metapontines suggest that the heroic king Nestor and/or his Pylia founded their town in the aftermath of the Trojan War, some 400–500 years before the 'official' *ktisis* recorded in their *origo* myth? And why did the native settlement of Brindisi broadcast the idea that the Homeric king Diomedes was its founder?

The answer to this question can perhaps be found in the strongly conflicting interests that prevailed during the centuries in which the Iron Age foundation stories were created and reshaped. When the Greek towns of southern Italy constructed their *origo* myths in the 6th and 5th centuries BC, they were fighting bitter wars against neighbouring native tribes for possession of the land. Taras loudly proclaimed its victories over Apulian tribes at Delphi and was mercilessly routed by the neighbouring Messapians in about 470 BC.<sup>37</sup> Metapontum fought the highly threatening Lucanians. It is crucial to observe that by the 6th century BC the former trade stations of the 7th century (such as Metapontum, Siris and Sybaris) had developed into territorial farmer-states. The result, therefore, was that both the native tribes and the new Greek polities were in fierce competition for land. The native tribes may well have told the inhabitants of the city states that they had a legitimate claim to the soil since they 'were there first'. If the indigenous populations had any *origo* myths referring to Italic origins, they did not use them in their battle of words against the Greeks. They invented stories that they were basically Greeks who had come to Italy at a much earlier time than the people living in the *apoikiai*. Taras' neighbours (the indigenous Messapians), for instance, created an *origo* myth in which they professed to be Cretans who had travelled to Sicily with the great king Minos and had been shipwrecked on the southern Italian coast on their return voyage to Crete (Herodotus 7. 170): '... since their ships were wrecked and they had no way left of returning to Crete, they founded there the town of Hyrie (now Oria) ... changing from Cretans into

<sup>37</sup> For example Nenci 1976; Jaquemin 1992.



Messapian Iapygians... And from Hyrie they founded the remaining towns (of Messapia).'<sup>38</sup>

The Greek *apoikiai* struck back by saying that they had been founded by king Nestor of Pylos or other protagonists of the Homeric songs during their heroic wanderings to reach their homelands (the '*nostoi*').<sup>39</sup> In addition to the battle for the soil, there was a battle of *origo* myths in which natives tribes overbid the Greek *apoikiai* and the Greek settlements sought to outdo native tribes in the contest for 'who was here first'.

It may come as a surprise that the indigenous populations portrayed themselves in their *origo* myths as archetypal Greeks. The Lucanians in the rough interior of southern Italy had stories suggesting an origin from Arcadia, the rough interior of the Peloponnese, while the Messapians professed to be Cretans and important native settlements claimed the Argive king Diomedes or Epeios, the maker of the Trojan horse, as their mythical founder.<sup>40</sup> Since Greek *poleis* and Italic tribes fought bitter conflicts, they might have opted for a revival of the Greek–Trojan opposition in the construction of myths with the *apoikiai* having Greeks heroes as founders and the Italic tribes having Trojan princes for founding heroes (for example Helenus or Aeneas). But things obviously were not quite so simple. The answer to this problem may perhaps be found in the Greek–*barbaros* dichotomy that appears to have emerged in a virulent form in the early 5th century, i.e. shortly before the first 'Bronze Age' foundation stories were created. While the term *barbaros* simply denoted a foreigner in earlier times, it was particularly in the 5th century BC that the term began acquire the patently negative connotation of 'uncivilised boor' that persists to this day. This change was probably the result of the Persian War.<sup>41</sup> Since this war was also perceived as a kind of second Trojan War (*cf.* the Herodotean view on the Persian War), the Persians were both the *barbaroi* and the new Trojans. Furthermore, it should be noted that the native elites of southern Italy were readily adopting Greek cultural modes from the late 6th century onward. For example, they were buried

<sup>38</sup> This Messapian *origo* myth suggests that the Messapians were of Greek descent (and certainly no barbarians) and had settled in southern Italy even before the Trojan War. The story, moreover, explains Oria's high rank in the settlement hierarchy of the Messapians. The archaeological data suggest that Oria – of Bronze Age origins – was the major tribal centre in the northern part of the Messapian district between the 8th and the 2nd centuries BC (*cf.* Burgers 1998).

<sup>39</sup> *Cf.* Malkin 1998.

<sup>40</sup> Allegedly founded by Diomedes: Brundisium (now Brindisi), Canusium (now Canosa) and Arpi (ancient Argyrrippa). The unidentified native settlement of Lagaria (in the coastal area between Metapontion and Sybaris) – but in some versions of the myth Metapontion as well – was said to have been founded by Epeios.

<sup>41</sup> For example E. Hall 1989.

with Greek panoplies and dinner sets that reflect the characteristically Greek symposium. They were, or professed to be, 'civilised' people with a patently Greek elite life style. The adoption of Trojan origins at this particular moment in history could well be perceived as the adoption of barbarian origins with a Trojan founder being viewed as a barbarian founder. In the 5th century BC no native settlement in south-east Italy wished to proclaim Trojan (= barbarian) origins and no native chieftain wanted to be viewed as the descendant of a barbarian prince of Troy.

Therefore, the non-Greeks groups of south-east Italy professed themselves to be children of the heroic age of Greece. This was a message their Greek neighbours must have understood, since it was formulated in their own ideological language. These 'native' *origo* myths with Greek founders gave the tribes a respectable (= Greek) past in the context of 5th–4th-century BC southern Italy and, moreover, 'proved' that their claim to the soil was entirely justified.

### Conclusions

The preceding paragraphs have identified many discrepancies between the foundation stories told by ancient Greek authors and the narratives generated on the basis of interpretations of archaeological data on the foundation and the earliest phase of the 'Greek' *apoikiai*. The stories told by ancient authors appear to display essentially the same fixed narrative scheme. They seem to contain many inconsistencies, and – when compared to historically well documented ventures of comparable nature in more recent times – they are unlikely to reflect what really happened. I therefore believe that the foundation stories of pre-Roman southern Italy are predominantly if not completely invented history. The same observation may be true of many, if not all other foundation stories of Greek city states outside the traditional Greek core area. These stories were constructed in order to explain, legitimise or give meaning to situations of a much later phase in the history of southern Italy. Of course, they may sometimes contain a few snippets of 'true' history. But we cannot separate fact from fiction in these stories; nor is it appropriate to do so.<sup>42</sup> They are fine as they are: not eye-witness accounts of the *ktisis* of a Greek colonies in the 8th or 7th centuries BC, but fascinating historical sources on Greek views, perceptions and self-images in a somewhat less distant Greek past (6th–4th centuries BC).

<sup>42</sup> Cf. J. Hall 1997, 185: 'To understand the ethnic group we must learn how the ethnic group understands itself, and this is rarely achieved by establishing a dichotomy between ethnic fact and ethnic fiction.'

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# 'TRANSCULTURALISM' AS A MODEL FOR EXAMINING MIGRATION TO CYPRUS AND PHILISTIA AT THE END OF THE BRONZE AGE

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## Abstract

The ethnic identity of the Philistines and their relationship to Greece, Cyprus, Anatolia and the Sea Peoples continues to be a very lively and interesting area of scholarly debate. This contribution reviews recent work on general categories of cultural interaction with regard to the eastern Mediterranean including colonisation, migration and cultural diffusion. The relationship between these categories of interaction and the formation of cultural identity such as creolisation, hybridity, assimilation and acculturation is also considered. An argument in favour of transculturalism, multivocality and long-term approaches to the formation of cultural identity is then proposed.

## Introduction

This contribution examines recent approaches to interpreting the emergence of Philistine culture at the time of the Bronze–Iron Age transition, and to a lesser extent the accompanying transformation of Aegean and Cypriot cultures.<sup>1</sup> Aegean connections with both Cyprus and the Levant continue to be viewed from positions of polarisation.<sup>2</sup> As A.B. Voskos and I. Knapp have observed, interconnections are frequently framed within either colonisation or mercantilist narratives.<sup>3</sup> An Aegeo-centric perspective dominates the colonisation narrative, with Aegean peoples, namely Mycenaeans, bringing their cultural package east, a view that persists to the present.<sup>4</sup> For example, at Ashkelon, all objects from phase 18 that are unknown from earlier or contemporary Canaanite sites are 'presumed to be of Aegean origin or inspiration'.<sup>5</sup> These would include 'incised scapulae, stamp seals, pig consumption, sunken jars surrounded by a shell or sherd covered curb,

<sup>1</sup> The Institute of Advanced Study, Hebrew University, Givat Ram, Jerusalem and the Australian Research Council's Discovery Project funding scheme (project number 1093713) supported the research and writing of this paper. I am grateful to the many conversations I had with colleagues during my time in Jerusalem, particularly Marie-Henriette Gates, Amihai Mazar, Aren Maeir, Assaf Yasur-Landau and Alexander Zukerman. Any errors of fact or interpretation are entirely my own.

<sup>2</sup> Contrast Iacovou 2008 with Voskos and Knapp 2008.

<sup>3</sup> Voskos and Knapp 2008, especially 659; also Barako 2000.

<sup>4</sup> For example Karageorghis 2002.

<sup>5</sup> Stager *et al.* 2008, 266.

intramural infant burial in pits, and benches and bins ringing rooms'.<sup>6</sup> Although pig consumption has well-known Aegean parallels, incised scapulae are a Cypriot feature and unknown in the Aegean.<sup>7</sup> Frequently no comparanda or citations are provided for these or for other features assumed to be Aegean. Such perspectives are simplistic to the extent that one conjures up images of Sea Peoples travelling in bathtubs, which are loaded down with pottery, hearths, horns of consecration and a Greek dictionary. The narrative of the 'mercantile phenomenon' conjures up wily, Philistine opportunists rising from the ashes of Bronze Age collapse and marketing their IIC pottery, like General Motors emerging from the financial collapse of 2008.<sup>8</sup> Still, for others, the perspective remains that of *Ex Oriente Lux*, whereby there is an opposite reluctance to admit that the Aegean, itself a product of secondary state formation, could influence anyone.<sup>9</sup> When migration from this region is to be acknowledged, it is grudgingly restricted to the movement of a few potters at most. Aside from being polarising, the various narratives of colonisation, migration and mercantilism, as well as narratives of beachhead and refugees fleeing chaotic and disrupted lives are overly simplistic because they are monocausal. Yet, for even the most die hard critics, it is now difficult to deny in the face of overwhelming evidence from Philistia that some of the Aegean peoples and Sea Peoples both migrated and circulated throughout the East and that the Early Iron Age is characterised by meetings and mixings of Cypriot, Greek and Levantine peoples.<sup>10</sup>

### Theories of Interaction and Identity Formation in the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean

A.M. Maeir has recently proposed that the emergence of the Philistines is characterised by regionalism and creolisation.<sup>11</sup> His contribution changed the parameters of the debate and represents an important move forward in thinking about the region given the observation that regionalism is neither sufficiently understood nor acknowledged.<sup>12</sup> Maeir sees creolisation as a transformation in which elements, from two cultures are combined or blended, to form a new 'hybrid' culture.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Stager *et al.* 2008, 266.

<sup>7</sup> See Zukerman *et al.* 2007, with further references.

<sup>8</sup> The main proponent of the mercantilist narrative is Sherratt 1998.

<sup>9</sup> On secondary state formation, see Branigan 1995. Re Aegean influences, see Knapp 1998.

<sup>10</sup> Voskos and Knapp 2008.

<sup>11</sup> See Ben-Shlomo *et al.* 2004, 20, 28; Maeir forthcoming; also Killebrew 2005, 197–245; Yasur-Landau 2003.

<sup>12</sup> Iacovou 2008, 626. Re traditional approaches, see Dothan and Dothan 1992.

<sup>13</sup> Ben Shlomo *et al.* 2004, 20.

A.E. Killebrew also prefers creolisation, regarding it as the cultural mixing resulting from interaction between colonising and indigenous people.<sup>14</sup>

Voskos and Knapp reject the concept of colonisation as a loaded term, which implies an asymmetrical relationship of superior migrants bringing culture to a backward native population.<sup>15</sup> Although they are focusing on Cyprus, Cyprus is relevant to a discussion of Philistia as both were linked to events leading up to and following the end of the Bronze Age. They prefer the concept of migration to colonisation, and see it as representing a distinct, but still complex type of patterned behaviour performed by sub-groups, with targeted destinations.<sup>16</sup> Who were these sub-groups? I have proposed that as patronage networks were eliminated with the destruction of palatial systems and city-states throughout the Aegean and the East, skilled workers would have lost their means of subsistence and sought new outlets for their skills.<sup>17</sup> The elimination of palatial patronage would have resulted in the 'negative push stresses', while a search for new opportunities to market their skills could have resulted in 'positive pull attractions' that are identified as a condition for long-distance migration.<sup>18</sup> Yet this represents only one potential source of, and scenario for migration.

Iacovou has emphasised that different sorts of events were happening on Cyprus, which were regional in nature. She suggests that abandonment without re-inhabiting the centres at Maroni, Alassa, Episkopi-*Bamboula* and Kalavassos-*Ayios Dhimitrios* at the end of Late Cypriot IIC indicates a permanent escape from an irreversible turn of events.<sup>19</sup> In contrast, she notes hoards of metal objects hidden at Pyla-Kokkinokremos, but not retrieved, indicate an intention of the inhabitants to return to the site, while a destruction free transition from Late Cypriot IIC–IIIA at Athienou followed by abandonment indicates a different scenario. Construction of monumental *temenoi* at both Kition and Palaepaphos is seen as an unprecedented concentration of authority at both sites, which was able to direct manpower and expertise towards the construction of sacred architecture that had never before been seen. Thus, what occurred at the end of the Bronze Age and during the transition on Cyprus can be characterised as a series of individual and distinct episodes, with the potential to set in motion very different types of migratory behaviour.

Voskos and Knapp believe that the collapse of Mycenaean (and other) polities would have led to fragmentation of any collective identity, which was further

<sup>14</sup> Killebrew 2005, 201.

<sup>15</sup> Voskos and Knapp 2008, 559–660.

<sup>16</sup> Voskos and Knapp 2008, 660; also Anthony 1990; Burmeister 2000.

<sup>17</sup> Hitchcock 2008.

<sup>18</sup> Anthony 1990; Burmeister 2000, 546.

<sup>19</sup> Iacovou 2007, 465–66.



changed by two or three generations of intermarriage and living in a new world, which would have ultimately contributed to a different situation.<sup>20</sup> Killebrew suggests that a dilution of Aegean culture occurred as a result of Aegean components being mediated through Cypriot and/or Cilician cultures.<sup>21</sup> Yet Tiryns was not as adversely affected as other Mycenaean sites. On Cyprus, pottery production, ship-building and many ritual activities seem to have maintained a remarkable continuity.<sup>22</sup> In contrast, in the post-Bronze Age world, elite building practices along with writing and administrative activity exhibited quite a bit of fragmentation. This fragmentation is exhibited in the variety of scripts in use in Philistia and in the regionally distinct variety of techniques used to construct Early Iron Age hearths in the east Mediterranean, such as pebbles, sherds and burned clay.<sup>23</sup>

Killebrew attributes cultural transmission and change to stimulus diffusion, a form of limited diffusion, whereby the transmission of information, ideas and artefacts occurs over the long term through trade and/ or small-scale migration.<sup>24</sup> In this instance, the long-term she refers to is not that long, but begins with the production of Mycenaean IIIB (*ca.* 13th century) pottery in the east Aegean and Cyprus. Although no details are provided, Voskos and Knapp propose that processes of social transmission began even earlier, with 200–300 years of social exchange, with possibly limited migration, and hybridisation preceding Aegean migration to Cyprus.<sup>25</sup> I believe that whatever we choose to call the exchange of ideas, it was dependent upon multiple types of movement, and it was an even longer-term process that began in the Aegean in the late Early Bronze Age.

Crete was drawn into the Near Eastern sphere through the acquisition of metals and other imported prestige goods in the form of raw materials, objects and techniques as discussed by C.S. Colburn.<sup>26</sup> This process accelerated in the Middle Bronze Age when the Minoans acquired the technology for the deep-hulled ship with mast from the Near East, which made it possible to shrink maritime space.<sup>27</sup> The Minoans were in turn influencing the development of Mycenaean culture through trade with Lakonia by way of their colony on Kythera.<sup>28</sup> Similarly, a Minoan colony was established at Miletus, ancient Millawanda, as indicated by the

<sup>20</sup> Voskos and Knapp 2008, 677.

<sup>21</sup> Killebrew 2005.

<sup>22</sup> For ship-building, see Wachsmann 1998.

<sup>23</sup> On scripts, contrast Gitin *et al.* 1997; Maeir *et al.* 2008; Cross and Stager 2006. For hearths, see Maeir and Hitchcock forthcoming.

<sup>24</sup> Killebrew 2005, 199, 201.

<sup>25</sup> Voskos and Knapp 2008, 679.

<sup>26</sup> Colburn 2008.

<sup>27</sup> Broodbank 2002, 342–47.

<sup>28</sup> Banou 2000; Demakopoulou 1992.

full range of Minoan material culture found there, including a kiln, frescoes and writing.<sup>29</sup> Thus creolisation, hybridisation and regionalism were also long-term processes in the Aegean, and would have included trade, diplomatic gifting, temporary gift exchange of skilled workers and periodic migrations of varying degrees of intensity following the eruption of Thera, the destruction of the Minoan 'palace' civilisation, the destruction of Mycenaean Knossos and, finally, the destruction of the Mycenaean palaces. Thus, the events at the end of the Bronze Age represented the culmination of long-term processes. These processes have not yet been adequately addressed in Aegean archaeology.

### Creolisation and Hybridity

The terms creolisation and hybridity are frequently used interchangeably, but they are preferred in post-colonial narratives to colonisation and diffusion because they resist totalising and nationalistic narratives, and are regarded as processes, social interactions and negotiations.<sup>30</sup> These processes are said to lead to new ethnic formations, and eventually to integration, acculturation and assimilation on the one hand or to boundary maintenance on the other.<sup>31</sup> The terms creolisation and hybridisation also function as buzz-words, in that the underlying processes they are meant to describe are underdetermined and require further elaboration, which they seldom receive. For example, Voskos and Knapp raise the important question of how would we archaeologically recognise the offspring of Aegean migrants and local people?<sup>32</sup> Another question that might follow on from this is how might the identity of such offspring be indicated archaeologically depending on the gender of a migrant and indigenous spouse. And, what is an Aegean migrant? Ethnic identity of the Aegean peoples, which included the ethnically distinct Minoans, tends to be conflated or ignored.<sup>33</sup> Although clearly much remains to be done in order to work through these concepts, whatever we call them, these terms have been used to allude to interactions by multiple cultures that lead to the formation of a creolised or hybridised culture. They have also been used to refer to elements selected from incoming cultures by a local culture as a result of interaction and *vice versa*. Yet both creolisation and hybridity have very different histories and meanings.

Creolisation is a linguistic term also associated with colonialism and used to refer to the expansion of a pidgin. Pidgins are the simplified and specialised combination

<sup>29</sup> Niemeier and Niemeier 1999.

<sup>30</sup> See Kraidy 2005, especially 1.

<sup>31</sup> See Stone 1995; Bunimovitz 1990.

<sup>32</sup> Voskos and Knapp 2008, 662.

<sup>33</sup> See Hitchcock 1999 for an attempt.

of two languages with limited vocabulary and simple grammar used for limited communication as in trading activities that historically emerged out of colonialism and slave trade. Creolisation is said to occur when a pidgin is expanded into a new language, which can be used for a broader range of more complex purposes.<sup>34</sup> One can also speak of decreolisation whereby there is a convergence or assimilation with a related and neighbouring language. The study of creolisation as a linguistic phenomenon has been criticised as highly subjective in light of gaps in the empirical data, whereby speakers of a creole may be viewed at one extreme as engaging in baby talk or passively absorbing new linguistic processes and at the other extreme, struggling to retain their language in spite of repression.<sup>35</sup> Like colonisation, creolisation also implies asymmetrical relationships (a dominant culture and a less dominant one) expressed linguistically, rather than through conquest.<sup>36</sup> The term might have more heuristic value if used to identify Canaanite cultural resistance in Philistine culture or Minoan resistance to Mycenaean culture after the fall of the Minoan palaces, and hybridity is famously used in regard to resistance.<sup>37</sup> I think that it is difficult to speak of a limited mixing of traditions in the form of a pidgin culture, which then expanded to become a creole culture. In addition, the concept of creolisation implies just two cultures, whereas the archaeological evidence for the Philistines: inscriptional names that point to the Ekweš – such as Achish at Gath and Ikausu at Ekron, biblical tradition, as well as the traditional names for the Sea Peoples imply multiple cultures.<sup>38</sup> In archaeology, creolisation has been used to understand the transformation of African slave culture and as a substitute for the increasingly unpalatable concept of Romanisation.<sup>39</sup> In contrast, to the bi-cultural aspects implied by the concept of creolisation, cultural influences in Philistia come from Anatolia, Canaan, Crete, Cyprus and the Mycenaean world at a minimum.

Neither creolisation nor hybridity adequately models the Philistine phenomenon, which to my mind resists a totalising or meta-explanation. Hybridity began as a biological concept associated with the cross-breeding of animals and plants, though the concept now permeates many disciplines in the arts and humanities.<sup>40</sup> It is a 19th-century AD word derived from Latin where it was used to refer to offspring of a tame sow and a wild boar. It has most often been associated with resistance, but it can also be associated with pluralism as well as domination, three

<sup>34</sup> Salzmann 1998, 173–76.

<sup>35</sup> See Harris and Rampton 2000, 6.

<sup>36</sup> As admitted in Ben Shlomo *et al.* 2004, 20.

<sup>37</sup> For example, Bhaba 1994.

<sup>38</sup> See Halpern 2008; papers in Oren 2000.

<sup>39</sup> Webster 2001.

<sup>40</sup> Kraidy 2005, 1–2.

very different outcomes.<sup>41</sup> In east Mediterranean archaeology, the term hybridity has frequently been used to describe the 'International Style', a fusion of Near Eastern and Aegean artistic styles rendered on small, portable luxury goods, whose production intensified during the 14th and 13th centuries BC.<sup>42</sup> In these instances, hybridised art objects served as boundary markers of elite identity, thus becoming symbols of domination rather than tools of resistance. I believe that the concept of hybridity is too limited with regard to understanding Cyprus, and particularly to understanding Philistia. For example, a Mycenaean III C ceramic incorporating a Canaanite motif may be regarded as a hybrid object, whereas a notched ox scapula is a type of Cypriot object, not a hybrid one. However, possessing a Cypriot-style notched scapula may be used to promote the status of its owner through the possession of specialised knowledge required to knowingly deploy it as a symbol. Such was the case in displaying them in the doorway of Building 23033, a building with Aegean features at Tell es-Safi/Gath.<sup>43</sup> Aegean architectural features in Building 23033 include the presence of hall with porch employing approximate 1:2 proportions and four side chambers, but lacking the circulatory corridor separating the hall from side-chambers as found in canonical *megara*.<sup>44</sup> The manipulation of an object associated with Cypriot culture in a building with an Aegean-style arrangement of space might result in the creation of a hybridised identity. However, in historical archaeology, S. Burmeister has shown that the Fenno-Scandinavian style of log cabin construction introduced to colonial North America by a small number of immigrants was widely adopted and preferred by a host of other ethnically distinct migrant groups.<sup>45</sup> Thus the spread of a particular architectural style may tell us more about migrant adaptation strategies, than about the specific ethnicity of a building's inhabitants, indicating that we have much to learn in order to understand ancient migration practices.

### Transculturalism and Multivocality

Thus, as a heuristic device, the concept of hybridity has limited value unless it is elaborated within a specific context through exhaustive case studies, whereby each instance is explored as a localised relationship to globalisation.<sup>46</sup> A less 'value laden' way to proceed is to understand Philistine identity as a process of transcultural

<sup>41</sup> Contrast Bhaba 1994 with Hitchcock 2009.

<sup>42</sup> Most recently, Feldman 2002.

<sup>43</sup> Zuckerman *et al.* 2007.

<sup>44</sup> For an overview of the characteristics of Mycenaean architecture, see Hitchcock 2010.

<sup>45</sup> Burmeister 2000, especially 541.

<sup>46</sup> Kraidy 2005, vi–xii.

dialogues (or even polylogues), encounters and interactions, which need to be worked through across the entire spectrum of Philistine material culture and its spatial manipulation. This can include, but is not limited to, considering Bakhtin's concept of double voicing, which examines the intentionality behind the use of discourse, or in the case of the Philistines, the manipulation of material culture.<sup>47</sup> To simply illustrate this concept as a research question, one might ask, when a Philistine is using an object, whether it is a Mycenaean IIC or bichrome deep bowl or a conical stamp seal, are they using it as a Mycenaean or a Cypriot would, or are they inserting a new intentionality into its use?

To simply illustrate this concept, I will use the example of animal head cups. There is still disagreement regarding the relationship between animal head cups in the Aegean and the Levant, although most scholars agree that the resemblance between Aegean animal head rhyta and Philistine animal head cups is superficial.<sup>48</sup> Stylistic differences more closely connect Philistine animal head cups to Canaanite ones; and there are functional differences, such as the lack of flow through hole. Based on the concept of double-voicing and intentionality, however, I propose that the way in which such objects were used and manipulated is as significant as their stylistic details and constructional differences. It is likely that craftsmen skilled in making certain types of Aegean objects did not uniformly migrate to other regions or that certain craft skills were lost. As a result certain types of objects had to be acquired locally or their production skills had to be re-learned according to local techniques. A. Mazar has suggested that the production of animal head vessels was undertaken in the Levant after they had stopped being produced in the Aegean.<sup>49</sup> An animal head cup would have been a familiar object in many parts of the east Mediterranean regardless of its plastic features, decoration, or presence of a flow through hole. Maeir has discussed the lioness head cup fragment from the site of Tell es-Safi/Gath in detail, noting that it was purposefully broken from the rest of the vessel, curated and embedded upside down in a living surface, possibly a courtyard, in Area A, an area of the site with well-known ritual associations (Fig. 1).<sup>50</sup>

In the Aegean, the significance of animal head cups extends beyond libation or ritual drinking functions. Based on a study of breakage patterns of Aegean bull's head stone *rhyta*, P. Rehak proposed that these *rhyta* were always ritually broken, serving as simulacra of a sacrificed animal that were only used to mark special events such as an initiation or investiture.<sup>51</sup> The rarity of a *rhyton*-breaking event suggests

<sup>47</sup> Bakhtin 1984, 183–99. In terms of material culture, see Stone 1995, 9, 13.

<sup>48</sup> For example, Meiberg forthcoming; Zevulun 1987; Zuckerman 2008.

<sup>49</sup> Mazar 1980, 102.

<sup>50</sup> Maeir 2006, especially 335.

<sup>51</sup> Rehak 1995.



Fig. 1: Lioness Head Cup from Tell es-Safi/Gath. Iron Age I (photograph courtesy of A.M. Maeir).

that witnesses of the ritual were of high status.<sup>52</sup> Maeir's observation regarding the breakage and preservation of the Safi cup is significant as the curation of animal head cup fragments is an Aegean custom attested in both the Aegean and Cyprus. Stone animal head rhyta stopped being produced in the Aegean after the end of Minoan civilisation, *ca.* 1450 BC.<sup>53</sup> However, fragments of these were kept for as long as several hundred years as tokens or souvenirs of a breakage event, and these fragments were sometimes deposited in a ritual context such as a shrine, at a much later date than the time of their production, in both Greece and Cyprus. They were valuable heirlooms that were handed down generationally as indicated by the fact that fragments of Minoan bull's head rhyta turn up in LH III contexts on the Greek Mainland and in the Temples of the Horned God and Ingot God on Cyprus.<sup>54</sup> These practices suggest the importance of keeping ritual tokens as markers of memory and status to be dedicated at key moments in time. Animal head cup fragments were similarly curated and deposited in ritualised contexts at other Philistine sites,

<sup>52</sup> The intentional breakage of stone animal head rhyta in the Aegean can be contrasted with the more conservative use and preservation of a head cup at Canaanite Hazor, as detailed in Zuckerman 2008.

<sup>53</sup> Warren 1969, 174–75. Although Linear B indicates that metal examples were still being made at Knossos during the Mycenaean period, the only example ever found comes from Grave Circle A as noted by Rehak 1995, 448.

<sup>54</sup> For their occurrence in Greece, see Rehak 1995. For Cyprus, see Courtois 1971, 307–08; Papadopoulos 1997, 174; Webb 1999, 200.

including Tell Qasile and Tell Migne-Ekron.<sup>55</sup> The animal head cup from Tell es-Safi/Gath may present an example of double-voicing in that it may have been made by a local craftsman but curated according to an Aegean custom for how such objects were revered and treated.

An advantage of transculturalism is that it can also be conceptualised as an adaptation of E. Said's contrapuntal approach to classical music.<sup>56</sup> In a contrapuntal approach, order is expressed through the interplay of different themes, relationships and exchanges, which more willingly allows for multivocality. The goal is to draw out, extend, or give emphasis and voice to what is silent or marginally present in the narrative. Another, complementary model, drawn from linguistics is Koineisation, which refers to a process of mixing dialects.<sup>57</sup> Koineisation is characterised by mixing, levelling and simplification of a mix of dialects over the course of several generations and is often found in areas where there is a sudden in-migration, followed by the establishment of a permanent community. Used in concert with transculturalism, it may also help us to better explain the Philistine phenomenon.

Another way of drawing out the nuances in multiple types of cultural interaction is through a greater emphasis on regionalism. M. Iacovou makes the key point that 12th-century regionalism has not been sufficiently understood or acknowledged, and I would suggest that a similar case can be made for the Aegean, where the IIIC period remains a marginalised area of study.<sup>58</sup> Iacovou also notes a tendency to either focus on the Late Bronze or Iron Ages, or treat the transitional period superficially, an attitude she terms 'Cypro-Geometric phobia'.<sup>59</sup> In response she has adopted a strategy of beginning every piece of research in the second millennium and moving gradually into the first. Although she is speaking of Cyprus, these points may be seen as relevant to the east Mediterranean as a whole. Just two brief examples of regionalism in the Aegean include differences in hearth construction and the persistence of the preference for tripod cooking pots in Crete in contrast to cooking jugs on the mainland and in Philistia.<sup>60</sup>

### Prospects for the Future

We tend to either compare the IIIC world with the Bronze Age, focusing on continuity, which is admittedly important, or to emphasise the chronological differences

<sup>55</sup> Mazar 1980, 41, 101–03; 2000, 225.

<sup>56</sup> Said 1993; also Kraidy 2005, 13–14.

<sup>57</sup> Tuten 2008.

<sup>58</sup> Iacovou 2007, 626.

<sup>59</sup> Iacovou 2007, 461–62.

<sup>60</sup> On constructional differences of Mycenaean, Minoan, Cypriot, and Philistine hearths, see Maeir and Hitchcock forthcoming.



and treat this as assimilation. We need to examine how Philistine culture was both similar to and different from what is occurring in both Bronze Age and Early Iron Age communities that have cultural linkages to them. To systematically answer these questions, we might try to identify, which Philistine traditions show continuity with practices of Bronze Age Canaan, Cyprus and the Aegean. An example of continuity includes lamp and bowl foundation deposits (Canaanite), notched ox scapulae (Cyprus) and pig consumption (Aegean).<sup>61</sup> We might also examine not just how Philistine culture was similar to or different from surrounding cultures, but how other, non-ceramic aspects of their culture compared with other contemporary producers of Mycenaean IIIC pottery, not just in the Levant, but also in Cyprus and the Aegean. For example, pig consumption was not practiced at Kavousi-Vronda on Crete or Tell Ta'yanat in Syria, both sites that produced Mycenaean IIIC style pottery.<sup>62</sup> Gilboa has demonstrated that Mycenaean IIIC pottery was used very differently at Tell Dor than in Philistia, where there was a more limited repertoire of shapes, but what about other differences?<sup>63</sup> Differences might be identified by comparing Philistine economy, nutrition, use of writing and seals, and the use of ritual paraphernalia to that of Early Iron Age Cyprus and the Aegean. I believe that addressing these sorts of comparative issues will improve our understanding of social upheaval, migration, diasporas and the formation of ethnic identity at the end of the Bronze Age (*ca.* 1180 BC) and beyond. Although collective identity may have been fragmented at the level of the chiefdom or city-state at the end of the Bronze Age, it is clear that many of the markers of that identity remained intact, while others did not. In this way, we can trace the filtering down of the cultural markers of elite identity, which were then used until they no longer served the purposes of Philistine and other Mycenaean IIIC producing cultures, as well as distinguish other social practices and subsistence strategies. Furthermore, by documenting the similarities and differences in the *use* of stylistically different but functionally and/or symbolically similar objects, we can also get a better understanding of the formation of Philistine identity and its Bronze and Iron Age connections.

## Conclusions

To summarise, as a watered down and polysemous term, the explanatory power of hybridity has become undermined. As noted in the editorial statement, it is old wine in a new bottle. A transcultural approach to the study of shifting identities at

<sup>61</sup> On foundation deposits, see Bunimovitz and Zimhoni 1993.

<sup>62</sup> With regard to Kavousi, Snyder pers. comm.; with regard to Tell Ta'yanat, see Lipovitch 2008.

<sup>63</sup> Gilboa 2005.

the end of the Bronze Age favours the multivocal, intertwined, the complex, the experiential and the contextualised over the dualistic or monocausal explanations of previous approaches. In advocating M. Bakhtin's approach of double voicing, transculturalism privileges a phenomenological approach that documents the intentionality behind the manipulation of objects, over a static approach to style. In doing so, it advocates working across the full spectrum of material culture in order to understand the formation of identity. As a multi-institutional, interdisciplinary, and multivocal collaborative research project, the Tell es-Safi/Gath project is uniquely qualified to address these questions.

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# TELEOLOGY AND COLONISATION IN ANTIQUITY AND IN RECENT TIMES

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## Abstract

This contribution discusses the inherent problem with the word colonisation in recent academic discourse. It advocates the use and definition, preferably with archaeological parameters, of a whole range of other denominators for the rich record of crossing borders, inter-regional encounters, frontier situations and overseas settlements. Colonisation refers to the seemingly inevitable colony, and thus directs us to the possible end result of a process that is accompanied by countless variations and that occurred in many historical periods, for example in antiquity as well as in more recent times. Focusing on the colony as the outcome of the process goes hand in hand with an extreme case of teleological reasoning, of 'evolutionary-ladder' history. It tends to throw out an array of data that documents exchange and encounters of a different kind. It counteracts the historicity of the process. This will be illustrated with a discussion of early Greek imports and their local imitations in Iron Age Italy and of evidence for the rise of Kaapstad/Cape Town (South Africa) and the Dutch enclave at Deshima (Japan) during the 17th–19th centuries AD. One of the problems with colonisation from a Western perspective is that it tends to negate its multi-ethnic character, and thus wipes out other participating groups and the so-called peoples without history. This is a particular problem for archaeology which, as a discipline, studies exactly these peoples. In history the final establishment of a colony follows a long-term process and depends much on original social-economic conditions in the land of arrival. The first overseas settlers hoped to prosper but depended in the beginning on relations with local groups. Thus, it is far more interesting to compare the societies of the resident communities with those of the incoming settlers than just to concentrate on the culture that eventually gained the upper hand. For archaeology it requires an integration of pre- and proto-historical data about the original population with evidence documenting incoming groups. Unfortunately the regional and chronological specialisation of scholars, as well as ideology and politics, makes this a tough exercise.

*You stay here . . . ., my faithful companions, while I, with my own ship and crew,  
will travel to investigate these peoples and to explore who they are,  
if they are cruel, wild and unjust, or if they receive foreigners hospitably and  
fear the Gods.*

(Homer *Odyssey* 9. 174–176)

The above quotation from Homer reflects Odysseus' curiosity regarding others whom he could meet overseas; a curiosity that is often not matched by those who

now study ancient Greek history. Odysseus differentiates here between those peoples that can be considered civilised and those who are not. Civilisation, according to Odysseus, was characterised by hospitality towards foreigners and a Pantheon that was feared. These features were obviously not just valid for Greeks. The quotation can also stand for a period of time, symbolised by the whole *Odyssey*, that precedes Greek colonisation, a period of exploration and prospecting that may well bridge the infamous Greek 'Centuries of Darkness'.

This present paper on teleology and colonisation is the result of a request to respond to the contribution by Tsatskhelidze and Hargrave above in this volume.<sup>1</sup> After reading their article I was somewhat puzzled because I am aware of increasing complexities caused by post-colonial debates and political correctness, but I never had the idea that colleagues actually denied the existence of a number of Greek colonies along some shores of the Mediterranean and beyond during the 7th–4th centuries BC. I neither knew that cross-cultural surveys on historical processes such as colonisation, or for that matter urbanisation, could trigger such a parody of contemplations and such a variety of questions that indeed seem to be of little significance for the Greek colonisation process from the late 8th to the 5th century BC (see their text, especially the last pages and the table on Main Archaic Greek Colonies and Settlements in the Mediterranean and Black Sea). Nor could I help the question to what extent the present Greek attitude towards its history contributes to this debate. Apart from Israel, there seems to be hardly any nation that

<sup>1</sup> While writing it I have been reading two books that have influenced the outcome. The first is the pamphlet by Fuglestad, *The Ambiguities of History* (2005), in which he discusses intrinsic problems regarding history as we know it, especially that of colonisation, since it is essentially studied from a Western conceptual framework of progress: the evolution of cultures and time. Many cultures, however, outline their past in different terms. Fuglestad considers the reconstruction of the past of the 'peoples without history' to be an intellectual challenge. I think that archaeology can play a role in this debate, but that it needs to establish methods that diverge from the evolutionary paradigm in frontier situations. While reading Fuglestad, it struck me that there were so many correspondences in the debate on colonisation in recent times when compared with the debate on Greek colonisation, as expressed by Tsatskhelidze and Hargrave. The second book is Stuurman 2009, unfortunately available only in Dutch. It is a sophisticated survey of global history regarding the discourse on human equality and on cultural differences. The title of the book when translated from Dutch would be 'The invention of Mankind'. Stuurman discusses canonical religious, ethnographic and philosophical texts and concepts from Homer to the present. While reading this book in combination with the contribution by Tsatskhelidze and Hargrave, it became apparent that one can choose between histories of exclusion and those of inclusion of others. This dichotomy is also clear when one compares the contribution of Tsatskhelidze and Hargrave, with their preference for a Greek perspective, with mine, which argues for a history of colonisation that includes other groups as well. The purport of my contribution is not revolutionary. More and more colleagues study colonisation as interaction, applying network theory and the concept of hybridity (cf. Hodos 2009). Some years ago Ridgway already wrote an article on the Early Iron Age in Italy and its relations with Greece, describing a shift from Hellenisation to interaction (Ridgway 2004).

exploits its achievements in ancient times to such extent, as Greece itself does. This to the detriment of other peoples and much of its actual history, since the region was ruled by others for large parts of its past 3000 years.<sup>2</sup> A problem with Greek colonisation in antiquity is its historical and cultural exploitation and appropriation during the past two centuries, as is hinted at by Tsetskhladze and Hargrave.

Nor can I place the following sentence: 'As Descœudres has demonstrated, trade cannot be considered a primary reason for Greek overseas settlement.'<sup>3</sup> It might not have been a primary motive, but it was definitely one of its components. The idea that ancient Greeks were not interested in exchange, surplus or profits is surreal.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, why did the ancient Greeks themselves differentiate between *emporion* and *apoikia*? Or, what were some Euboean/Greek merchants doing in settlements such as Pithekoussai, Al Mina, Adria or Spina? In any case, Adria and Spina reflect the problematic character of the table provided by Tsetskhladze and Hargrave. Both settlements record the presence of Greek merchants around 500 BC, no doubt, but according to many colleagues they can hardly be classified as Greek settlements/colonies. Adria and Spina rather functioned as trading settlements for local groups, Etruscans and some Greeks.<sup>5</sup> The table provided by Tsetskhladze and Hargrave deserves a discussion, which is not given in their contribution. In par-

<sup>2</sup> Examples of this attitude are the present political and cultural claims to the name Macedonia, or the increasingly ludicrous debate on the return of the Elgin marbles, while being at the same time proud that the Acropolis itself was in 2007 elected one of the first pan-European monuments. The Acropolis in Athens, now an official European monument, is a symbol of Western values and aesthetics. Such claims makes it plausible that some of its adornments are conserved and exhibited in another major Western cultural monument, the British Museum in London. Moreover, when Elgin shipped the marbles from Athens, they were part of an Ottoman mosque, so, if at all, they should be returned to Turkey, to make history just a bit more complicated. Turkey might subsequently decide if they honour the Greek request to return these marble reliefs to Athens.

<sup>3</sup> Descœudres relates the rise of *poleis* in Greece itself to the colonisation movement from the late 8th century BC onwards (Descœudres 2008). The prosperity of Greece during the 7th and 6th centuries BC might be partially explained by the surpluses that poured in from its overseas settlements.

<sup>4</sup> In ancient literature, Greeks may have preferred the lifestyle of a gentleman of leisure, but the few modern specimens of this type of man of my acquaintance become quite nervous if their resources are affected negatively.

<sup>5</sup> Though Hansen and Nielsen list both Spina and Adria as Greek *poleis*, they finally interpret Adria as a Greek trading station in Etruscan-Venetian territory and Spina as an Etruscan city that was profoundly Hellenised by Greek merchants (Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 326–27, 334). Links between Etruria and north-eastern Italy become more apparent from the Early Iron Age onwards but hardly result in the overland transport of Greek ceramics from Etruria to, for example, Bologna during the 8th, 7th and much of the 6th century BC. Thus I consider the arrival of Greek merchants in both Spina and Adria to be most interesting because Greek merchandise does not appear to arrive overseas in this part of Italy prior to the establishment of both trading settlements during the late 6th century BC. Here I would also like to point to the differences between the table provided by Tsetskhladze and Hargrave and the one given in Graham 1982.



ticular, the columns 'earliest archaeological material' and 'earlier local population' require some explanation. We all know stories of classical archaeologists throwing away or not publishing the local material they encountered during excavations until the early 1980s, simply because they considered this material of no significance. So, to what does 'earliest archaeological material' actually refer? Moreover, for the process of colonisation it is crucial to know the quantity of 'earliest archaeological material' recovered. A few Euboean/Greek-type sherds amongst thousands of local ones point to a different story from that of the sudden, simultaneous appearance of hundreds of imports in the 'middle of nowhere', a situation that rarely occurred. This brings me to the column 'earlier local population', which the authors answer with yes, no or not determined. I guess that they mean whether a local settlement existed there at exactly the same location, prior to the arrival of Greeks. This geographical rigour is somewhat irrelevant to the present debate on Greek colonisation. As far as I know, all Greek settlements overseas were established in regions where there was some kind of *rapprochement* with local groups. The Greeks might have been instrumental in exploiting coastal areas that were previously not much used, for example by the improvement of water-carrying methods in coastal plains, but this does not mean that they had entered an empty land with no population at all. These local groups had knowledge of their surroundings, either as nomadic groups, as more settled farmers or as members of an institutionally more complex society such as the various kingdoms the Dutch encountered in the Far East from the late 16th century AD onwards. Thus local groups living in regions where Greeks arrived on their shores had claims and an understanding of their territory.

However, the benefit of the table provided by Tsetskhladze and Hargrave is that it confirms once more the basic reliability of ancient historiography with respect to absolute chronology. Thus most foundation dates known somehow coincide with the 'earliest archaeological material'. This corresponds well with results I obtained from radiocarbon research into early Phoenician settlements in the western Mediterranean.<sup>6</sup> Thus, the Phoenicians crossed the whole Mediterranean and beyond from ca. 950 BC onwards and Carthage was founded around 800 BC, as documented in ancient historiography. Nonetheless one may still wonder what these dates for foundation mean. I suggest that they indicate predominantly a conscious decision in the homeland followed by the first arrival of settlers overseas at a previously known location. Thus, a wilful, premeditated act resulting in the concrete shipment of some settlers, as do comparable dates in more recent history (see below). This act requested considerable resources from the homeland, not just by

<sup>6</sup> Nijboer 2005; 2008; Nijboer and van der Plicht 2006; 2008; van der Plicht *et al.* 2009.

providing ships but also to cover costs during the early stages of the colonisation process, immediately after the foundation. The foundation dates usually do not indicate colonies from the start or define the type of settlement which arose overseas. Almost all these dates of foundation go hand in hand with small settlements that may or may not develop into colonies in times to come.<sup>7</sup> A massive settlement *ex novo* by thousands of Greeks from a specific town arriving more or less simultaneously, immediately establishing a *polis* overseas, is considered a fabrication, also on account of the fact that modern archaeologists/ancient historians still reconstruct Greece as in a Dark Age prior to the 8th century BC.

Another topic not addressed by Tsetskhladze and Hargrave is that Greek colonisation of the late 8th century BC must have been a different exercise from the 6th-century BC foundations, since Greek *poleis* developed significantly during these centuries. Some basic intentions concerning the foundations might have remained intact but the scale of the interventions will have altered. Moreover, one gets the impression that once the Greeks realised that it had become more and more difficult to colonise the western Mediterranean, they directed their attention to regions like the Black Sea in order to encounter fertile, coastal areas suitable for additional settlement and agriculture. With respect to the late 8th-century BC foundations on Sicily, I support the remarks made by R. Albanese Procelli. She wrote that there were several options of contact based on Greek literary sources. Thus she differentiates between

- expulsion of the indigenous population by the incoming settlers;
- formal alliances or concessions;
- attempts at cohabitation.<sup>8</sup>

These differentiations are also encountered during the early stages of colonisation in more recent times. One variable that definitely will not have been stressed in ancient Greek literature, but which is known to have occurred in other periods and regions, is those foundations that did not succeed.<sup>9</sup>

Tsetskhladze and Hargrave seem to propose that Greek colonisation in antiquity should be studied from an ancient Greek perspective and not in a wider historical setting. As an academic exercise this might be useful, but nonetheless I

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Shepherd 2005, 129–30.

<sup>8</sup> Albanese Procelli 2003, 138.

<sup>9</sup> A possible example of settlers not succeeding might be the case of Incoronata di Metaponto around 700 BC (cf. Lambrugo 2005). The foundation of the colony at Metaponto is recorded as taking place in 775/4 BC by Achaeans (see table by Tsetskhladze and Hargrave). It is interesting that nearby Sybaris was apparently founded *ca.* 50 years later, during the late 8th century BC, also by Achaeans. See the discussion on Francavilla Marittima below.

object for various reasons. First, the Greeks did not establish settlements overseas in isolation. I actually think that the present problems with respect to Greek colonisation, as documented by Tsatskhladze and Hargrave, are precisely the result of studying this process from a purely Greek perspective. Secondly, by studying Greek colonisation in antiquity just from a Greek angle, it makes it impossible to take advantage of cross-cultural surveys on colonisation. Colonisation is a culture-historical process that occurred in other societies and periods too. It could have a great effect on historical developments and therefore warrants analysis from a wider point of view. By comparing ancient Greek colonisation with other colonisation processes, one might actually be able to assess its unique features. Moreover, the preserved Greek literary record does not provide us with much detail on the developments of the colonisation process itself, while excavations of Greek colonies seldom get down to the earliest levels. Thus we are left with a very sketchy data set with respect to the rise of ancient Greek colonies. This is exactly the reason why historians studying colonisation from better-documented periods do not refer to Greek colonisation – because as a process it is so poorly understood. More fully documented colonisation processes might help us to understand Greek colonisation in antiquity and define its characteristics. Tsatskhladze and Hargrave make a parody of cross-cultural surveys by implying that scholars engaging in such studies think that all parameters and variables are the same, unrelated to society. A comparison is not the same as an equation. Analogies can have significance and at least provide a panorama. Thirdly, I think that classical archaeology, which as an historical discipline is becoming slightly marginalised, can advance if it participates fully in the wider historical discourse on colonisation. With increasing globalisation, many cultures and groups are coming to terms nowadays with their colonised and colonising past.<sup>10</sup> This results in intriguing and sophisticated histories of exploration and encounters. These stories point to dissimilar concepts of property, religion and of politics maintained by the original population compared with those of the incoming groups. Studying it from an ethnocentric perspective does not appear to be the solution for Greek colonisation, since colonisation itself is partly defined as a multi-ethnic process.

This concludes my comments on the text by Tsatskhladze and Hargrave. Since I have no objections to cross-cultural surveys, I shall continue with a discussion of some revealing, recently well-published maps on the early history of Kaapstad/Cape Town and on the Dutch trading enclave on Deshima (Japan), in order to define some characteristics of the colonisation process and to establish the fact that

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, Fuglestad 2005.

colonisation is a long-term process that depends much on the original social-economic conditions in the land of arrival.<sup>11</sup>

The maps and water-colours of Kaapstad are given because they provide a rare illustration of the three most important stages of a colonisation process; prospecting, foundation and eventually the colony, meaning a town exploiting its hinterland.<sup>12</sup> Subsequently, this contribution examines three Iron Age sites in Italy with early Euboean/Greek imports and their local imitations. Since these Greek/Greek-type sherds are pre-colonial – in fact the settlements discussed never became Greek colonies – their presence hints at contacts that precede the establishment of Greek settlements in southern Italy.<sup>13</sup> Thus, imports were the result of indigenous demand, while their local imitations point to the fact that these native settlements could occasionally accommodate this kind of production.

Figs. 1–3 illustrate three different episodes in the early history of Kaapstad.<sup>14</sup> For me, Figs. 1 and 2 do not represent a colony, only Fig. 3 does. From the start, however, overseas goods, iron amongst them, were exchanged for local ones, especially supplies.<sup>15</sup> Thus the presence of imported products cannot be equated with a colony or a permanent overseas settlement, as has often been implied by the few Middle and Late Geometric sherds found outside Greece.

<sup>11</sup> In this paper I will use the name Kaapstad and not the subsequent English name Cape Town. From the late 18th century the settlement was officially labelled Kaapstad. Previously it had various names starting with Caabse Vleck, Cape hamlet. By the late 18th century the town and hinterland, effectively the colony, held about 45,000 people, about 25,000 of whom were slaves and the rest free burghers.

<sup>12</sup> Since this article examines colonisation, all stages in the process, including the prospecting phase, emphasise the role of the seafaring groups and less that of the more land-locked local communities. A paper concentrating on the selections made by indigenous groups during the process of colonisation is feasible but this topic is not pursued in this contribution.

<sup>13</sup> Francavilla Marittima, Pontecagnano and Veio do not occur in the list given by Tsetschladze and Hargrave. Pithekoussai remains for me a trading centre inhabited by various ethnic groups. Its production facilities were geared towards a local demand for Orientalising/Greek goods (*cf.* Whitley 2001, 126; Nijboer 1998, 240–44). For its mixed ethnic character one can, for example, point to the fact that the form of the majority of the transport amphorae produced at Pithekoussai was based on Oriental prototypes (Ridgway 1992, 64, 82). The word Greek-type is used here if we are dealing with local imitations of Greek originals. It does not necessarily involve a Greek craftsman, since imitations could also be produced by local artisans.

<sup>14</sup> The information on Kaapstad derives from Brommer *et al.* 2009; Temminck Groll 2002.

<sup>15</sup> A comparable situation, centuries earlier, might have occurred in the native settlement at Torre Galli, Calabria, positioned more or less halfway the Phoenician homeland and Tartessos, south-west Spain. The Oriental imports at Torre Galli (950–850 BC), and the other archaeological evidence, do not point to Phoenician settlers in any quantity. Torre Galli is also the first Iron Age site in Italy with a considerable number of iron artefacts, some with ivory reinvestments (*cf.* Pacciarelli 1999; Nijboer 2008, 430–31; 2011; Sciacca 2011).

Fig. 1 presents an episode in the first stage of a colonisation process, prospecting, that lasted for the Cape and the Dutch about 50 years before a permanent settlement was founded. The incident illustrated took place on September 22nd, 1646. The watercolour was made by Caspar Schmalkalden, a Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC)<sup>16</sup> soldier from Thuringia in Germany, a crew member who obviously looked for opportunities elsewhere; opportunities supplied by the VOC. We see three Dutch ships, the coast and Table Mountain. Ashore there is to the left a large group of the original population, the Khoi, who wanted to trade, as they had done in previous years. In the centre we see a VOC crew member firing a musket at one of the Khoi because they were approaching too unexpectedly. To the right there is a fire and a fence that appears to protect two tents where sailors could recover from sickness and hardships during their long trip from the Netherlands to the East Indies. Fresh water and food supplies were needed, otherwise too many on board would die from scurvy. As such, the subsequent Cape hamlet was founded as a foraging or supply settlement. Exchange between the Khoi and the Dutch took place because the success of the whole mercantile enterprise originally depended on what the Khoi had to offer in fresh supplies. The incident on Fig. 1 caused the death of one of the Khoi and resulted in a sort of trial.<sup>17</sup> Obviously both groups shared a comparable sense of justice because it was agreed that the musketeer who had fired the fatal shot would be executed. In the end he was not, since the Dutch did not stick to the agreement.<sup>18</sup> They put him in chains and told the Khoi that he would be executed on board the ship, removed him thence, but did not put him to death. What is depicted here is an episode with the local population before the establishment of a permanent base, a phase that is often omitted in discussions of ancient Greek colonisation.<sup>19</sup> Without prospecting there can be no premeditated foundation of a permanent settlement overseas. Greeks in antiquity might have founded their overseas settlements unplanned, at random, but this I consider to be most unlikely. The prospecting phase was essential, otherwise a group of settlers could not decide where to land and for what reason; they would lack perspective and purpose. We have no idea how long this phase lasted in antiquity because, for each Greek overseas settlement, we just have literary dates of

<sup>16</sup> Translated into English as the United East Indian Company, founded on March 20th, 1602.

<sup>17</sup> In the first decades of exchange, a few Khoi had somehow learned to speak some Dutch/English and thus Khoi and Dutch could communicate.

<sup>18</sup> One of the parameters of the colonisation process appears to be a failure to stick to agreements and confusion, grounded simply on different concepts, amongst others about property. Another parameter is the appropriation of resources by the settlers who, by doing so, created resources as well since they were exploited more intensively.

<sup>19</sup> See the comments in Tsetschladze and Hargrave on the concept of 'trade before the flag'.

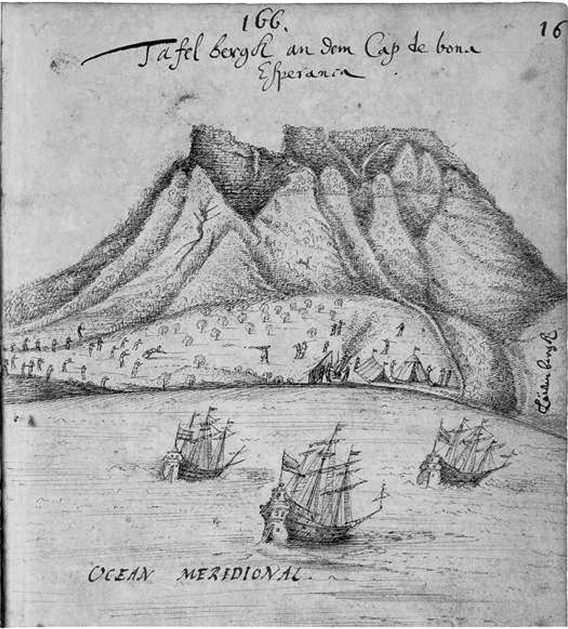


Fig. 1: A pre-colonial incident at the Cape with Khoi and Dutch on September 22nd, 1646. Water-colour by Caspar Schmalkalden (after Brommer *et al.* 2009).

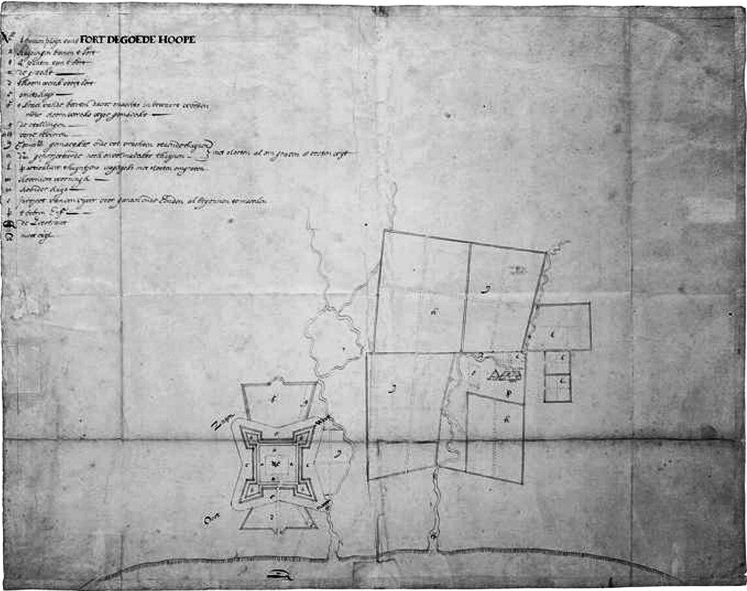


Fig. 2: Plan of Cape hamlet two years after its foundation, assigned to Caspar van Weede in 1654. Depiction of the fort, the first private gardens and the house with yard of Hendrik Boom, the head gardener of the Company's Garden (Brommer *et al.* 2009).



foundation; even worse, these subsequently determined the absolute chronology of the associated Greek sherds discovered there. I guess that one of the reasons why the prospecting phase is so unpopular in present accounts of ancient Greek colonisation is that it might undermine somewhat the foundations of conventional absolute chronology.

Fig. 2 illustrates phase 2 of the colonisation process, the actual foundation. It is a plan of the earliest Dutch settlement at Kaapstad, assigned to Caspar van Weede in 1654.<sup>20</sup> We see a fort, the first private gardens and the house with yard of Hendrik Boom, the head gardener of the Company's Garden. The Board of Governors of the VOC in the Netherlands had decided that a permanent settlement should be founded at the foot of Table Mountain and subsequently sent Commander Van Riebeeck with three ships and instructions to 'Seek out a location for the fort and then look for good soil for the gardens. Plant fruit trees too.'<sup>21</sup> From these instructions it is obvious that the primary objective for settling here was not trade but agriculture. So the hamlet that rose in the 1650s developed into an agricultural colony. The head gardener employed by the VOC was in charge of the *Companiestuyn* or Company's Garden, originally a utilitarian garden for fruit and vegetables. As to the foundation date: to be exact, Van Riebeeck arrived on April 6th, 1652. Fig. 2 does not represent a colony but a small permanent base. It is most likely that many of the Greek foundation dates reflect just that, the decision to found a permanent settlement overseas, while the subsequent settlement itself was small.<sup>22</sup> The names of founders and years of foundation are preserved in many stories of colonisation. All had to work out arrangements with native communities. This is actually one of the more interesting aspects of the colonisation process, since we can examine the engagement of different social-economic systems, each with its own traditions and values. Fre-

<sup>20</sup> The strategic position of Kaapstad is considerable: more or less halfway along the voyage from north-west Europe to the East Indies. One hundred and sixty-two pioneers arrived in 1652, among them 15 women. They lived originally in tents and huts. Another reason for settling at the Cape was to treat sick crew members. Therefore, the early history of the settlement at the Cape can also be illustrated by the sequence of hospitals of increasing capacity, starting with a hospital for 80 patients in 1656.

<sup>21</sup> Van Riebeeck was the first commander from 1652 to 1662.

<sup>22</sup> See Hall (2008) for different approaches to foundation stories. It is estimated that the population of the original Greek settlements around the time of their foundation was no more than a few hundred (*cf.* Gill 2006, 13; Shepherd 2005, 129–30; De Angelis 1994, 96–99; Graham 1982, 146). I object to the words city and colony for such settlements. A population of a few hundred and an inhabited area of a few hectares hardly constitute a city, rather a village analogous to Caabse Vleck before it grew into Kaapstad. I suggest calling these early establishments 'overseas settlements'. A colony, a town exploiting a hinterland, is the end result of a full colonisation process. Labelling everything a colony does not advance the discussion on colonisation.



quently this aspect is still omitted from accounts of ancient Greek colonisation, leaving these stories for me predictable and lacklustre. It simplifies the colonisation process by concentrating just on Greek pottery and on the future colony. It is teleological history, leaving out phases 1 and 2 of the colonisation process or, at best, taking them for granted.

Fig. 3 is a water-colour of a panorama of Table Mountain and Kaapstad as a colony: a town exploiting its hinterland. The panorama consists of two leaves of which only the second is given here. The detailed illustration was made in 1777 by Johann Schumacher and depicts the larger Companiestuyn, a rectangular pattern of streets, a fort, agriculture in the surroundings of the town, a church, a town hall, slave lodge, squares, fountains, Governor's House, gates, hospital, town and country houses. The other leaf of the panorama, not given here, depicts amongst other aspects, three burial places. The separate graves next to the two graveyards were for slaves. One of the two graveyards was for citizens, the other for soldiers/sailors, who had been buried before 1721 in the middle of the town.

Figs. 2 and 3 illustrate the process of colonisation, from the fort with hamlet founded in 1652 to the 18th-century town exploiting its hinterland agriculturally. The Dutch and other groups prospered, but what happened to the Khoi? The explicit instruction from the homeland was to maintain good relations with them. This was not always feasible, since it depended originally much on what the Khoi wanted to exchange. If they did not offer enough fresh supplies, crew members would just take them. The Khoi were a nomadic group that did not know slavery. Thus the Dutch originally did not enslave the Khoi: their slaves, who came to work for the farmers, were obtained from other African regions where slavery was known. Being nomadic the Khoi's concept of resources and property differed from that of the settlers, who neatly parcelled their plots, one of the Dutch areas of expertise. Nonetheless, the Khoi did object several times to the Governor about the continuous intrusion into their lands. However, the land was considered to be *terra nullis* because there was no recognised legal power-holder or representative who could claim the land. The VOC was recognised as the power-holder, the Khoi as a group were not: their institutions had not developed to a stage that was acknowledged in the international law of the 17th century. The massive decline of the Khoi who lived in the vicinity of the settlement at the Cape was caused mainly by an unfortunate smallpox epidemic in 1713. They had no resistance to the disease and it killed nine out of ten of them. Slowly but surely the remaining groups were driven off or had to work for the farmers. That we are dealing with two different social-economic systems of values and enterprise, which seldom assimilated, is still reflected in the problems that keep rising between the conservative, white farmers of South Africa and their black workforce: barely any acculturation, even

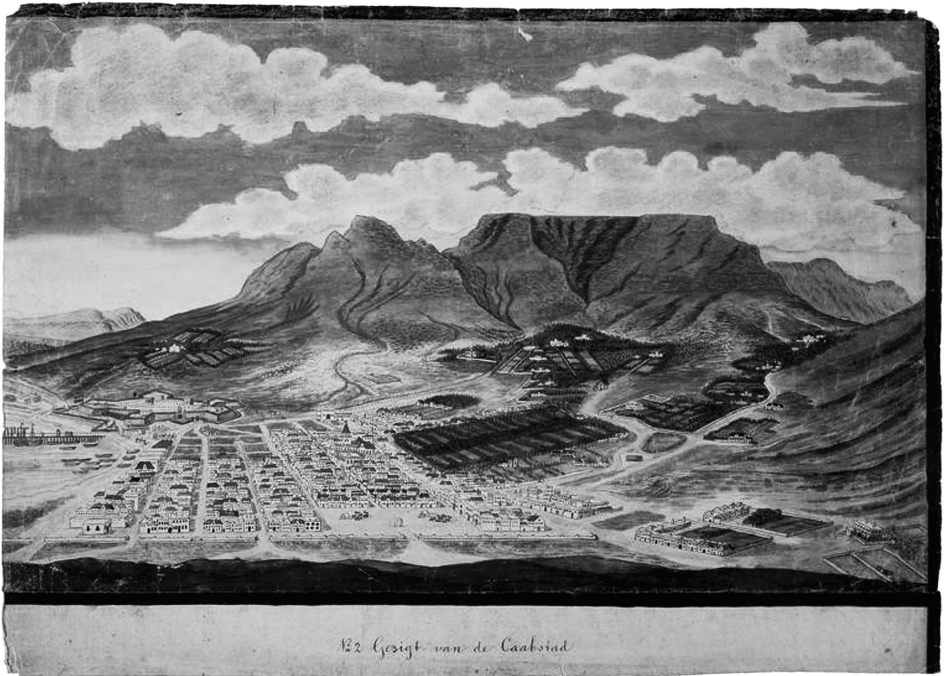


Fig. 3: Panorama of Table Mountain and Kaapstad as a colony, being a town exploiting its hinterland. Water-colour by Johann Schumacher, 1777 (after Brommer *et al.* 2009).

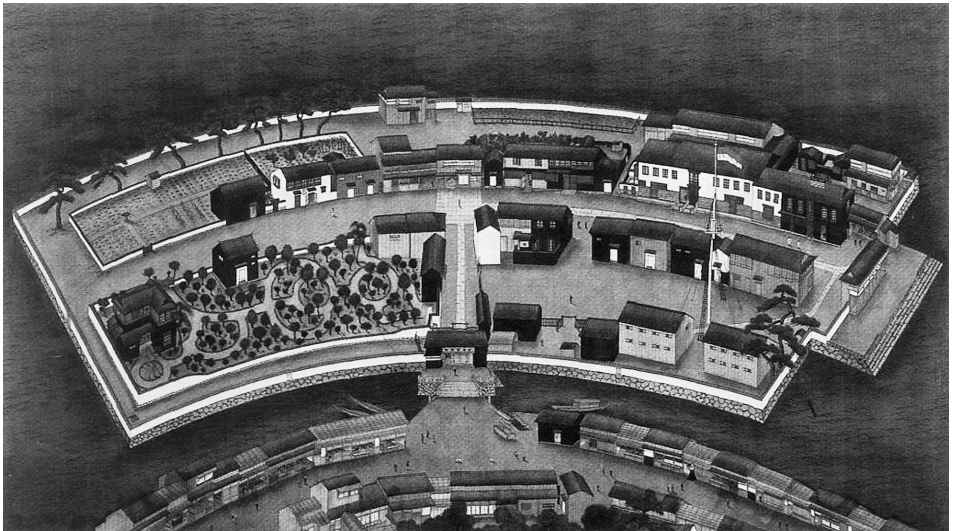


Fig. 4: The island of Deshima from above. Painting on silk by Kawahara Keiga, *ca.* 1840 (after Forrer 2000, 38).

after 350 years of coexistence as a result of opportunity, parcelling, segregation, impoverishment and apartheid.<sup>23</sup>

Another aspect of the colonisation process, not often discussed in ancient Greek colonisation, is the fact that opportunities abroad depend much on the local social-economic conditions encountered. This may be illustrated with a further example of the Dutch overseas. In the Far East, the VOC had to deal with regional power-holders and states, which made relations with local groups more diplomatic and precarious than those with nomadic groups. As an example of restricted arrangements overseas, the extreme case of Deshima is presented: a Dutch enclave on a specially constructed small island in Nagasaki harbour, Japan.<sup>24</sup> The outcome was a small group of Dutch merchants and their staff living in a Japanese setting (Fig.4).

Phase 1, the prospecting phase, lasted here from the late 16th century until about 1613. An important fact during this phase was the arrival of the ship 'De Liefde' (Love) that left from a harbour near Rotterdam in 1598 and drifted in 1600 into the waters of Kyushu, the southern main island of Japan. In 1609 Dutch merchants rented buildings at Hirado for storage and trade.

Phase 2 in Japan for the Dutch starts with a 'factory' at Hirado, where VOC buildings rose in 1613, after explicit approval from the Shogun the year before. A small trading settlement emerged with buildings, mainly warehouses. These buildings were destroyed in 1641 by order of Governor Caron after a visit by the administrator, Mashasige, who had reported to the Shogun that the VOC buildings displayed too much beauty and power.<sup>25</sup> After the demolition of the warehouses at Hirado, the VOC moved to Deshima, into a Japanese settlement. Deshima means the island projected over the sea; it was originally constructed for the Portuguese in 1636 (Fig. 4). The VOC rented the buildings on Deshima from the people of Nagasaki. Deshima housed 40 buildings, some of them used by Japanese officials. The fact that the VOC had to rent the infrastructure demonstrates that the Dutch were allowed to trade but could not appropriate. Thus a colonisation process could never take off. Phase 2 in Japan lasted from 1613 until 1858, when the Dutch lost their exclusive trading rights and Japan opened its borders. The Dutch enclave at Deshima was the only link with the Western world for over 200 years. Its development was limited and strictly controlled by the

<sup>23</sup> The Dutch word apartheid, just means being separate, different. Only much later did it obtain a political meaning in South Africa of institutionalised segregation.

<sup>24</sup> Deshima was not larger than 12,500m<sup>2</sup>, approximately. The information on the VOC, Japan and Deshima derives from Forrer 2000; Temminck Groll 2002.

<sup>25</sup> Until 1639 Japanese exchange relations with merchants from Europe involved the Portuguese/Spanish, Dutch and English.

Shogun, who coerced the merchant staff into making official visits to the court in Kyoto, bearing gifts.<sup>26</sup>

Phase 3 of the colonisation process, the overseas colony, could never develop in Japan because of the tight regulations set by the Japanese establishment.

It is possible that Tsetskhladze and Hargrave and others ask themselves what all this has to do with ancient Greek colonisation. I hope that it will be obvious that I do not intend to compare conditions in the Netherlands during the 17th and 18th centuries AD with those in Greece during the 8th–6th centuries BC, which indeed would be rather pointless. The objectives of this paper are diverse. First, we lack almost any written data on how encounters between Greeks and the original populations might have occurred. To gain an impression one needs to look at colonisation processes from a wider perspective, to one that is better documented.

Secondly, it illustrates that a colony is an end result of a process that depended on many variables. By the time that Euboeans/Greeks became interested in settling overseas they had to find ways to deal with the Phoenicians, a group that had been travelling far and wide for quite some time before they did. The Phoenician advance towards the West is definitely more trade oriented than that of later Greek communities. By concentrating just on the colony, ancient Greek colonisation often eliminates the historicity of a process that consists of various episodes. Frequently, there is hardly any consideration of the local groups with which they had to come to terms. For classical archaeologists it might be impossible to study these original populations – but they can co-operate with archaeological specialists in the pre-and proto-history of these regions.

Colonisation takes place in an environment that is multi-ethnic. The early history of the region of the future Kaapstad in South Africa under the Dutch flag involved the following groups/polities:

- the nomadic Khoi who were pushed back though not enslaved;
- other African peoples who had slavery themselves such as groups from West Africa and Angola;
- Dutch commanders/governors, VOC employees and free settlers;
- people from German principalities;

<sup>26</sup> In 1817–18 the journey from Deshima to Yedo (Tokyo) lasted about 40 days, subsequently there was the visit and the return trip to Deshima. There are countless stories to be told about the early Japanese-Dutch relations. An intriguing one is the unauthorised arrival of the first Western lady, Titia Blomhoff-Bergsma, the wife of the director of the factory, Jan Cock Blomhoff. She and her baby were not allowed to stay with her husband on Deshima and had to leave, after remaining there just a few months in 1817. Her presence led to much excitement in Japan. She was painted several times and is still an icon in Japan.

- French Huguenots who, amongst others, were instrumental in the early production of wines in South Africa from the late 17th century onwards;
- and finally, the English who tried to prevent the establishment of a permanent Dutch enclave.

If we were to describe Kaapstad just from a Dutch perspective of teleology and domination, all others would become more or less invisible. Some scholars, however, still prefer a history of supremacy and isolation. I consider such histories fantasies and fabrications. The colonisation process has to be set within a multi-ethnic panorama, making it more interesting, while reflecting some of the curiosity that characterised Odysseus in the quotation at the beginning of this paper.

The final part of this contribution will discuss three Italian Iron Age settlements, which have yielded some 8th-century BC Euboean/Greek ceramics and their local imitations that appear to be related more to phase 1 of the colonisation process than to phases 2 and 3 (Fig. 5).<sup>27</sup> These ceramics predate the pottery that Coldstream associated with the foundation dates by Thucydides. The Greek/Greek-type ceramics discussed derive from Francavilla Marittima in Calabria, Pontecagnano in Campania and from Veio, *ca.* 20 km north of Rome. These three settlements had developed during the Early Iron Age into flourishing centres. On account of the thousands of Iron Age tombs surrounding Pontecagnano and Veio, it is probable that by 800 BC their population had risen to more than 1000, while for Francavilla Marittima estimates indicate a population of 500–1000 souls, though its sanctuary was of inter-regional importance and significant for a much larger public.<sup>28</sup> High population numbers at these indigenous centres are also reflected in the circumstance that some imported goods were imitated almost straight away, indicating local communities of considerable social-economic complexity. As mentioned before, ‘Greeks arriving during the 8th century BC in Italy did find substantial indigenous settlements at their doorsteps.’<sup>29</sup> Many of these centres continued to flourish after the arrival of Euboean and other Greek groups on their shores.

Some 12 km from Francavilla Marittima, a settlement named Sybaris was founded by the Achaeans around 720–710 BC. It developed during the 7th–6th centuries BC into a proper colony, representing phase 3 of the colonisation process.<sup>30</sup>

Greek settlements in the region around Pontecagnano were further away. Paestum/Poseidonia is *ca.* 30 km distant from Pontecagnano and was founded around

<sup>27</sup> The Oinotrian-Euboean ceramics from Francavilla Marittima in Fig. 5 were excavated during the Scavi Kleibrink 1991–2004.

<sup>28</sup> Pacciarelli 2000, 281.

<sup>29</sup> Nijboer 2005, 538.

<sup>30</sup> Figures represent distances as the crow flies.



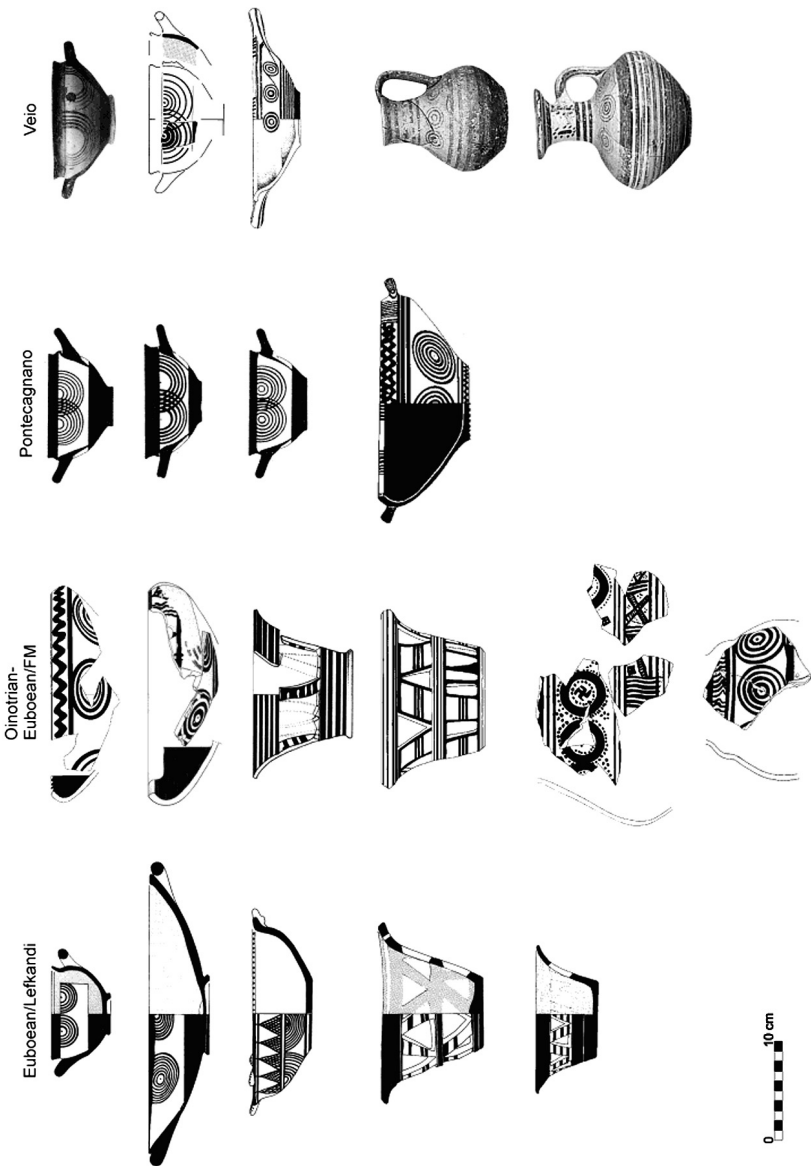


Fig. 5: Some Euboean and Euboeanising ceramics from Lefkandi and Italy of the late 9th–8th century BC. Note that some comparable Euboean ceramics were found at Huelva, south-west Spain, in a context that abounds in Phoenician and local ceramics (Fernando *et al.* 2004, 86–94). Figure 5 is compiled from Popham *et al.* 1979–80; Popham and Lemos 1996; Jacobsen 2007; Mirica 2006–07; Kourou 2005; Boitani 2005; Berardinetti and Drago 1997; Buranelli *et al.* 1997; and Toms 1997.

600 BC by inhabitants of Sybaris. Pithekoussai, started as a trading settlement around 800–750 BC, had originally a Euboean disposition, including other ethnic groups; it is 85 km from Pontecagnano. In Campania there are a number of other Greek foundation dates: such as Cumae, in the table of Tsetschladze and Hargrave with a foundation date of 1050 BC instigated by Euboeans, and Dicaearchia/Puteoli, founded in 531 BC by Samians.<sup>31</sup> Ancient Greek colonisation in Campania cannot, however, be studied as an evolutionary process, as a linear history of Hellenisation for the whole region, because there were countless battles as well as intermingling with local groups. Though Cumae did develop into a proper colony during the 7th century BC, Pontecagnano itself, an indigenous centre also located quite near the coast, is an Iron Age South Villanovan centre that later had strong Etruscan links.<sup>32</sup>

Etruria and the region south of Rome to Campania were never colonised. However, occasional Phoenicians and Euboeans would have lived as individuals in its proto-urban and urban centres. Separate trading settlements in Etruria and Latium Vetus, such as Pyrgi, Gravisca and Regisvilla, were established from *ca.* 600 BC onwards and could house several groups of foreigners, including those of Greek origin.<sup>33</sup>

Francavilla Marittima, Pontecagnano and Veio thus represent three regions in Italy with three different forms of colonisation and acculturation processes: eventually colonised, partially colonised, and infiltrated though not colonised at all. Nonetheless, in all three regions we find evidence for 8th-century BC Euboean links in the form of imitated ceramics. The quantity of Greek/Greek-type pottery during the 8th century BC appears to diminish moving from south to central Italy, so I shall start with Francavilla Marittima where a relatively large amount of Euboean/Greek-type pottery was found recently.

At Francavilla Marittima a few Euboean sherds were published together with hundreds of their local imitations, labelled Oinotrian-Euboean pottery.<sup>34</sup> This

<sup>31</sup> The date of 1050 BC for the foundation of Cumae in Italy is a mistake. Greek/Greek-type goods are recovered in native tombs and the settlement of Cumae from *ca.* 750 BC onwards.

<sup>32</sup> Pontecagnano is located to the south of Cumae, overlooking the Piana di Paestum. Frederiksen 1984 can still be regarded a useful introduction to the history of Campania during the 1st millennium BC, though archaeological finds and interpretations in the past decades diverge considerably in details. Cumae had fallen to the local Samnites in 421 BC. See also Ridgway 1992, 122–25.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Nijboer 1998, 56–62. The Etruscan and Latin trading settlements of the 6th and 5th centuries BC along the coast were secondary sites, always linked to a local primary centre situated farther inland.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Kleibrink 2000; 2004; 2006; Kleibrink and Sangineto 1998; Attema 2008. The research on the Euboean and Oinotrian-Euboean ceramics was defended by J. Kindberg Jacobsen during a PhD examination at the University of Groningen on September 6th, 2007; Jacobsen 2007; <http://irs.ub.rug.nl/ppn/304182907>. See also Jacobsen *et al.* 2008–09; Handberg and Jacobsen forthcoming; Andaloro *et al.* 2011; Mittica 2006–07; 2008. In 2009, a context was excavated at Francavilla



pottery dates before 720–710 BC when nearby Sybaris was founded. It appears that phase 1, the prospecting phase of the colonisation process, lasted in the Sybarite plain for at least 50 years.<sup>35</sup> Interesting is the option that already in phase 1 some Euboeans worked occasionally at or near Francavilla Marittima to supply a native demand.<sup>36</sup> The Euboean and Oinotrian-Euboean sherds were recovered inside and outside the sanctuary.<sup>37</sup> The quantity of Euboean-Oinotrian sherds from Francavilla Marittima increased significantly during excavations in 2009, but it is still limited when compared with the locally produced ceramics of the

Marittima, with many Oinotrian-Euboean sherds (Mittica 2010). This context is read as highly influenced by Euboeans, though an alternative interpretation is possible because the finds so far recovered from it are mainly local. The Oinotrian-Euboean pottery consists of 400 fragments, constituting 22% of the total assemblage. The similarity of the fabric of both the local matt-painted ceramics and the Oinotrian-Euboean pottery points to a mutual *chaîne opératoire*. I would like to thank Dr Jacobsen for providing me with all necessary data, some still unpublished. This context was labelled a 'Euboean hut', to which I object, since the structure itself has not revealed anything Euboean so far. Moreover, a collection of specific ceramics might be assembled at a certain spot for various reasons – for example, they might have been stored there for further distribution – and it does not even have to involve an actual Euboean. I remain sceptical of the possibility of establishing ethnic identity based exclusively on ceramics. It is, however, probable that a few Euboeans started to work occasionally at or near Francavilla Marittima around 800–750 BC. So far, it appears that they were not buried there. Moreover, these Euboeans were subject to the prevailing local arrangements at the site. There is no archaeological evidence for the colonisation of Francavilla Marittima. The nearby Sybarite plain was colonised during the 7th century BC, starting with the foundation of Sybaris in the late 8th century BC. Radiocarbon results of three different samples from the context described by Mittica (2010) were sent to me on June 9th, 2010. These results fall within the Hallstatt plateau of the calibration curve and require full analysis, but the archaeological context excludes a date in the 7th and 6th centuries BC. The distribution of the peaks in the calibration graphs makes it more likely that we are dealing with the period 800–750 BC than with 750–700 BC. These radiocarbon results and their archaeological and chronological interpretation will be published fully in the near future.

<sup>35</sup> If the foundation date of Sybaris is taken to be correct and it is defined as a small settlement. There is, of course, always the possibility that the table provided by Tsatskheladze and Hargrave is incomplete and incorrect in detail. However, in general, I think that it represents an accurate list of Greek foundations overseas.

<sup>36</sup> In this sense they conform to the Phoenicians, some of whom also worked in native Italian centres (*cf.* Nijboer 2008). See also Mercuri 2004, who documents the production of Euboean/Greek-type ceramics at Canale-Janchina. Francavilla Marittima and Canale-Janchina share many geographical and archaeological features. Ceramic fabrics research at Francavilla Marittima demonstrates that the fabric of the Oinotrian-Euboean ceramics was quite like that of the locally produced matt-painted ceramics (Mittica 2010; Andaloro *et al.* 2011). Oinotrian matt-painted ceramics were probably also fired in a kiln requiring a kiln plate. See also Kleibrink and Barresi 2009 on the relation between matt-painted and Euboean ceramics at Francavilla Marittima.

<sup>37</sup> Another option is that Euboeans were buried with a funerary ritual that was native. Shepherd considers the funerary record to be unreliable as an identifier of ethnic groups – except for burials in Sicilian colonies, which apparently can only identify Greeks (Shepherd 2005).

same period.<sup>38</sup> How should the possible presence of some foreigners in a native settlement such as Francavilla Marittima be explained? Scholars working at the site seem to have to choose between either Oinotrian or Greek; but it is clear to all involved that we are dealing with an ethnically mixed situation, which needs to be studied as an amalgam, differentiating the various groups that worked and lived together at the site. The Oinotrian element during the 8th and 7th centuries BC seems to predominate at Francavilla Marittima, although Hellenisation did increasingly occur, in religious matters as well, in the form of syncretism.<sup>39</sup> Unfortunately, Francavilla Marittima appears now to have been colonised anew on paper by those who prefer a Greek reading of the archaeological record of the site: a common hut becomes Euboean, local pottery workshops are located in a *Kerameikos*, the sanctuary is an *Athenaion*, and indistinctive functional remains such as kiln-plates become Greek.<sup>40</sup> This is Greek colonisation within a minute, instead of the 150–200 years that the process of Hellenisation actually lasted at the site. Teleology remains a major risk when describing historical processes such as colonisation. I do not object to the use of ethnic adjectives if Euboean, Greek or Oinotrian are defined in terms of specific features that can only be encountered in such a region.<sup>41</sup> Otherwise ethnic adjectives can be highly inaccurate and worse, deceptive.

A comparable discussion on colonisation does not arise at Pontecagnano in Campania, since it is obvious that the site was and remained an important Italic centre. The word Italic is used on purpose here because Pontecagnano shared characteristics with other Villanovan or Iron Age centres all over Italy, from Verucchio in Emilia Romagna to Sala Consilina on the border between Campania and

<sup>38</sup> Kourou points to ceramics with large circles, such as some in fig. 5, that recall styles of the Cypro-Archaic period, indicating a Cypro-Italian connection (Kourou 2005, 506). It would be useful if she studies the Greek/Greek-type ceramics from Francavilla Marittima and Veio as she has those from Pontecagnano. Cypro-Italian connections might point to the involvement of other groups besides Euboeans, because Cyprus during the 9th–8th centuries BC cannot be equated with Euboea or Greece.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Kleibrink 2009.

<sup>40</sup> Francavilla Marittima was, in my opinion, never fully colonised by Greeks: the site, used until the end by different groups, housed an ancient main sanctuary. It has ideal geographical characteristics to act as an intermediary between the coastal Sybarite plain and the hills and mountains of the interior. As Attema points out, so far, intensive surveys hardly document the infiltration of Greek material culture into the upper valley of the Raganello, only a day's walk from the Sybarite plain. 'The archaeological evidence is restricted to the odd isolated Hellenistic farmstead that can be found along transhumance tracks leading up into the mountains' (Attema 2008, 92).

<sup>41</sup> An early inscription at Francavilla Marittima is Phoenician, dating to the 8th century BC. A seal/scarab of the Lyre player group inscribed with Phoenician letters was found in Tomb 69 (Zancani Montuoro 1974–76, 51–66; Nijboer 2006).

Calabria.<sup>42</sup> These centres formed a strong, land-locked network for exchange and communication, crossing large parts of modern Italy.

The relatively significant amount of early Greek imports at Pontecagnano has been examined in detail by N. Kourou, who considers them a good foundation for cross-links and dates.<sup>43</sup> The earliest Greek imports are assigned to the Middle Geometric II phase and refer to a Euboean connection. Euboean/Greek imports at Pontecagnano are chevron skyphoi, black cups, Attic and Atticising cups and one-bird metope cups. According to Kourou, Greek pendent semicircle skyphoi were imitated on Cyprus, in the Levant by Phoenicians, and now also in the West by a specific vase from Pontecagnano.<sup>44</sup> The pendent semicircle skyphoi from Pontecagnano might be considered to have arrived there before the establishment of the trading post, Pithekoussai, where no such vessels are found. Early Greek imports appear to be confined to cups, reflecting particular local preferences with respect to drinking. This specific preference is also displayed in their almost immediate local imitation.<sup>45</sup> Nonetheless, these imitations are in quantity and range limited and thus do not indicate proper local workshop production. Were there established Euboean pottery workshops, these should yield a comparable quantity of ceramics to those attributed to the local production centres.

The last site presented is Veio, one of the more important and better-documented Iron Age centres of Italy. The settlement plateau extends over an area of 190 ha and was surrounded by several burial grounds with thousands of Iron Age tombs.<sup>46</sup> Close study of these tombs indicates that by 800–750 BC a social hierarchy had emerged of patricians electing a *primus inter pares*, in nearby Rome labelled *Rex*.<sup>47</sup> In each primary centre, a small number of ruling families came to control religious, economic and political matters for the whole community. The 8th-century BC tombs at Veio contained mainly locally produced commodities, while a few tombs are characterised by some artefacts of Levantine and Greek origin. During the 8th century BC the Iron Age in Italy merged into the Orientalising period. The few Greek/Greek-type ceramics at Veio have recently been studied and

<sup>42</sup> Sala Consalina in turn had strong links with Francavilla Marittima because both sites shared much of their Iron Age metalwork (Sleijpen 2004, 153–57). Unfortunately, this excellent master's thesis is unpublished, though its catalogue shares many finds with those first acquired by the Getty Museum but subsequently returned to the Italian state; metalwork recovered at Francavilla Marittima and published by Papadopoulos (2003).

<sup>43</sup> Kourou 2005.

<sup>44</sup> Kourou 2005, 501–02. Imitated at various locations, these ceramics can no longer be considered as strictly Euboean.

<sup>45</sup> On imitations, cf. Kourou 2005, 505–06.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Amoroso 2008, 7; Bartoloni 1997.

<sup>47</sup> De Santis 2005; Nijboer 2008, 440–44.

published in detail.<sup>48</sup> Boitani lists three pendent semicircle skyphoi, eight chevron skyphoi, of which at least three are considered to be of an Italo-Geometric fabric, four one-bird metope skyphoi, jugs and cups with raised handle. All these Euboean/Greek/Greek-type vessels are assigned to Veio phase IIA or IIB. As Boitani observes, this collection of Veian vessels coincides well with that of Pontecagnano.<sup>49</sup> Some additional, simultaneous and slightly later, Greek/Greek-type vessels from in and around Veio were published elsewhere; besides drinking cups, these consist of a shallow bowl, a small amphora, an askos, jar and several jugs.<sup>50</sup> Local production of such vessels emerges around 750 BC.

The three sites presented above could be augmented by many other Iron Age II sites in Italy which have yielded a small quantity of Greek/Greek-type ceramics.<sup>51</sup> How can we interpret the evidence of early imitations of imported Greek ceramics preceding the first wave of the Greek colonisation movement of the late 8th century BC in south Italy? They appear to pertain to the first stage of the colonisation process, the prospecting phase.<sup>52</sup> During this phase it must have become obvious that the establishment of permanent overseas Greek settlements in central Italy was not feasible. In Campania, overseas settlers had to establish relations with the flourishing local centres on their doorsteps. The opportunities for colonisation of the coastal plains in Calabria, especially those along the Ionian Sea, were worked out during this phase. In my assessment, the quantity of 8th-century BC local imitations is too limited to allow for permanent Euboean/Greek workshops having functioned for decades in the local proto-urban centres. Such established workshops would have led to a far larger quantity of Italo-Geometric wares in these settlements and their hinterland than is presently known. One option is that local imitations were occasionally produced at nearby temporary trading sites and subsequently distributed. Production is often associated with trading settlements, some of which became permanent *emporía*, as is the case with Pithekoussai.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Boitani 2005; Berardinetti and Drago 1997; Buranelli *et al.* 1997; Toms 1997.

<sup>49</sup> Boitani 2005.

<sup>50</sup> Berardinetti and Drago 1997; Buranelli *et al.* 1997.

<sup>51</sup> Iron Age II sites are dated here from *ca.* 825 to 750/700 BC (Nijboer and van der Plicht 2008; Bietti Sestieri and De Santis 2008). Iron Age II in Italy is characterised by a gradual increase in imports and their local imitations from the Levant, from Greece and from other overseas regions (Nijboer 2011).

<sup>52</sup> I will not discuss here the option that some of these Greek/Greek-type ceramics arrived in Italy through Phoenician merchants. Comparable Greek/Greek-type pottery, as presented here, is also found in local-Phoenician contexts on Sardinia (Sant' Imbenia) and in south-west Spain (Huelva). The hypothesis that Phoenicians and Euboeans co-operated during the 8th century BC to some extent is attractive, since it supports the multi-ethnic setting of the early Greek colonisation movement (Niemeyer 1990; 1993).

<sup>53</sup> Nijboer 1998, 56–64; 240–44.

There might have been yet-to-be-discovered small and basic temporary trading settlements along the coast in the 8th century BC. Another possibility is the occasional presence of overseas craftsmen in local centres. This option has been put forward in respect of both Euboean and Levantine/Phoenician craftsmen in central Italy. Firm evidence for this hypothesis is barely available, except for the distribution of 8th-century BC imports and their almost immediate imitation. There are no graves that can be assigned beyond doubt to either a Euboean or a Phoenician, apart from tombs at Pithekoussai.<sup>54</sup> The periodic presence of overseas craftsmen in the Iron Age centres of Italy is, however, most likely. It would account for the acculturation processes documented in these centres by the archaeological record, revealing a mix of local customs with Orientalising and Hellenic features. It is reflected not just in the Italo-Geometric ceramics produced at sites such as Francavilla Marittima but also in the rare case of Levantine building techniques encountered at Tarquinia around 700 BC.<sup>55</sup> Hybridisation is displayed not only in material remains but also in the establishment of the Etruscan alphabet around 700 BC, based on the Euboean script, or in the mixture of local and Levantine status symbols in central Italy.<sup>56</sup>

## Epilogue

Greek colonisation in antiquity requires a multi-ethnic panorama, especially during its early stages.<sup>57</sup> Moreover, the word colony calls for a definition that can be assessed by archaeology bringing together the material culture of diverse groups. This requires an independent assessment of the dating of each group and the associated material culture. Until recently the indigenous peoples of the Iron Age Mediterranean were dated using the absolute chronology of the material culture of the party that eventually gained the upper hand. This undeniably contributed to a teleological reading of the archaeological evidence. It is to be expected that

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Shepherd 2005, 132. In this article Shepherd assesses the possibility of finding ethnic markers in the cemeteries of the 7th- and 6th-century BC colonies. Moreover, she documents that the burial rituals at these colonies were not similar to those of the founding mother-cities in Greece. Unfortunately, she does not discuss the option that some of the original population might have adopted the burial ritual of the incoming groups, a ritual that was anyhow not a copy of the funerary practices of the region from which the settlers apparently came.

<sup>55</sup> Bonghi Jovino 1991; 1999; Rathje forthcoming.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Nijboer 2008.

<sup>57</sup> The network theory might be useful for studying colonisation in antiquity, though not its mathematical methodology, which implies a forced sense of certainty regarding the archaeological record (cf. Malkin *et al.* 2007; Sommer 2007). Another suitable concept for studying colonisation is hybridisation.

the definition of phases associated with the colonisation process counterbalances somewhat the ambiguity of the accounts presently available. I have argued that the application of the word colony should be confined to urban centres exploiting their surrounding hinterland (Fig. 3). Prior to phase 3, arrangements were more mixed. A colony requires a foundation, a conscious decision in the homeland followed by the first arrival of some settlers at a previously known location overseas. These foundation sites can be labelled overseas settlements, *emporía*, gateway communities, etc., depending on their characteristics. Phase 1 of the colonisation process, the prospecting phase, is accompanied by overseas imports in indigenous sites but with no clear evidence of permanent settlements inhabited by overseas groups. Temporary structures along the coast, used by overseas groups, can be part of phase 1, as illustrated in Fig. 1.<sup>58</sup> The duration of the prospecting phase might be long or short, dependent on specific circumstances both abroad and in the homeland. Phase 1 itself does not necessarily lead to the establishment of a colony; nor does phase 2. Phase 1 could result in the foundation of a small, more permanent settlement (Figs. 2 and 4) or to no foundation of an overseas settlement at all, as is the case in central Italy during the 8th and 7th centuries BC.

The archaeological method that can distinguish between the various phases of the colonisation process relies heavily on the publication of all the excavated features and finds, not just on a selection of finds related to the culture that gained somehow the upper hand eventually. Such selections also lead to teleological accounts, as was the case in the last century. To be examined fully, ancient Greek colonisation requires the combined expertise of classical archaeologists and pre- and proto-historians of the region involved. Some form of quantification is necessary and this can only succeed if all artefact types are considered. As mentioned before, a few Euboean/Greek sherds amongst thousands of local ones produce a different story from that of the sudden, simultaneous appearance of hundreds of imports in the 'middle of nowhere'. Archaeologists seldom have a problem in identifying phases 1 (Fig. 5) and 3 of the colonisation process, though they hardly ever excavate the moment of foundation itself. Early Euboean/Greek sherds of the whole 8th century BC are found in small quantities all over the western Mediterranean, while the Greek colonies themselves of the late 7th and 6th centuries BC are documented by excavations of such sites as Megara Hyblaea or Metapontum. The lack

<sup>58</sup> The use of tents and other temporary structures must have been common in phases 1 and 2. These structures might be difficult to locate and excavate. See, for example, the story of the Egyptian unfortunate, Wen-Amun, who, around 1075 BC, had to stay a while at Byblos where he pitched a tent on the shore (Aubet 2001, 356–62). The story of Wen-Amun is integrated into the textbooks of both Aubet (2001) and Wachsmann (1998).

of archaeological evidence for phase 2, the actual foundation of an overseas settlement, requires us to look to other periods of colonisation that are better documented and defined. Since we can characterise phases 1 and 3 in the archaeological record, somewhere in between there should be the actual foundation of a small overseas settlement. For these foundations we may as well use the majority of the years handed down to us by ancient literature and given in the table by Tsetskhladze and Hargrave.

Indigenous settlements in the vicinity of a Greek colony could be Hellenised, a phenomenon that should be separated somewhat from the colonisation process: Hellenisation is a cultural phenomenon and lacks the appropriation of resources that is one of the characteristics of colonisation. It can be studied from the perspective of indigenous groups because it is essentially based on selection. Trade and even imitation do not necessarily imply a colony, as is demonstrated by the archaeological record of Italy. A colony is the eventual outcome of a process that requires first a prospecting phase followed by a foundation, whether or not attested in literary sources.

Unfortunately this essay abounds in ethnic adjectives. Nonetheless, I recommend that these adjectives be used only once defined, especially for phases 1 and 2: a cemetery is not Greek unless it finds exact parallels only in mainland Greece itself; do not label a hut Euboean unless it is matched only by a structure on Euboea, etc. Much damage was done in the past by ethnic labelling or the description of features with a terminology that refers to the colonising party. Of course, if one prefers telology to history, as was customary during the past century, one can equate any Greek sherd with a Greek and any imitation with colonisation and Hellenisation, since that was apparently all we wanted to establish: how to conform as quickly as possible to a standard set of 'Greekishness'. These kinds of stories are, however, not very helpful in writing modern histories of mankind, of correspondences and cultural differences. Let us return to Odysseus' curiosity regarding other peoples when studying early Greek colonisation, to his sense of exploration and ingenuity.

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# COLONISATION IN SICILY AND NORTH AMERICA

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## Abstract

The validity of comparing colonial contexts is problematised by a failure to agree on appropriate theoretical models. However, a comparison of material constraints, social developments and native relations in the early colonial establishments of, for example, Greek Sicily and British North America reveals a number of empirical similarities and differences in the lived conditions within these (and presumably other) colonial settlements. Re-centring this debate allows assumptions about the secondary status of colonial narratives, histories and experiences which have sometimes guided scholarship to be reassessed

## Introduction to the Problem

In a post-colonial world, is it any wonder the study of colonisation is undergoing crisis? We should not be misled by questions of whether the Latin root ‘colon-’ is at the core of the problem,<sup>1</sup> or whether our characterisation of the process with ‘the humid vocabulary of swamping, drowning, melting, and absorption’ is to blame.<sup>2</sup> The bigger issue is that the subject itself is not singular and so we should not be reductive of the complexity and variety of either colonising or colonial experiences. It is increasingly recognised that there are many ‘colonisations’, and different periods offer various examples not just of when and where, but also of how and why this process began and unfolded.<sup>3</sup>

This realisation brings with it a dilemma. To the extent that these processes differ in nature among themselves, a comparative approach is thought not to offer insight into Greek colonisation. In particular, gaps between the technology, economy, religion and politics of pre-modern and modern colonial contexts cause particular difficulties to the comparison of settlement processes. However, to the extent that any of these processes can be modelled as similar, a comparative approach to colonisation suggests itself as a natural mode of analysis. Using better-documented and more well-understood contexts in an attempt to shed light on the notoriously murky

<sup>1</sup> Osborne 1998; Tsetskhladze 2006, xxv–xxviii; De Angelis 2009, 49–54.

<sup>2</sup> Purcell 2005, 124.

<sup>3</sup> Rogers (2005, 331) notes, ‘Although we may define the colony and its participants as an object of analysis, to the actors it was not a concrete thing. Instead, it was a series of overlapping perceptions and events with contradictory outcomes, each relevant as a separate theme of study.’ Cf. Wilson (2006, 28–30), who argues against even an ancient Greek conception of a ‘single’ ‘colonisation’; and Hall (2007, 92–118), who collapses distinctions between Greek colonial and other migratory processes.

period of Greek colonisation in the Archaic period would seem to have the advantage of filling in gaps, and *vice versa*.<sup>4</sup>

Thus, Tsatskheladze and Hargrave ask whether or not concepts from the study of ancient colonisation such as Hellenisation, Thalassocracy, *oikists*, or the work of the Copenhagen Polis Centre can tell us something about more recent colonisations. They suggest that there are a number of colonial contexts around the globe and through time about which these questions might be asked: Ulster plantations, Simonstown, the Maldives, Hong Kong, Gibraltar, India, South Africa, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, Kuwait, Shanghai, Tonga, Sierra Leone, Calcutta, Weiheiwei, Penang, Labuan, Sarawak, Malaysia, North Borneo, Papua New Guinea, Christmas Island, Samoa, the Patagonian Welsh and the Boer Republics. 'If one has a mind to it,' they state, 'it is possible to claim or deny colonisation in any number of contexts, ancient and modern, drawing out models and analogies to a point close to parody.' Surely this is true. However, among the bewildering number of possible analogies which could be made to illuminate the nature of Greek settlement, I note that one in particular offers underutilised potential: namely, the analogy of Greek settlement in Sicily with the British settlement of North America.

### Different Approaches

This was not always the case. In 1777, a lengthy but anonymous pamphlet entitled, 'A history of the colonisation of the free states of antiquity, applied to the present contest between Great Britain and her American colonies' was published in London, followed by a similarly lengthy rebuttal ('Remarks upon...') by John Symonds in the following year. These, however, were blatantly political arguments about whether the practice of ancient colonisation (Carthaginian and Roman as well as Greek) could be used to justify the British taxation of the American colonies. Unfortunately, while their arguments often found their way into later works on colonisation, 'the scholarly search for truth was not the guiding principle of these works'.<sup>5</sup>

A century later, in 1883, the English historian E.A. Freeman published an account of his visit to the United States. Drawing on his understanding of the

<sup>4</sup> Owen (2005, 11–12) points out that circularity will ensue if modern colonisation takes its cue from ancient, and then the latter is understood analogically via the former; on this 'recursivity', see Dietler 2005, 35–47. This is a dilemma inherent in constructing analogies in a comparative approach. Wylie (2002) presents a historiography of objections to analogy in archaeology and argues that employing proper criteria for its use prevents it from being categorically faulty or misleading. For recent investigations which favour comparativism, see Detienne 2008; Gosden 2004; Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002; Stein 2005; and Hurst and Owen 2005.

<sup>5</sup> Graham 1980, xvii–xviii. Graham attributes the first to William Barron; cf. also the positive review of Symonds in *Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle* 48 (1778), 419–20.

ancient world, he observed, or at least hoped for, a fundamentally analogous nature between British and Greek settlers:

The ideal after which I would fain strive would be for all members of the scattered English folk to feel at least as close a tie to one another as was felt of old by all the members of the scattered Hellenic folk... So the Englishman of Britain, of America, of Africa, of Australia, should be each to his distant brother as were the Greek of Massalia, the Greek of Kyrênê, and the Greek of Chersôn.<sup>6</sup>

But as British and Greeks were to be comparable, neither of their colonies were conceived by Freeman to be symmetrical with their founders,<sup>7</sup> as he relates himself in the 1886 lecture *Greater Greece and Greater Britain*: 'Syracuse may grow into a greater and mightier city than her parent; but that Corinth is the parent is a thought that never dies out from any Syracusan heart.'<sup>8</sup> In his monumental *The History of Sicily*, published subsequently in four volumes from 1891 to 1894, it is clear that he still thinks that British and Greek settlers are comparable; however, the comparison places secondary importance, with respect to their founders, on the settlements themselves:

The history of Sicily then, with all its greatness and its special interest, must still be set down as in some sort a secondary history... And if in later times we may say that North America has become the greatest home of the English folk, it is the greatest home only in the sense in which for a while Sicily contained the greatest power of Hellas.<sup>9</sup>

A similar attitude underlies the approach taken by T.J. Dunbabin, the Australian author of *The Western Greeks* half a century later (1948). Dunbabin took his cues for the Greek colonisation of Sicily from the British colonisation of Australia, yet also admitted that comparison while asserting that the cultural dependence of colony on motherland was 'the pride of most colonials',<sup>10</sup> a statement that has coloured the reception of his groundbreaking work in recent times.<sup>11</sup> That 'greatest powers', such as Greek Sicily or North America, should be the subject of 'secondary histories' characterised by essential relations of cultural dependence is problematic,<sup>12</sup> and

<sup>6</sup> Freeman 1883, 24–25.

<sup>7</sup> Shepherd 2005a.

<sup>8</sup> Freeman 1886, 30.

<sup>9</sup> Freeman 1891–94 I, 7–8.

<sup>10</sup> Dunbabin 1948, vii.

<sup>11</sup> De Angelis 1998; Shepherd 2005a; Snodgrass 2005, 56–57. Shortly thereafter, Woodhead opens his book on Greeks in the West with a quote from Baldwin about British colonisation that 'could as readily apply to Greek' (1962, 17).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Shepherd 2005a.

while we may excuse Freeman and Dunbabin the prejudices born of their own historical contexts, it seems *prima facie* that their position would not be held in the scholarship of a post-colonial world. Indeed, the relatively recent proceedings of the conference on 'Greek Colonists and Native Populations' held in Australia acknowledge the importance of Dunbabin and adopt his comparative perspective, but without the resulting value judgment.<sup>13</sup>

However, if anything, scholarship of our era can sometimes adopt a more pessimistic view of the possibility of meaningful comparison between Sicilian and North American colonial contexts, and the problem of imposing modern categories of analysis anachronistically on the ancient world has become a positive barrier to comparative analysis.<sup>14</sup> A. Gwynn separated Greek and modern colonisation on the basis of the former's initial singular, definite settlement and political independence and the latter's gradual settlement and political dependence, and his statement, 'The consequences of this fact on the later history of the Greek colonies were, of course, immense. Greek colonies never expanded in the sense in which modern colonies expanded'<sup>15</sup> seems to deny the validity of any future investigation. The typologies of M.I. Finley, C. Gosden and J. Osterhammel<sup>16</sup> suggest that a valid comparison would have little basis beyond the merely suggestive, since conditions of asymmetrical power, political dependency, economic exploitation and racial sensitivity obtaining in the modern and pre-modern worlds are fundamentally different.<sup>17</sup>

When global comparisons over-generalise and overstate the significance of colonialism as a basis for differentiating colonisations, they thereby leave little space for a comparison between ancient and modern settlement situations on any basis. N. Purcell argues that maintaining that ancient aggressive settlement was not colonial because it was relatively independent is a problem of historical focus, and that 'elevating one bit of the picture to talismanic status is unhelpful'.<sup>18</sup> Specialised studies, furthermore, seem to have shown no necessary link between colonies and the asymmetricality of colonialism: for example, G.J. Stein<sup>19</sup> has shown that colonies (Mesopotamian) can exist without colonialism while, conversely, A. Domínguez<sup>20</sup> has shown that colonialism (Greeks in Iberia) can exist without colonies. This leads

<sup>13</sup> Descœudres 1990, 2–3.

<sup>14</sup> Stein 2005, 26–27.

<sup>15</sup> Gwynn 1918, 100.

<sup>16</sup> Finley 1976; Gosden 2004; Osterhammel 1997.

<sup>17</sup> Malkin (1998, 16–20), who focuses on the different role of religion in structuring comparisons between American and Greek colonial encounters, is also for this reason pessimistic.

<sup>18</sup> Purcell 2005, 131.

<sup>19</sup> Stein 2002, 28–30.

<sup>20</sup> Domínguez 2002, 65–74.



S. Owen<sup>21</sup> to maintain that assuming colonialism to be a necessary part of our definition of colonisation is only a result of importing modern concerns into our study of the past. But to compensate for this by shifting the discussion away from colonialism and onto supposedly more neutral terms like hybridity, middle ground and cultural contact runs the risk both of being analytically tepid<sup>22</sup> and, more importantly, of being detrimental to indigenous and native histories by silencing any discourse of domination and exploitation.<sup>23</sup> A different reaction to this dilemma seems to have been to shift interest away from comparing colonial settlements and toward comparing imperial powers: Athenian and American,<sup>24</sup> Athenian and British,<sup>25</sup> Athenian and Persian<sup>26</sup> – rarely Persian and British, though Roman and British has been an acceptable comparison.<sup>27</sup> However, while it has been suggested that a continuum exists between imperial and colonial situations,<sup>28</sup> we should be wary of allowing the two to become conflated.

A. Pagden describes how, whereas the French and Spanish empires based their colonialism on a despotic Roman model, the British chose what they felt was a more liberal Greek-based model.<sup>29</sup> Still today, A.M. Snodgrass suggests that it is largely work in Britain and the Commonwealth that has been responsible for the analogy of ancient colonisation with British imperialism, although in other countries, like America ‘which had once seen British imperialism from the other side, the same influence was less obvious’.<sup>30</sup> In any event, it appears that two attitudes have prevailed, both of which are colonialist: one that suggests comparison is possible, so long as the Sicilian Greek and American colonials retain their secondary status, and another that suggests such a comparison is outright fallacious and seeks to avoid it. There is currently little sense that it could be fruitful, or even valid; still less that the early colonial worlds of both Sicily and North America had similar material conditions of settlement and then developed into important political and cultural entities, without qualification, independent of their place of first origin and with their own non-secondary identities.

<sup>21</sup> Owen 2005, 17.

<sup>22</sup> See Ilyeva 2010.

<sup>23</sup> Silliman 2005; Hingley 2010. *Cf.*, for example, recent explorations of colonial hybridity by Antonaccio 2003; colonial middle ground by Malkin 2002; and colonial culture contact by Carstens 2006.

<sup>24</sup> Connor 1984, 3–19.

<sup>25</sup> Harrison 2005.

<sup>26</sup> Root 1985.

<sup>27</sup> Vasunia 2005. *Cf.* the widely comparative approaches of Garnsey and Whittaker 1978; Alcock *et al.* 2001; Scheidel and Morris 2009.

<sup>28</sup> Ferro 1997, viii–ix, 1–23.

<sup>29</sup> Pagden 1995, 126.

<sup>30</sup> Snodgrass 2005, 45.

### Colonisation in Sicily and North America

Snodgrass notes, 'Scholarship allowed itself to be diverted from pursuing legitimate analogies in the appropriate early modern era of colonialism, to applying the unexamined assumptions of the much more recent, and wholly *inappropriate*, age of the British Empire.'<sup>31</sup> A.J. Graham's seminal *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece* had already argued for a division of Greek colonisation into two periods, that of the initial foundations and that of subsequent development.<sup>32</sup> Therefore, the first thing to do will be to put the comparison on a more appropriate footing by shifting our emphasis away from the period of the British High Empire and back to the period of colonial settlement itself, since, as Owen says, 'It can be legitimately argued that this early period of contacts forms a better analogy for Greek colonisation than does the heyday of the British Empire... Indeed, it is precisely this period of "first contact" that more successful anthropological and postcolonial approaches have adopted as a good referent.'<sup>33</sup> Superficial comparisons in this early period have already begun to be made, as when B. Bartel says 'The Greeks in Sicily or the Europeans in North America amount to organic extensions of settlement lifestyle in their homeland',<sup>34</sup> or when Snodgrass compares the known surface of the earth during these colonial expansions by noting, 'There is the same feeling of pushing back the frontiers of the unknown.'<sup>35</sup> In what follows, however, I attempt to give a preliminary comparison of some material, social and domestic conditions obtaining during foundations of Megara Hyblaea and the early American colonies of Jamestown and Plymouth, which were among the first permanent settlements to have survived.

Greek settlement in Sicily and British settlement in America both took place against a background of previous and poorly documented exploration. Greeks were making contact with Sicily in the Mycenaean period, perhaps 600–800 years before the period of Greek settlement starting in the 8th century BC. Similarly, Norse exploration of the North Atlantic, including as far as Newfoundland and perhaps even Maine, began as early as the 10th century AD and thus predates the first British settlements by approximately the same time span.<sup>36</sup> Closer in time, the rediscovery of

<sup>31</sup> Snodgrass 2005, 58.

<sup>32</sup> Graham 1980, 4.

<sup>33</sup> Owen 2005, 14.

<sup>34</sup> Bartel 2005, 25.

<sup>35</sup> Snodgrass 2005, 49.

<sup>36</sup> On Mycenaean trade with Sicily, see Ridgway 1992, 3–10; Albanese Procelli 1995; Vagnetti 1996; and Leighton 1999, 87–186. For early Norse contact with North America, see Morison 1971, 32–80; Quinn 1977, 20–40; Marcus 1981, 71–78; and Philips 1988, 164–80. Viking and Greek colonisation are explicitly compared by K. Randsborg, who bases his comparison on similarities in identifying the earliest phase of colonial settlements, along with other familiar factors like reasons for expansion and relations with the natives (Randsborg 2000, 180).

Newfoundland in 1497 foreshadows the subsequent colonial settlement of the early 1600s in the same way that proto-colonial contact with Italy and Sicily in the 10th and 9th centuries BC opened up the door to settlement in the 8th, and it is now increasingly clear that both of these early explorations may have left their mark on subsequent heroic legend.<sup>37</sup> There also seems to have been 'trade before the flag' during at least the preceding century in both cases.<sup>38</sup> However, by the time the first colonial settlements were planted, the journeys, while long, were understood and safe, and knowledge of the landscape, while still barely explored, had made sites for colonisation known in the homelands.

The motivations for Jamestown – sent under the private mercantile auspices of the Virginia Company – and Plymouth – religious dissent – are well understood. The motivations for Archaic Greek colonisation in Sicily, however, are certainly disputed and undoubtedly numerous.<sup>39</sup> While overpopulation is proving to be a less substantiated thesis,<sup>40</sup> arguments for Jamestown-like commercial motivations, which have been successful since A. Blakeway's seminal article,<sup>41</sup> continue to gather strength as evidence grows for early exports of agricultural surplus from Sicily.<sup>42</sup> Similarly, the socio-religious unrest motivating the Plymouth colonists<sup>43</sup> seems to find an analogue in the way I. Malkin describes Greek colonisation functioning to defuse social unrest, *stenochoria* and *stasis* in the mother cities.<sup>44</sup> While little is known of mainland Megara in the time of its foundation of Megara Hyblaea, it has been suggested that what might be thought of as different districts surrounding its unusually shaped *agora* reflect social divisions imported from the five *kōmai* of the original colonists,<sup>45</sup> perhaps similar to the tense social divisions among the differently motivated groups of 'Pilgrims', 'Strangers' and 'Particulars' who arrived at Plymouth.<sup>46</sup>

Regardless of original motivation, however, the selection of settlement sites at both Plymouth and Jamestown seems to have been driven by the need for safe

<sup>37</sup> See Malkin 1998 and Dougherty 2001 on the use of Greek mythology to mediate colonial encounters and then, after a period of a few centuries, to rationalise them (Dougherty 1993). On the textualisation of Norse settlement in *Eirik's Saga* and the *Greenlander's Saga*, cf. Philips 1988, 170–71; Quinn 1977, 22–31; and Marcus 1981, 55–62.

<sup>38</sup> See Blakeway 1932–33 on Greek proto-colonial contact with Italy and Sicily; cf. Morison (1971, 303–09) on Verrazano's initial trading encounters with the Massachusetts Wampanoag and the Maine Abnaki in 1524.

<sup>39</sup> Boardman 1980, 162–64.

<sup>40</sup> De Angelis 1994.

<sup>41</sup> Blakeway 1932–33.

<sup>42</sup> For example De Angelis 2002.

<sup>43</sup> Taylor 2001, 166–70.

<sup>44</sup> Malkin 1994.

<sup>45</sup> See De Angelis 2003, 47–49.

<sup>46</sup> Demos 1970, 6–7.

anchorage and access to the sea, defensibility, fresh water supply and nearby agricultural land. Greek colonisation in Sicily followed a similar pattern in the selection of coastal sites with access to natural harbours, fresh water supplies and an agricultural *chora*.<sup>47</sup> The Virginia Company was given explicit instructions to choose a site that offered a strong defensive position against England's colonial Spanish rivals;<sup>48</sup> similarly, it may be that Megara's political and commercial rivalry with Corinth explains why the first arrivals from Megara in Sicily were expelled from the Thapsos peninsula by Syracuse (Thucydides 6. 4. 1).<sup>49</sup> In any event, urban development took place, given the coastal plain, on fortifiable peninsulae where possible, and early settlements tended to cover the same range of areas: the 6th-century wall of Megara Hyblaea encloses 61 ha, falling between the size of Jamestown at 24 ha and the size of Plymouth in 1624 at as much as 129 ha.<sup>50</sup> It may sound banal to say that overseas settlers choose to settle in coastal regions with cultivable hinterlands and natural harbours giving access to the sea, but it is in fact the intuitive selection of similar natural resource bases that provides similar developmental opportunities and challenges.

The settlers needed places to live, construction of which was limited by the human and natural resources available to the settlement. Eighth-century BC houses at Megara Hyblaea are relatively uniform in size, design, and construction technique with little indication of social difference in their layout over the course of the first one or two generations.<sup>51</sup> The 7th century, however, shows a relative increase of 300% in domestic housing numbers over the 8th century, including a divergence in sizes of up to 200–400%.<sup>52</sup> Whereas houses in early Jamestown are thought to have been rather rude and ramshackle,<sup>53</sup> houses in Plymouth colony grew initially from small, impermanent one-room shelters to, within a generation, more permanent dwellings of which we have extant examples.<sup>54</sup> One account at Plymouth from 1623 describes a sight of 'about twenty houses, four or five of which are very fair and pleasant', another from 1624 says 32, neither of which estimates are far from the 14 houses found in the excavated area of first-generation

<sup>47</sup> Boardman 1980, 162; cf. Martin 1973.

<sup>48</sup> Bridenbaugh 1980, 128.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. De Angelis 2003, 13.

<sup>50</sup> For Megara Hyblaea, see De Angelis 2003, 33; for Plymouth, see the account of John Smith in Deetz and Deetz 2000a, 72; and for the original Jamestown, whose limits are difficult to establish via excavation due to a lack of any contemporary map, Cotter, the excavator, offers different estimates: 8 ha (1958, 2) and 24 ha (1957, 11); the New Town, however, grew to over 40 ha.

<sup>51</sup> Cordsen 1995; Fusaro 1982, 16.

<sup>52</sup> De Angelis 2003, 50–52.

<sup>53</sup> Bridenbaugh 1980, 132–33.

<sup>54</sup> Demos 1970, 24–36; Deetz and Deetz 2000a, 171–210.

Megara Hyblaea,<sup>55</sup> three of which were found in association with grain silos perhaps indicating increased social status (or at least economic aspirations).<sup>56</sup> The size of these first permanent houses, oriented around a single room of 4.5–6 m per side,<sup>57</sup> seems comparable to the typical 8th-century Sicilian housing structure of single-roomed dwellings with an area of 15–20 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>58</sup> This perhaps indicates the restrictions involved in treating timber beams with hand tools in both cases. Similarly, as houses at Megara Hyblaea develop gradually through the addition of rooms, porches and patios,<sup>59</sup> so in Plymouth the initial structures grow in size and kind by the division of the main room into two, soon becoming two rooms in plan, followed by the addition of second stories and ‘lean-tos’ along the rear outside wall for cooking, storage or sleeping.<sup>60</sup>

It is worthwhile to note that those embarking on an overseas journey to found some of the first permanent settlements in a new land are made by groups of approximately the same size and nature. In 1620, the founders of Plymouth colony had been consolidated onto one ship and numbered 102, including families. Thirteen years earlier, three ships of vastly different sizes and purposes made land at Jamestown in 1607 carrying 104 people, all men. These numbers of colonial founders at Jamestown and Plymouth are very close to what is attested in historical sources for Greece: Herodotus (4. 153) says that two penteconters (i.e. 200 people) were sent to colonise Cyrene; Stephanus of Byzantium (*s.v.* Apollonia) that 200 people settled Apollonia in Illyria. These literary traditions for the number and composition of the settlers making up archaic Greek colonial expeditions into Sicily, however, have been highly debated. F. De Angelis notes that there are two or three instances of 1000-person foundations, and so suggests a different methodology for Megara Hyblaea, where the settlement archaeology, on the other hand, is relatively well understood.<sup>61</sup> Instead, therefore, he extrapolates population from the known 8th-century house foundations and a putative household size to suggest that by 700 BC there were 225 people in Megara Hyblaea; working backwards with a standard demographic model puts the initial founding population at 112–225, or 56–112 if only males came and native wives were taken. His assumption, based on family sizes in the Greek homeland, is of two people per household in the

<sup>55</sup> De Angelis 2003, 21.

<sup>56</sup> See De Angelis 2002.

<sup>57</sup> Demos 1970, 30; Deetz and Deetz 2000a, 226.

<sup>58</sup> Fusaro 1982, 16.

<sup>59</sup> De Angelis 2003, figs. 7–18.

<sup>60</sup> Demos 1970, 24–36. Though here there is an interesting divergence, as Greek houses in Archaic Sicily do not seem to use second stories (De Angelis 2003, 20).

<sup>61</sup> De Angelis 2003, 49.

first generation and four for subsequent ones, allowing for the growth of nuclear families.<sup>62</sup> These need not be far from plausible in other comparative contexts: a 1689 census taken in the town of Bristol shows that households of four to six people made up almost half of the total population, and this estimate may be towards the high side.<sup>63</sup>

Over time, these colonies grew, in spite of the tendency for colonial populations to have high sex ratios and low mean reproductive success,<sup>64</sup> not to mention threats from disease, hunger, weather and native populations. Jamestown started with 104 people in 1607, but only 38 were alive nine months later. Through repeated near-disastrous struggles, this population was intentionally recharged due to the interests of the Virginia Company, which brought 10,000 colonists to Jamestown in the next 15 years, although only 20% of them were still alive in 1622.<sup>65</sup> By 1657 five out of every six immigrants – over 10,000 people – had died from sickness, and still in 1663 only 20% were managing to survive their first year.<sup>66</sup> In 1620, nevertheless, there were 2400 people living in Virginia<sup>67</sup> – a remarkable increase, especially considering the mortality rates and the severity of the tribulations suffered by the first generations of settlers there.<sup>68</sup> Similarly, Plymouth was founded with 102 people in 1620, but by the end of the first year 14 of the 19 women, 9 of the 33 children and over half of the 50 adult men were dead.<sup>69</sup> However, while John Smith recorded still only 180 people living there in 1624, Plymouth did grow to approximately 2000 people by 1643.<sup>70</sup> The population of Megara Hyblaea (calculated by settlement density) could have risen from a founding nucleus of 56–112 in 728 BC to 225–450 by the year 700 BC and, on this model, by 600 BC it would have reached about 2075.<sup>71</sup> The annual rates of increase at Megara Hyblaea over its first few generations thus fall comfortably within the 2–3% range considered to be true for early demographic growth in colonial North America,<sup>72</sup> and in each case a small *polis*-sized community of a few thousand inhabitants results within a few generations. The scale of immigration necessary to counteract the grim mortality rate in

<sup>62</sup> De Angelis 2003, 41.

<sup>63</sup> Demos 1970, 64.

<sup>64</sup> Scheidel 2003, 133, n. 72.

<sup>65</sup> Taylor 2001, 130.

<sup>66</sup> Bridenbaugh 1980, 47.

<sup>67</sup> McEvedy and Jones 1978, 286.

<sup>68</sup> Precise population counts for early colonial Jamestown are hard to establish, due to disagreement among various classes of primary documents. For these, see Greene and Harrington 1932, 134–55.

<sup>69</sup> Deetz and Deetz 2000a, 36–37.

<sup>70</sup> Deetz and Deetz 2000b.

<sup>71</sup> De Angelis 2003, 44.

<sup>72</sup> Scheidel 2003, 127–31.

the British colonies of North America, with their more modern medicine and technology, are suggestive for our understanding of the Greek colonial context.

No modern investigation into colonial settlements can ignore encounters with native peoples. A first point of comparison, then – the chauvinism of earlier scholarship towards native peoples and their exclusion from earlier histories – tells us more about early modern prejudice than the native peoples encountered in colonial contexts and so may be dispensed with here. On the contrary, both in North America and in Sicily, arriving settlers reached a land inhabited by complex indigenous societies, although earliest encounters are often scantily documented and thus heavily embellished in later times.<sup>73</sup> However, both literary traditions and archaeological investigation attest to Greek settlers and native peoples engaged in a variety of contact experiences, from peaceful cohabitation to outright expulsion.<sup>74</sup> Native contributions to colonial society are increasingly recognised: J.L. Cotter notes that the Jamestown settlers adapted native aspects of warfare, housing, clothing, agriculture and drugs,<sup>75</sup> and De Angelis notes influences on Greek Sicily by native town planning, religious ritual, tyranny and agriculture.<sup>76</sup> Yet it is also clear that the Greeks at least used a variety of strategies including myth,<sup>77</sup> monument<sup>78</sup> and performance<sup>79</sup> in a less reciprocal manner, to justify something like their ‘manifest destiny’ in becoming the island’s most recent and successful immigrant group.

With respect to the settlement of Megara Hyblaea, Thucydides (6. 4) describes how, under their *oikist* Lamis, the colonising Megarians were invited first to settle with the Leontinians, but then were driven out and attempted to settle Thapsos. They were in turn driven out of there (probably by Syracuse) and, finally, were invited by Hyblon, king of the local Sicels, to settle at the site of the later Greek city, where archaeology has shown no previous habitation.<sup>80</sup> Given the status of the ‘native gift of land’ trope in Greek colonisation narratives<sup>81</sup> and the late and limited source, we might find little of value in the Hyblon narrative. On the other hand, relations between Jamestown and local chiefs like Powhatan and Opechancanough were rather violent; thus the participation of Pocahontas in the ‘salvation’ of John Smith from ‘execution’ provides only a partial parallel for

<sup>73</sup> On native people in Sicily, see Sjöqvist 1973; Descœudres 1990; Leighton 1999; and now De Angelis 2004; Hodos 2006. On Native Americans, see Merrell 1989; and now Taylor 2001.

<sup>74</sup> De Angelis 2004, 29–31.

<sup>75</sup> Cotter 1958, 163.

<sup>76</sup> De Angelis 2004, 32–42.

<sup>77</sup> Dougherty 1993.

<sup>78</sup> Pace Marconi 2007.

<sup>79</sup> Willi 2009.

<sup>80</sup> De Angelis 2003, 13–14.

<sup>81</sup> For example Calame 2003, 43–50.



Hyblon's gift of the site of Megara Hyblaea.<sup>82</sup> However, the history of settlement at Plymouth provides a remarkably parallel narrative. The Mayflower originally landed in Provincetown harbour in November, and set about exploring the region. After the 'first encounter' with the native peoples ended in bloodshed, the ship was moved to Plymouth harbour the following month and the decision was made to inhabit Patuxet, a native village site already deforested and so apt for agriculture, and emptied of inhabitants due to pestilence. They had arrived in winter, though, and by the following summer nearly half were dead. As the survivors finally turned their thoughts to planting, they were met by the native Samoset, who arranged a meeting with the English-speaking Squanto and the local chief Massasoit. Together they celebrated a harvest festival later that year that has (mistakenly) come to be known as Thanksgiving, a myth of native-settler co-operation in the foundation of a new colony not unlike the tale of Hyblon's aid to the Megarians.<sup>83</sup>

The question of whether or not the colonists brought wives from home or looked to the native populations to supply them is complicated and 'defies generalisation',<sup>84</sup> and there are supporters<sup>85</sup> and critics<sup>86</sup> of the notion that this could have been the standard practice. There is some decent historical evidence, particularly for intermarriage between Megara Hyblaea's daughter colony Selinus and the Elymian natives of Segesta bordering them to the north.<sup>87</sup> Evidence of intermarriage in the material record, however, is more difficult to assess. R. Leighton suggests the presence of Greek pottery at native sites near Megara Hyblaea is a sign of forging ties, perhaps through intermarriage.<sup>88</sup> The presence at Megara Hyblaea itself of six burials between 675 and 500 BC that display corpses in the *rannicchiata* position typical of native burials, as well as others that display decapitation, another native practice, particularly when found amid multiple burials, yet another native practice, strongly suggests some type of mixture in the population.<sup>89</sup> In North America, we have seen that Jamestown was founded entirely by men, and

<sup>82</sup> According to Taylor (2001, 132), this episode was probably more likely a misunderstood ritual subjugating Smith's people and making them tributary (not unlike the Athenian 'gift' of earth and water to the Persians).

<sup>83</sup> One further element stands for comparison in both narratives, namely the violent betrayal of native allies during 'Standish's raid' in Wessagussett in 1622 and the Megarian attack on the native cohabitants of the Greek settlers at Leontini (at the latter's behest, since they were bound by oaths not to do so themselves).

<sup>84</sup> Scheidel 2003, 133.

<sup>85</sup> For example Van Compernelle 1983; Gallo 1983.

<sup>86</sup> For example Shepherd 1999; 2005b.

<sup>87</sup> Gallo 1997.

<sup>88</sup> Leighton 1999, 238.

<sup>89</sup> De Angelis 2003, 49–53.

although the English found the prospect of intermarriage with Native Americans generally abhorrent,<sup>90</sup> at least one, Pocahontas herself, was married to an English settler, John Rolfe in 1614.<sup>91</sup> The settlers of Plymouth, on the other hand, arrived in whatever family configuration they happened to have, though they came across surprising evidence that predecessors may have taken a different approach in the form of an earlier grave that contained the remains of both an adult European male and a Native American child covered in red ochre (a Native American practice) and buried together.<sup>92</sup> Furthermore, it has been noted that attitudes towards Greek colonial intermarriage have often been tempered more by analogy with a High Imperial concern with race than was present in the early colonial period itself.<sup>93</sup> Thus, G. Shepherd may be right to insist that we should avoid insisting on any one model for intermarriage,<sup>94</sup> especially since one of the major insights made into American migratory patterns in the 18th century is precisely that there are more than one: single men and indentured servants from the London area immigrated to the more metropolitan mid-Atlantic states, while families headed towards the more provincial regions of New York and Pennsylvania as gateways to settlement of the interior.<sup>95</sup>

Fascinating and potentially useful similarities reveal themselves almost as fast as the comparisons are made. Sicily and British settlements in North America grew into world powers in just a few short generations, impelled along by the subsequent accelerated innovation of the Archaic period and the Industrial Revolution, respectively. Further exploration of similarities might include: the development and trade of natural resources; the role religious communities play in reciprocally shaping the identities of colony and motherland; the relationship between urbanisation, social complexity and internal or secondary colonisation; the function of internal and external military conflicts in shaping the distribution of geopolitical power; the economic and social effects of slavery; and the development of colonial artistic styles and other forms of cultural expression. In both cases, later waves of internal and secondary settlement are directed toward the acquisition of territory and the exploitation of resources in the face of competing powers – the Spanish and the Punic, operating under different settlement ideologies from their British and Greek rivals<sup>96</sup> – who started with their own contemporary foothold on the western edge

<sup>90</sup> Pagden 1995, 150.

<sup>91</sup> Taylor 2001, 133.

<sup>92</sup> Deetz and Deetz 2000a, 46–48.

<sup>93</sup> Shepherd 2005a; Snodgrass 2005.

<sup>94</sup> Shepherd 1999, 297.

<sup>95</sup> Bailyn 1985, 12–15.

<sup>96</sup> Pagden 1995, 126–55; Crielaard 1992–93, 235–49.

of the contested land mass. We should be careful not to abandon the investigation of these similarities just because other aspects of the comparison may reveal equally fascinating and useful differences.

### Conclusions

As we have seen, scholarship on the cultural practices of the Greek colonists of Sicily regularly demotes them to an inferior status *vis-à-vis* their mainland counterparts. No matter whether centuries had passed since the time of their foundation, or whether the colonies themselves in that time had outstripped the mainland in population or wealth, nevertheless the assumption has seemed to be that colonial peoples are essentially imbued with a desire to imitate, emulate and rival their homeland, a principle Dunbabin made explicit when he claimed that the cultural dependence of colony on mother city was 'the pride of most colonials.' True enough, we might imagine, of colonies which were initially set up as dependencies and had not undergone armed revolution or other decolonising processes which separated them from their founders enough to impel the genesis of independent political and cultural identities. But in cases where the initial settlements were or became independent of their mother cities, at least, identity formation may have taken a different path, wherein colonial cultures ought not to be seen as fundamentally circumscribed by or subordinate to the status or influence of their founding empires, 'failing to mimic'<sup>97</sup> cultures of the founding communities. Just as it would be strange, from the perspective of modern Americans, to be told that much of what is happening in their country in terms of art, literature, burial or cultural response to conflict or victory should have anything to do with their insecure pride at being British colonials, so too, some aspects of Sicilian Greek culture may deserve reinterpretation outside of a context oriented towards the mainland and supported by a colonial heuristic.

Scholars are already starting to work in this direction. Burial forms and patterns of religious expression have been reinterpreted to be less dependent on founding cities and more expressive of new colonial identities.<sup>98</sup> The deep bias in scholarship against both the technical innovations and aesthetic style of Western Greek architectural techniques and embellishments is beginning to be overturned.<sup>99</sup> Art and sculpture are now being seen as products of vibrant, local and independent traditions rather than just poorly executed peripheral reflections of superior mainland traditions that constitute the core of Greek art.<sup>100</sup> Most important, perhaps, given

<sup>97</sup> Osborne 1998, 264.

<sup>98</sup> Shepherd 1995; 2000; 2005b; Jackman 2005.

<sup>99</sup> Shepherd 2005a, 36–42.

<sup>100</sup> Rolley 1996.

the importance of barbarian conflict to ethnic identities in the Aegean,<sup>101</sup> is renewed interest in establishing independent cultural and ethnic identities of the Sicilian Greeks, whose victory over the Carthaginians at the Battle of Himera in 480 BC was regularly set beside the mainland Greek victory over the Persians in contemporary and subsequent Greek sources. Nevertheless, a standard handbook of Greek epigraphy says of the victory tripod dedicated by Gelon to Delphi 'in the event, even if not in the intention, it formed a pendant to the golden tripod dedicated by the Spartans... and asserted that his victory over Carthage was as important to Apollo and to Greece as that victory' (*GHI* 28). R. Krumeich now argues convincingly that there is no reason to assume, from the evidence we have, that the Deinomenid dedications at Delphi were secondary to those of the mainland allies<sup>102</sup> – in fact, they could just as easily have preceded them, making claims of dependency and emulation sound hollow at best. Recent work has finally started to interpret the aftermath of the Deinomenid-led victory over the Carthaginians as a successful expression of Greek identity on its own terms,<sup>103</sup> suggesting that Western Greek affairs prefigure or perhaps even inaugurate the dynamics of oppositional Greek ethnic identity more familiar from Aegean Greece. No longer should we see them as primary in or unique to the more well-documented region of Aegean Greece, as is sometimes claimed,<sup>104</sup> or demoted to mere propaganda,<sup>105</sup> while the response on the Greek mainland to the same act of barbarian invasion becomes an expression of true Greek ethnic identity.

Purcell thus offers a new maxim: 'Avoid colonial discourse if you can't resist identifying with the coloniser! But as important, in many ways, is speaking of these processes without adopting the equally glamorised pose of the denouncer of colonial oppression.'<sup>106</sup> I am not unaware of the arguments that should be marshalled in objection to my suggestion that the colonisations of Sicily and North America are partially analogous, for differences do exist: Greek colonies were generally not founded by governments but by individuals acting together; the resulting polities were autonomous from the start, rather than being controlled by their mother cities; economics and religion (among other things) tend to operate in different ways in the modern world. Snodgrass,<sup>107</sup> in an analysis of the Ulster plantations from the standpoint of Greek colonisation, meets these objections by simply setting aside the

<sup>101</sup> For example Hall 1997.

<sup>102</sup> Krumeich 1990.

<sup>103</sup> Smith 2003; Harrell 1998; Luraghi 1994, 273–374.

<sup>104</sup> Holscher 1998, 167.

<sup>105</sup> Asheri 1991–92, 57.

<sup>106</sup> Purcell 2005, 135.

<sup>107</sup> Snodgrass 2005, 54.

differences (being driven by the policies of a centralised nation-state, the intention to politically suborn the settlers of the colonies, and the active and problematic role played by religion) because the similarities in settlement development are too interesting to ignore. In the case of North America as well, then, we have a situation in which differences of theoretical scale, organisation and context can coexist with instructive – or at least suggestive – empirical similarities in material constraint, native interactions and social development. But rather than singling out the colonisations of North America and Sicily as exceptional, comparing the two begins to illuminate how and why forms of colonialism and colonisation extend ubiquitously throughout human societies. Paradoxically, it may be our models, which by definition are different from one another, that are getting in the way of making progress in this regard more than any inappropriateness of comparing empirical reconstructions of the similar lived conditions within colonial experiences. In the end, the unfruitfulness or disparity of some aspects of comparison should not dissuade us from venturing that other aspects can be useful or induce us to assume that the entire comparative approach is doomed to failure. In other words, as Tsjetskhladze and Hargrave suggest, we should avoid throwing out the baby with the bathwater.

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## COLONISATION, ANCIENT AND MODERN: A FEW WORDS ABOUT EMPIRE

JOHN DARWIN

### Abstract

Problems of terminology and definition have exercised many scholars of modern imperialism. Here I offer some thoughts on these, on modern 'industrial' empires, and on 'traditional' empires in the modern era.

Most historians of modern imperialisms and colonisations would, I suspect, be exceptionally cautious about venturing opinions on those of antiquity. The present writer is no exception. But it is worth remarking (as do Tsetskhladze and Hargrave) that the fashion for making comparisons mainly to comment on the more modern versions of empire has all but disappeared. Perhaps this is a pity for reasons I suggest below.

But perhaps the main response of a modernist to the issues discussed by Tsetskhladze and Hargrave is a weary sense of how familiar it all sounds. Historians of modern imperialisms and (even more industriously) scholars of international relations have toiled unceasingly in the salt mines of definition. They have struggled to find agreed criteria for almost every aspect of 'colonisation' – not least the word itself. The meaning of 'empire', 'informal empire', 'colony', 'imperialism', 'cultural imperialism', 'hegemony', 'protectorate' and numerous cognate expressions – like 'settler' or 'tribe' or 'frontier' – have been the subject of almost continual debate. This has not been entirely unproductive since left on the battlefield has sometimes been a useful deposit of new information about a region or activity previously condemned to obscurity. But it is far from clear overall that the wordy disputes over the precise meaning of 'informal empire', or the 'imperialism of free trade' – let alone the efforts to define the big target – 'empire' – have really added much to our understanding of these phenomena. On the contrary, in my view (expanded below) they have more often helped to narrow, and obfuscate, the study of the history of empire. The one grand exception is the enormous conceptual leap forward achieved by J. Gallagher and R. Robinson in their justly famous essay 'The Imperialism of Free Trade' (*Economic History Review* n.s. 6.1 [1953], 1–15). Here they demonstrated with the most telling force that what they called 'collaboration' was the essential feature of all imperial systems, and its constant

adjustment and negotiation the real substance of imperial history. It seems astonishing that two recent large books on empire, bearing the most flattering endorsements, ignore (totally in one case, partially in another) this fundamental organising principle of imperial expansion.<sup>1</sup>

The general effect of the definitional literature has been (perhaps unavoidably) perverse. The implicit assumption behind the attempt to define empire more and more precisely has been its exoticism and unnaturalness. 'Empire' in the eyes of so many of its modern historians was a monstrous growth that obstructed the future – a future found of course in the 'world of nations' and the universal norm of the sovereign nation state. It is here, possibly, that they might benefit from exposure to the work of their ancient colleagues. For a few moments thought would remind them that in fact 'empire' has been the default mode of political organisation above the level of tribe or city state for as far back as we can see. It is the universal 'nation-state' that is a bizarre and 'unnatural' addition to our political repertoire: the time-bound product of a recent and fragile geopolitical conjuncture. In any long view of world or global history, empires are among the key building blocks: without them we can make little sense of our past. Indeed, it may be most helpful to see global history as largely configured by the tension between the movements of people, goods, faiths and ideas, and the efforts of empires to exploit and control them.

The obvious riposte is to ask: but what is meant here by 'empire'? Is it rule or control? Is it where rulers are 'foreign'? – one recent and (to the modern historian) unhelpful formulation (were the Thirteen Colonies and their mainly British inhabitants not part of Britain's empire?). Much the best answer, in my view at least, is to dismiss the assumption that 'empire' is a strange and unusual state-form. It should be seen instead as a generic political model of exceptional ubiquity, to be seen wherever influence or authority transcended ethnic, geographical or environmental boundaries. We might want to add that empire usually implies the more or less systematic organisation of people and places in some form of hierarchy designed to serve the (perceived) interests of its most powerful element(s). But there seems no need to go beyond this initial outline – until, that is, we need to say more about *what kind* of empire it is. And it seems wise to assume (against those historians and others who feel obliged to assert that they think empires are evil – a depressing genuflection to unseen commissars), that empires will spring up – unless forcefully inhibited – wherever the mal-distribution of state-building resources allows them to grow.

<sup>1</sup> T.H. Parsons, *The Rule of Empires: Those who built them, those who endured them, and why they always fall* (Oxford 2010); J. Burbank and F. Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and Politics of Difference* (Princeton/Oxford 2010).

The real challenge, as Tsetskhladze and Hargrave suggest, is to find common ground between ancient and modern, and in particular between agrarian empires of limited size and reach and more recent 'world' empires of global extent and industrial technique. But before we rush to conclude that these are chalk and cheese, and that no purpose is served by attempting comparison, it is important to remember two things. First, in the modern period (after 1800), 'industrial' empires coexisted with 'traditional' or 'agrarian' empires, sometimes because they had failed to subdue them. 'Ancient' and 'modern' techniques of imperialism could be found side by side, sometimes in harness, sometimes at odds. Secondly, the most 'modern' of empires usually had at their heart powerful 'pre-modern' elements (at least by Weberian criteria). Deciding how influential these pre-modern elements were has been a nagging concern since Schumpeter's great counterblast to Lenin's *Imperialism* was first published in 1919. So whatever the risks of conceptual confusion (which are much overdone) modern historians of empire would certainly profit from some ancient 'light' and perhaps *vice versa*.

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# A CLAY MODEL OF A HOUSE FROM COLCHIS

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## Abstract

During excavation of the Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age Naokhvamu settlement a clay model of an old Colchian house was discovered. We believe that this represents a kind of hitherto unknown wooden construction from Colchis dating to *ca.* the 14th–10th centuries BC.

In 1933–40, during archaeological excavations in the village of Kvalony in the Colchian lowlands, an artificial hill, Naokhvamu, was investigated. Three cultural levels of the Late Bronze–Early Iron Age, approximately 15th–8th/7th centuries BC, were identified and numerous artefacts unearthed.

In 1940, together with other archaeological material, one very particular object was found: the fragmented grey clay model of a Colchian house (Figs. 1–6). This is not mentioned in the literature about Naokhvamu.<sup>1</sup> Its existence became known to us only recently – while studying the material of Bronze–Early Iron Age sites from western Georgia included in the Samtavro–Trialeti collection of the National Museum of Georgia. One wall of this object (thickness: 2.7–3 cm; height: 11.5 cm), its lower support (thickness: 3 cm) and the floor and stumps (or buttress bases) have survived. There are three buttresses, set vertically on the surface of the wall at a distance of 8–10 cm from one another and joined to the stumps. Between the buttresses about 15 thinner stakes are set equidistant. The back part of the model is broken, though it seems to have had the same pattern of buttresses and stakes, well-demonstrated in the farther part of the rear side-wall of the object. The model appears to have been closed on three sides with the front open. The model should have a two-winged pitched roof. The preserved wall is noticeably inclined, tapering towards the top. The clay model leans upon four buttresses 6–8 cm distant from one another (length: 5 cm; diameter: 1.5 cm) that begin approximately at the foot of the wall. It may be supposed that this model had eight stumps/buttress-bases. Between them, on the front and rear, there are four or five parallel horizontal relief strips, which should also have been present on the two other sides. We presume that they were meant to bind together and strengthen the lower supporting part of the building.

The floor of the model is rough and uneven. The arch-shaped forward part is elevated and inclined to the middle part. Its lower part is well-treated and flat. The height of the model is 14 cm and length 21.5 cm; its width is not fully preserved. It has rounded corners.

The model from Naokhvamu may represent one type of wood-and-plaster building spread across lowland Colchis in the Late Bronze–Early Iron Age. It is unlikely that this type of house is connected with the Colchian log-dwelling described later by the Roman architect Vitruvius (2. 1. 4). Using Vitruvius, many scholars have tried to reconstruct the Colchian log-dwelling to compare it with other wooden constructions known in Georgia and the wider world and thereby determine its area of distribution, etc.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nioradze 1941; Kuftin 1950, 161–238.

<sup>2</sup> Lezhava 1971; Kipiani and Amashukeli 1995; Sumbadze 1960; Gagoshidze 1974.



Fig. 1: Clay model of a house from Naokhvamu.



Fig. 2: Clay model of a house from Naokhvamu.



Fig. 3: Clay model of a house from Naokhvamu.



Fig. 4: Clay model of a house from Naokhvamu.





Fig. 5: Clay model of a house from Naokhvamu.

Some details of the model from Naokhvamu, for example its layout and roof construction, have close parallels with Colchian wattle-and-daub buildings used for habitation and agricultural purposes and still known in various parts of western Georgia today (Imereti, Samegrelo, Abkhazia) (Fig. 7).<sup>3</sup> But we have our doubts that the model represents exactly either wattle-and-daub or log construction: its walls lack the imprint of the former and the fastenings of the latter. What we have instead is a different kind of wooden architecture.

Archaeological investigation in lowland Colchis has yielded not just vertically set stumps but the remains of log and wattle-and-daub buildings.<sup>4</sup> There are also quadrangular, square and rectangular log buildings,<sup>5</sup> round wooden buildings with double walls, and octagonal and nine-roomed constructions. It is reasonable to suppose that the house described by Vitruvius was not the only model, and that buildings of diverse types and functions might have existed.<sup>6</sup>

Worth attention are later (5th–4th-century BC) quadrangular wooden buildings set on a stone foundation, all known examples coming from inland Colchis. These are found in the village of Mtisdziri, in Kutaisi at Datishidze hill, on the terrace of Vani city-site and in

<sup>3</sup> Adamia 1969.

<sup>4</sup> Mikeladze 1990, 19; Jibladze 2007, 35–39.

<sup>5</sup> Apakidze 1995, 185; Jibladze 2007, 37.

<sup>6</sup> Apakidze 1995, 185; Kipiani and Amashukeli 1995, 17.

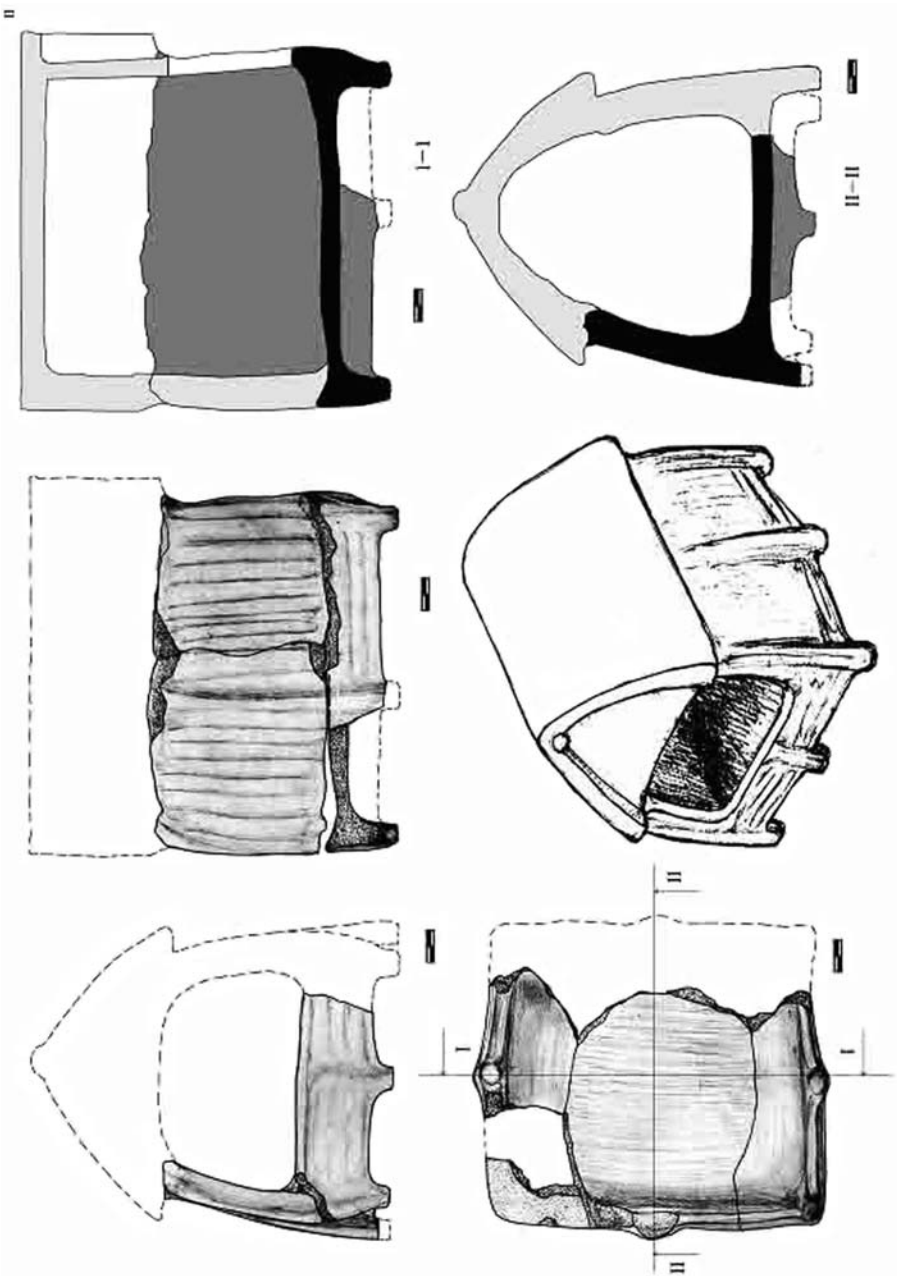


Fig. 6: Reconstruction of the clay model of a house from Naokhvamu.

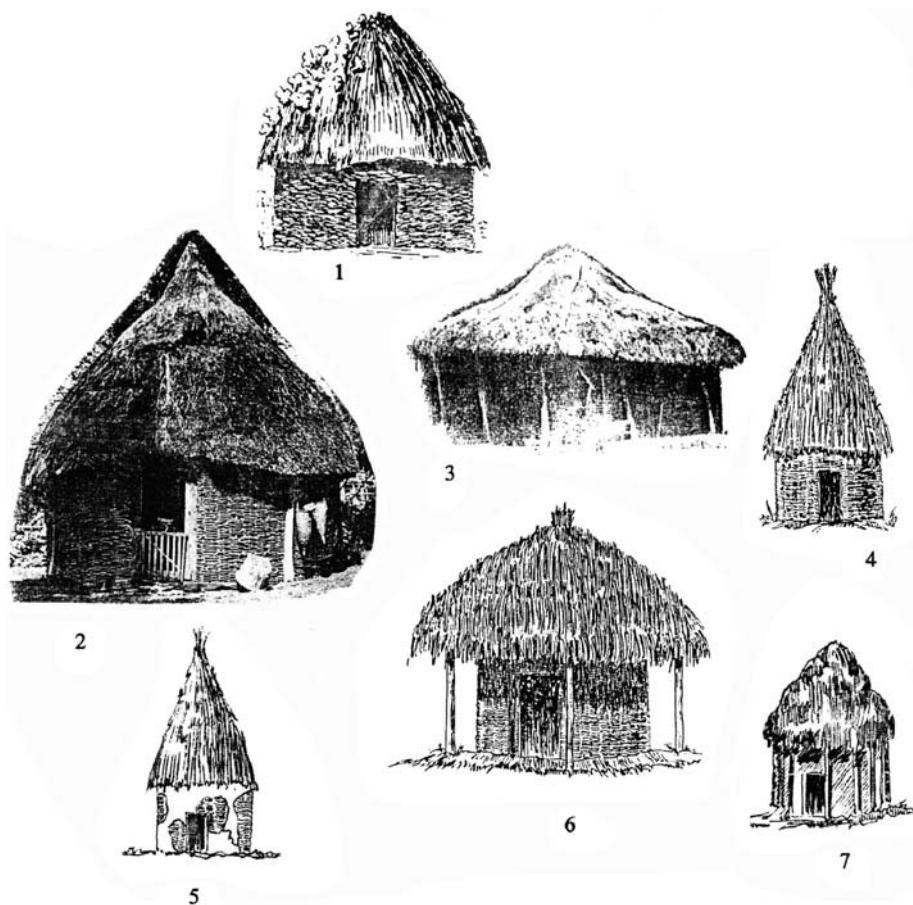


Fig. 7: More recent examples of wattle-and-daub buildings from different parts of western Georgia.

the village of Vardtsikhe.<sup>7</sup> Such a mode of construction is found also at Lechkhum, on the Kovrash settlement<sup>8</sup> of the 8th–5th centuries BC.

The existence of clay house-models is unknown in Georgia in the Bronze and Early Iron Ages or in classical antiquity. A composite bronze model of the beginning of the 1st millennium BC from the Gamdlistskaro treasure<sup>9</sup> gives us some idea of one type of Colchian construction: along with many other details, quadrangular and marquee-like constructions with high-pitched roofs are shown. Some suppose that one representation is an oval cattleshed with a shepherd and dog;<sup>10</sup> others that it might be a Colchian dwelling with a fence and metal workshop.<sup>11</sup> A

<sup>7</sup> Gamkrelidze 1996, 28–30.

<sup>8</sup> Gabidzashvili *et al.* 2004.

<sup>9</sup> Koridze 1968, 34–39; Lordkipanidze 1989, 160, fig. 76.

<sup>10</sup> Lordkipanidze 1989, 159.

<sup>11</sup> Urushadze 1988, 100–01.

small golden pendant from the Khaishi treasure (1st–2nd centuries AD) is worthy of attention for its depiction of a house with towers and a pitched roof, together with other details.<sup>12</sup>

The model from Naokhvamu enhances the data on housebuilding in ancient Colchis obtained from archaeological excavation. The mode of construction depicted has modern parallels in western Georgia. We believe that the clay model from Naokhvamu must be the image of one more kind of wooden architecture from Colchis, a type hitherto unknown, of the second half of the 2nd millennium BC: approximately the 14th–10th centuries.

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<sup>12</sup> Javakhishvili 1958, 154–55; Kipiani 1998, 15–20, tabl. VII.1.

# A CRATER FRAGMENT WITH PARTRIDGES FROM OLUZ HÖYÜK, CENTRAL BLACK SEA REGION, TURKEY

ŞEVKET DÖNMEZ

## Abstract

When Eurasian nomads entered Anatolia in the late 8th century BC, they caused a chain of events that led to the collapse of the Phrygian kingdom and a disturbance in other strong states of the period, the Lydian and Urartian kingdoms and the Assyrian empire. As a result, an innovative phase in central Anatolian pottery workshops occurred in the Late Iron Age. The influence of the cultures of these nomads and of the Medes and Achaemenids was reflected in pottery by the use of new or changing figures and motifs. The partridge, one such new figure, was revealed during our excavation in the third architectural level of Amasya-Oluz Höyük, and the Oluz Höyük partridge and its analogues in Anatolia are observed on both pottery and terracotta revetment plaques, in the form of single figures or rows. The image of the partridge in central Anatolian settlements of the 6th–4th centuries BC indicate that a common ornamental fashion emerged in central and western Anatolia during this period.

The arrival of Eurasian nomads in Anatolia at the end of the 8th century BC created an unsettled and anarchic atmosphere. They entered Anatolia through Transcaucasia and north-western Iran, pre-emptively, and the staggering damage they did to the Urartian kingdom, the most significant political power of the region, followed by their advance to the west of central Anatolia without facing any considerable resistance, and consequently their overthrow of Phrygia by seizing Gordion/Yassihöyük, are the primary political developments that led to the conclusion of the Middle Iron Age and the beginning of the Late Iron Age. The activities of these nomads, their presence in Anatolia and their destruction of Phrygia, also disturbed the other strong states of this period – Lydia and the Assyrian empire. The Medes, taking advantage of this destructive process in Anatolia and the political uncertainty, advanced from western Iran to the interior of central Anatolia and fought against the Lydians in the war of Halys/Kızılırmak, which started in 590 BC, resumed intermittently and ended with the solar eclipse of May 28th, 585 BC. The overrunning of Anatolia by the Achaemenids, starting from 547/6 BC, was the most important political incident for central Anatolia in the Late Iron Age, since Achaemenid dominance here lasted until the invasion by Alexander the Great in about 330 BC.

The pottery workshops inland and south of the Halys/Kızılırmak bend maintained production from the Middle Iron Age onward, corresponding with traditions of a certain fashion sense, with significant changes from the 7th century BC (the beginning of the Late Iron Age) in shapes, ornament, figures and composition. The most important reason for these changes was, as observed already, the gradual removal of the authority (Tabal and Kašku) which had dominated central Anatolia through the political interventions of the Eurasian nomads and their increase in authority. With the gradual removal of the central authority,

the active workshops were influenced by the life-styles, pottery traditions and arts of the new political powers in the land – the nomads, Medes and Achaemenid Persians – and they also began to search for new traditions within the framework of the old. For instance, instead of the standard and stereotypical figures, silhouette-like deer and figures composed of stylised trees, concentric circles and beam motifs, mostly on large craters, they began to apply linear or reserved techniques in various styles, and new deer figures emerge that are more naturally or differently displayed.<sup>1</sup> As well as the bulls,<sup>2</sup> goats<sup>3</sup> and lions<sup>4</sup> that reflect the same change as with the deer, donkeys,<sup>5</sup> roes,<sup>6</sup> dogs,<sup>7</sup> fish<sup>8</sup> and insects<sup>9</sup> were also depicted. Additionally, hybrid creatures such as winged bulls,<sup>10</sup> sphinxes<sup>11</sup> and griffins<sup>12</sup> emerged, as did some unidentified figures.<sup>13</sup>

Human figures, few in number and considerably stylised in the Middle Iron Age, were prominent in the Late Iron Age.<sup>14</sup> In this period, Cybele, who was the mother goddess of Phrygians but worshipped since the Neolithic period in Anatolia, was depicted on

<sup>1</sup> Pottery painted with naturally depicted deer from Maşat Höyük (Özgüç 1982, 58, lev. 74.4, 8), Oluz Höyük (Dönmez and Naza-Dönmez 2009, res. 17), Sebastopolis/Sulusaray (Özcan 1991, 270, res. 16, şek. 5), Alishar Höyük (von der Osten 1937b, 50, fig. 42, pl. X) and Kültepe (Özgüç 1971, 18–19, 141, lev. XX.1–2, XXI.1a–b, XXII.1–2).

<sup>2</sup> Painted pottery with bulls from Maşat Höyük (Özgüç 1982, lev. 72.3a–b, 77.1d, 82.3), Alishar Höyük (von der Osten 1937b, fig. 80.6) and Elbistan-Karahöyük (Özgüç 1971, lev. XXIII.1, res. 60).

<sup>3</sup> Painted pottery with goats from Alaca Höyük (Koşay 1957, lev. XXXIX.1), Boğazköy-Büyük-kale (Bossert 2000, taf. 30.273), Pazarlı (Koşay 1939, şek. 4), Çengeltepe (Ünal 1968, res. 46, şek. 20) and Kültepe (Özgüç 1971, lev. XXVIII.2).

<sup>4</sup> Painted pottery with lions from Boğazköy-Büyük-kale (Bossert 2000, taf. 139.1257), Alaca Höyük (Koşay and Akok 1966, lev. 73; 1973, colour lev. al.r. 24), Alishar Höyük (Schmidt 1933, inner cover illustration, pl. Vb 1180), Maşat Höyük (Özgüç 1982, lev. 77.19) and Kültepe (Özgüç 1953, res. 58; 1971, lev. XXIII.2).

<sup>5</sup> Painted pottery with donkeys from Maşat Höyük (Özgüç 1982, lev. 77.4) and Kültepe (Özgüç 1971, lev. XVII.3a–b).

<sup>6</sup> Painted jug fragment with roe figures from Boğazköy-Büyük-kale (Bossert 2000, taf. 113.360).

<sup>7</sup> Painted pottery with dogs from Boğazköy-Büyük-kale (Bossert 2000, taf. 139.1253, 140.1291), Maşat Höyük (Özgüç 1982, lev. 74.4, 77.3) and Kültepe (Özgüç 1953, res. 59; 1971, lev. 26.7).

<sup>8</sup> Painted pottery with fish from Alaca Höyük (Koşay and Akok 1966, lev. 70; 1973, colour lev. al.r. 24), Eskiyyapar (Bayburtluoğlu 1979, lev. 177.22, 178.24) and Maşat Höyük (Özgüç 1978, lev. 79.3, 82.2).

<sup>9</sup> Painted pottery fragment with insect figures from Boğazköy-Büyük-kale (Bossert 2000, taf. 109.272).

<sup>10</sup> A sizeable painted pot with winged bulls from Maşat Höyük (Özgüç 1982, lev. 77.1c).

<sup>11</sup> Painted pottery with sphinxes from Alaca Höyük (Koşay and Akok 1966, lev. 70), Maşat Höyük (Özgüç 1982, lev. 77.1a) and Alishar Höyük (Schmidt 1933, inner cover illustration, von der Osten 1937b, fig. 73a 824).

<sup>12</sup> Painted pottery with griffins from Alacahöyük (Koşay and Akok 1966, 19, lev. 70).

<sup>13</sup> Painted pottery with unidentified figures from Boğazköy-Büyük-kale (Bossert 2000, Farbtäfel C353, taf. 56.614, 139.1252), Maşat Höyük (Özgüç 1982, lev. 73.6, 74.5) and Kültepe (Özgüç 1971, lev. XX.1–2, XXI.1a–b).

<sup>14</sup> Painted pottery with human figures from Alishar Höyük (von der Osten 1937a, fig. 463b 419a), Boğazköy-Büyük-kale (Bossert 2000, farbtäfel C265, taf. 36.337, 136.1263, 139.1253), Boğazköy-



pottery.<sup>15</sup> We can see that the pottery workshops inland and the south of the Halys/Kızılırmak bend were influenced by the politics of the Late Iron Age, and this was reflected in their products by the innovations and changes mentioned. For instance, new horse<sup>16</sup> and mounted<sup>17</sup> subjects most probably reflect the influence of the nomads. However, the important aspect is that this influence was delivered not by their art but by their life-style. Also, it is clear that plain, double-handled mugs,<sup>18</sup> flared brimmed bowls, known as Achaemenid bowls,<sup>19</sup> and crowned and bearded sphinxes<sup>20</sup> depicted on pottery were due to the influence of Iran, i.e. Median-Achaemenid. Aside from figures and motifs, some significant changes were also observed in the painting techniques of the Late Iron Age. But traditional colours, such as crimson and shades of brown and black, were still used innovatively, and figures and compositions began to appear within frames of white or beige ground;<sup>21</sup> and after a while the frame technique was applied without the white ground.<sup>22</sup>

After the early 5th century BC, certain pottery workshops, carrying on their traditional work but admitting external influences, continued production in the Halys/Kızılırmak bend and inland of it. This is shown by the pottery with light-ground ornament found at

Ambarlıkaya (Bossert 2000, taf. 136.1264), Pazarlı (Koşay 1941, lev. LIII), Maşat Höyük (Özgüç 1982, lev. 74.9) and Yıldızeli-Uyuzsuyu Kalesi (Ökse 1995, lev. 15b), Kültepe (Özgüç 1953, res. 60).

<sup>15</sup> Painted pottery with mother goddess figures from Boğazköy (Bittel and Naumann 1953, 32–33; abb. 11–12; Bittel 1970, 152–53; fig. 38) and Maşat Höyük (Özgüç 1982, 31, 61, lev. 78.2, 3a–b, şek. 152, 162).

<sup>16</sup> Painted pottery with horse figures from Boğazköy-Büyükale (Bossert 2000, Farbtafel C291, 337, taf. 36.336–337, 111.336–337), Eskişar (Bayburtluoğlu 1979, lev. 177.18, 20), Alişar Höyük (Schmidt 1933, pl. V.b.140; von der Osten 1937b, pl. VI.4), Kerkenes Dağ (Schmidt 1929, fig. 60), Maşat Höyük (Özgüç 1982, lev. 74./9) and Kültepe (Özgüç 1971, lev. XXVII.7).

<sup>17</sup> Painted pottery with mounted figures from Boğazköy-Büyükale (Bossert 2000, farbtafel C354) and Maşat Höyük (Özgüç 1982, Lev. 74.10).

<sup>18</sup> These types of mugs were commonly found at Alişar Höyük (von der Osten 1937b, figs. 47d 1155, 48e 2429, e 876).

<sup>19</sup> Achaemenid bowls were found at Oluz Höyük (Dönmez and Naza-Dönmez 2009, res. 29, çiz. 2–3) and Kuşaklı (Müller-Karpe *et al.* 2001, abb. 6).

<sup>20</sup> A jug fragment decorated with this type of sphinx was found at Alişar Höyük (von der Osten 1937b, fig.73a 824).

<sup>21</sup> Characteristic examples of the light-coloured frame with ground were found at Alişar Höyük (Schmidt 1930, fig. 225.3254; von der Osten 1937b, figs. 42c 89, 43d 2357, 45d 2676), Eskişar (Bayburtluoğlu 1979, lev. 178.24, 180.28, 182.34), Boğazköy-Büyükale (Bossert 2000, taf. 102.30, 106.164, 169–171), Pazarlı (Koşay 1941, lev. XLIX, LII), Maşat Höyük (Özgüç 1982, lev. 66.6, 74.6, 76–77), Kaman-Kalehöyük (Mikami and Omura 1991, fig. 14.1–2), Kültepe (Özgüç 1971, lev. XVII.3a–b, XXIII.2), Topaklı (Polacco 1976: figs. 4, 6) and Elbistan-Karahöyük'te (Özgüç and Özgüç 1949, lev. XV.6, XXII.1).

<sup>22</sup> Characteristic examples of the light-coloured frame without ground were found at Boğazköy-Büyükale (Bossert 2000, taf. 18.168, 107.168, 174), Eskişar (Bayburtluoğlu 1979, lev. 182.35), Kerkenes Dağ (Schmidt 1929, fig. 54), Faklı Höyük (Mikami and Omura 1988, res. 46–47, 52), Maşat Höyük (Özgüç 1982, lev. 65.5), Akalan (Cummer 1976, fig. 2.18), Kaman-Kalehöyük (Mori and Omura 1990, res. 11.6), Topaklı (Polacco 1973, fig. 3), Tepebağları (Çınaroğlu 1979, res. 127.1) and Kültepe (Özgüç 1971, lev. XIX.2).



Amisos/Karasamsun,<sup>23</sup> Oluz Höyük,<sup>24</sup> Maşat Höyük,<sup>25</sup> Boğazköy,<sup>26</sup> Alaca Höyük,<sup>27</sup> Eskiyaşar,<sup>28</sup> Hacı Bektaş Höyük,<sup>29</sup> Kaman Kalehöyük,<sup>30</sup> Kırşehir Höyük,<sup>31</sup> Alışar Höyük<sup>32</sup> and Tavium/Büyüknefesköy.<sup>33</sup> In addition, other changes are evident in both figured and floral ornament from this time on. For instance, while the variety of animal-figured ornament considerably decreased, rows of birds were promoted as the main feature.<sup>34</sup> These are most important in the Late Iron Age, usually depicted as successive rows in profile, looking right or moving, always nearly or wholly identical.

The third architectural level of the Oluz Höyük excavations (Figs. 1–2), opened in 2007,<sup>35</sup> was dated to the first half of 5th century BC. Two birds, moving right, are seen on the body fragment of a crater (Figs. 3–4) from Trench B. The fragment, 13.7 cm in height, 15.4 cm in width and 1.9 cm in diameter, is of pinkish-buff colour, with fine to average mineral and plant elements in the paste. It is thin, wheel-made, with a buff slip. At the upper part is a relief rope-ornamented horizontal strip, and beneath it two very similar bird figures, standing and looking right, on a presumably rectangular, beige ground panel, with a dark brown border. The second bird seems to be wholly preserved except for its tail and one leg. The long tail of the first bird is parallel to the floor and connects with chest of the second bird. The chests are decorated with short, horizontal stripes. The round heads, eyes and thick necks and contours are defined by dark brown, the wings by reddish brown. On the upper part of the panel, there is a diamond motif row in dark and reddish brown, and on the lower part a horizontal strip relief (Figs. 3–4).

Parallels of the Oluz Höyük crater fragment bird figures, understood to be partridges owing to their physical and ornamental features, are to be found both on pottery and on terracotta revetment plaques in Anatolia.

Close parallels to the Oluz Höyük partridges are frequently observed on white ground in central Anatolia. The birds depicted moving right on a pitcher fragment from Maşat Höyük, are decorated with telescopic curves, and necks with short lines.<sup>36</sup> These bear a close resemblance to partridges and are more stylistically depicted than the Oluz Höyük birds. Topaklı partridges, more naturally portrayed than those at Maşat Höyük, are the closest parallels to the Oluz Höyük partridges in their appearance and rightward

<sup>23</sup> Akarca 1957, 142–46.

<sup>24</sup> Dönmez and Naza-Dönmez 2007; 2009.

<sup>25</sup> Özgüç 1982, lev. 72.5–6.

<sup>26</sup> Bossert 1957, abb. 54a.

<sup>27</sup> Koşay and Akok 1966, lev. 71–72.

<sup>28</sup> Bayburtluoğlu 1979, lev. 181.31–33.

<sup>29</sup> Balkan and Sümer 1968, res. 17, çiz. 12.

<sup>30</sup> Mikami and Omura 1988, res. 14.8; Mori and Omura 1990, res. 10.5; Omura 1991, res. 9.6.

<sup>31</sup> Alkım 1956, res. 17a–b, 19, 20a–b, 21–23.

<sup>32</sup> von der Osten 1937b, figs. 63.22, 64.4–5, 65, pl. V.3.

<sup>33</sup> Bittel 1942, abb. 17a–d; Strobel and Gerber 1999, abb. 14.

<sup>34</sup> The most characteristic example of bird rows as the main component in the composition was found in Kırşehir-Faklı Höyük (Mikami and Omura 1988, res. 46–47, 52).

<sup>35</sup> This work was supported by the Research Fund of Istanbul University. Project nos. 559, 2205 and 3563.

<sup>36</sup> Özgüç 1982, 48, pl. 72.6.

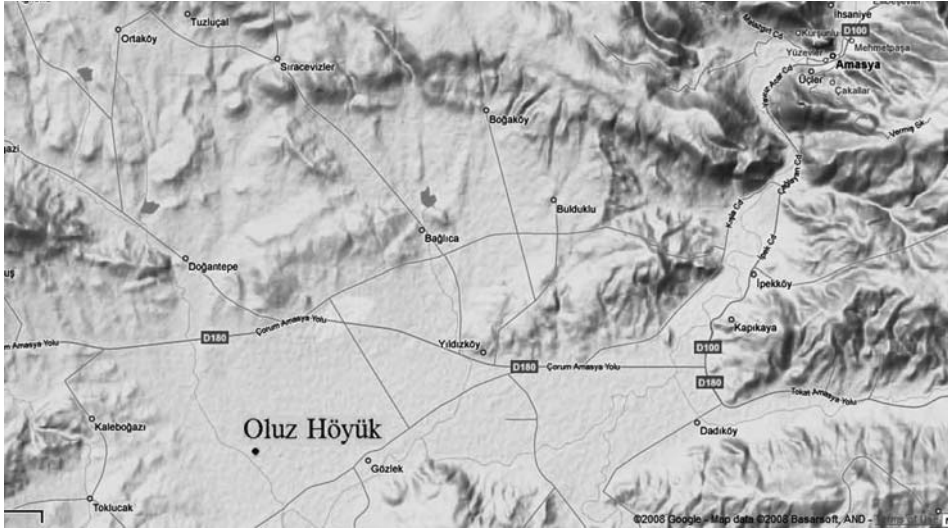


Fig. 1: Map of Oluz Höyük and the south-west of Amasya province.



Fig. 2: General view from the east, Oluz Höyük.

movement.<sup>37</sup> On distinctive partridges on a pot fragment found at Yozgat-Çengeltepe the chests are depicted by windows. These rows of birds are placed in a composition with wild goats.<sup>38</sup> The birds on the body of a sizeable pot found on the surface at Faklı Höyük, disturbed by illegal digging, placed in a rectangle with a white background, are quite

<sup>37</sup> Polacco 1976, 71, fig. 8.

<sup>38</sup> Ünal 1968, 126, res. 46, şek. 20.



Fig. 3: A crater fragment with partridge figures, Oluz Höyük.

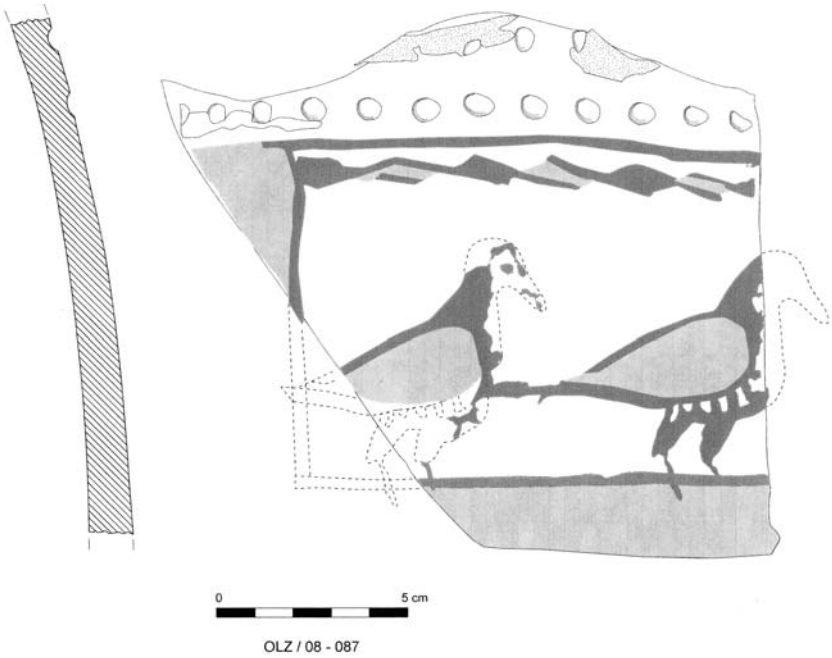


Fig. 4: A crater fragment with partridge figures, Oluz Höyük.

stylised. Some of the birds are long-legged.<sup>39</sup> Parallels to the Oluz Höyük partridge figures, as demonstrated, are dated to approximately the 6th–4th centuries BC. The Oluz Höyük partridges are dated to the 5th century BC. In this context, the fact that they and their parallels date to the same period, i.e. the 6th–4th centuries BC, indicates that this ornamental tradition is central Anatolian of the Late Iron Age, and we can now say that the Maşat Höyük partridges and the Faklı Höyük birds are the earliest examples (6th century BC) in this group, and the Çengelstepe partridges, from the 4th century BC, are the latest. The Oluz Höyük partridges are the most naturally drawn when compared with the birds from Maşat Höyük, Topaklı, Çengelstepe and Faklı Höyük.

These partridge figures in Anatolia are observed not only on pottery but also on terracotta revetment plaques, a common feature for central Anatolia and the central Black Sea region of Turkey from the 6th century BC onwards. The birds are seen on plaque fragments found at Midas City<sup>40</sup> and at Mylasa<sup>41</sup> in western Anatolia. The example from Midas City is contemporary with the Pazarlı and Pteria/Akalan terracotta revetment plaques and dates to the second quarter of the 6th century BC, while the examples from Mylasa are later, dating to the third quarter of the century.

In conclusion, we can now see that the figures or rows of partridges or similar birds on pottery in 6th–4th-century BC Late Iron Age settlements bearing the influence of Phrygian culture (Amasya-Oluz Höyük, Zile-Maşat Höyük, Yozgat-Çengelstepe and Kırşehir-Faklı Höyük inside the Halys/Kızılırmak bend, and Topaklı) and on terracotta revetment plaques at Midas City, towards the south of the Halys/Kızılırmak bend in the real Phrygian land towards the west of the Halys/Kızılırmak, and only seen on terracotta revetment plaques at Mylasa in western Anatolia, are a common ornamental fashion in the central and western regions of Anatolia in the 6th–4th centuries BC.

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<sup>39</sup> Mikami and Omura 1988, 126, res. 46–47, 52.

<sup>40</sup> Akerström 1966, Taf. 68.3.

<sup>41</sup> Akerström 1966, Abb. 35a–b, Taf. 59.1.

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# EXCAVATIONS AT THE KICHIGINO BURIAL SITE (SOUTH URALS) IN 2007: PRELIMINARY RESULTS

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## Abstract

Four mounds have been investigated since 2006 at the Kichigino burial site in the South Urals, Russian. Mound no. 3 was the most important (2007). It contained five tombs of which the richest was tomb no. 5, where the body of a noblewoman of the 4th century BC was found.

## Kichigino Mound No. 5

The burial site is situated on the left shore of the lake formed by the Yuzhnouralskoe ('South Ural') dam, on the Uvelka river, 1.5 km from Kichigino village (Uvelskii district of Chelyabinsk region) and 2.8 km east of the village of Berezovka. It is on the top of the locally dominant hill (Mount Tushkanskaya), at a bend in the Uvelka, where the Kabanka river flows into it. Geographically, the burial site is situated at the far south of the forest-steppe zone of South Zaurale.

The site includes 12 earth mounds, in an irregular chain stretching along the hill slope in the general direction of west–north-west to east–south-east. The diameters of the mounds vary from 14 to 35 m; they are 0.1–1.5 m high. The mounds can be divided into two groups: the western, taking up the higher part of the site and consisting mainly of the large mounds (nos. 3–5, 8–9), and the eastern mounds (nos. 1–2, 7 and 10). Mound no. 6 stands alone.

The burial site was first described by K.V. Salnikov and N.P. Kiparisova, who were carrying out research in 1951 on the banks of the Uvelka.<sup>1</sup> Then it had already been noted that the soil of the mounds had been significantly reduced, and over recent years this has worsened. A critical point was reached when, as a result of the long-standing cultivation of the soil, the levelling of the mounds became more extreme. When the site was visited in 2005, it was already impossible to locate the two small easternmost mounds, although they were marked on the initial plan of the burial site made in 1951.<sup>2</sup> The cultivated soil on the surface of many of the mounds contained large lumps of disturbed soil and fragments of burnt wood. It became clear that the mounds faced complete disappearance. This prompted the excavation in 2006, organised by the South Ural State University, the South Ural Branch of the Institute of History and Archaeology of the Ural Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences the Chelyabinsk Research Centre of the Ural Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences and the Chelyabinsk Museum of Regional Studies. The two mounds excavated in 2006 contained material of the first half of the 4th century BC. This was interesting, but common for the Zaurale type of the Prokhorov culture.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Salnikov and Kiparisova 1951.

<sup>2</sup> Pleshanov 2005.

<sup>3</sup> Botalov 2006.



Mound no. 3, which belongs to the western group, was explored in 2007. Its diameter was 30 m; its elevation above the present surface was no more than 0.5 m. Bright red lumps of disturbed soil were found on the ploughed top of the mound.

The burnt remains of a four-corner wooden construction were found in the centre of the sub-mound platform (Fig. 1). This was built on the surface of the debris that lay in a circle around the central grave pit (no. 6). The pit had been robbed in antiquity, before the abovementioned wooden construction was burnt. The robbers had taken all the grave-goods and put the bones of the deceased on the bottom of the middle of the pit. Thus, only one silver item (Fig. 2.3), found among the charred wood near the eastern end of the pit, may be connected with this burial.

The southern part of the sub-mound platform revealed five grave pits, built into the already existing embankment of the burial mound. These are situated roughly in a ring around the central burial construction. They are niche pits with curbs along the long side-wall. The entrance to the funeral chamber was closed with a complex wooden construction: the vertical piles supported the logs laid horizontally one on another, which in their turn were backed by vertical piles on the exterior. The bodies were put in the funeral chamber stretched on their backs, the orientation depending on the position of the grave pit. However, only the far southern grave pit (no. 1) contains a body with western orientation. In all other pits the orientation is southerly. In the light of the finds we may divide the burials into male (grave pits nos. 1 and 2) and female (grave pits nos. 3–5).

The dead man in pit no. 1 had been laid in a plank coffin. There was a largely corroded bronze arrowhead found in the left part of his chest. To his left, between the coffin and the wall of the chamber, there was a long (102 cm) iron sword with an arc-shaped quillon, broad oval haft and straight head. The front leg of a sheep with shoulder blade had been placed over the haft. Two large eye-shaped beads were found in the quillon area and the upper part of the blade. The remnants of the quiver were located over the middle and the lower part of the blade. It contained over 200 bronze arrowheads and an iron awl with a wooden handle. There was also a long and slightly curved iron knife lying between the quiver and the wall of the chamber. To the east of the quiver and close to the northern side of the coffin there was a bridle with an iron bridle-bit, its rawhide leather straps decorated with multiple bronze girdles.

Grave pit no. 2 contained a long (93.5 cm) iron sword with an arc-shaped quillon, a broad oval haft and straight head, placed on the left of the body, between it and the wall of the burial chamber. Two cone-shaped bronze objects were found near the quillon and the upper part of the blade. Over the middle and the lower part of the blade, just as in grave pit no. 1, the remnants of the quiver were found and a large number of bronze arrowheads. The iron quiver hook in the shape of a claw was found near the upper part of the quiver. The dead man had an iron bolster-type spearhead lying at his feet.

Two burials, belonging to different dates, were found in grave pit no. 3. The earlier was destroyed in a very short time when the other, probably female, body was being buried. The body was bent at the hip, so that the upper part of the body lay over the legs, with the back above. The rest of the chamber was dug deeper, and the body of a woman placed there, on her back with her knees bent. There was a small iron knife, a bronze arrowhead,

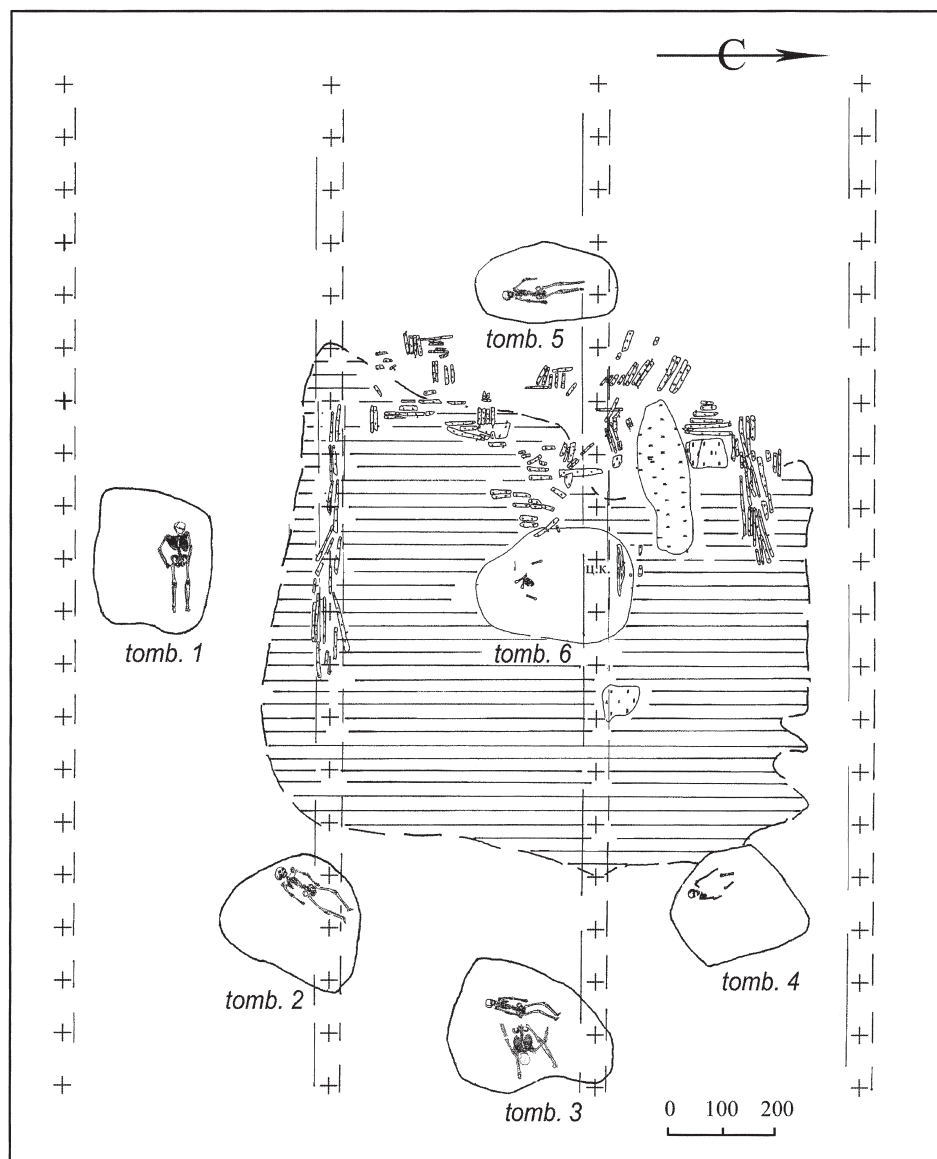


Fig. 1: Kichigino burial ground, mound no. 3. General view.

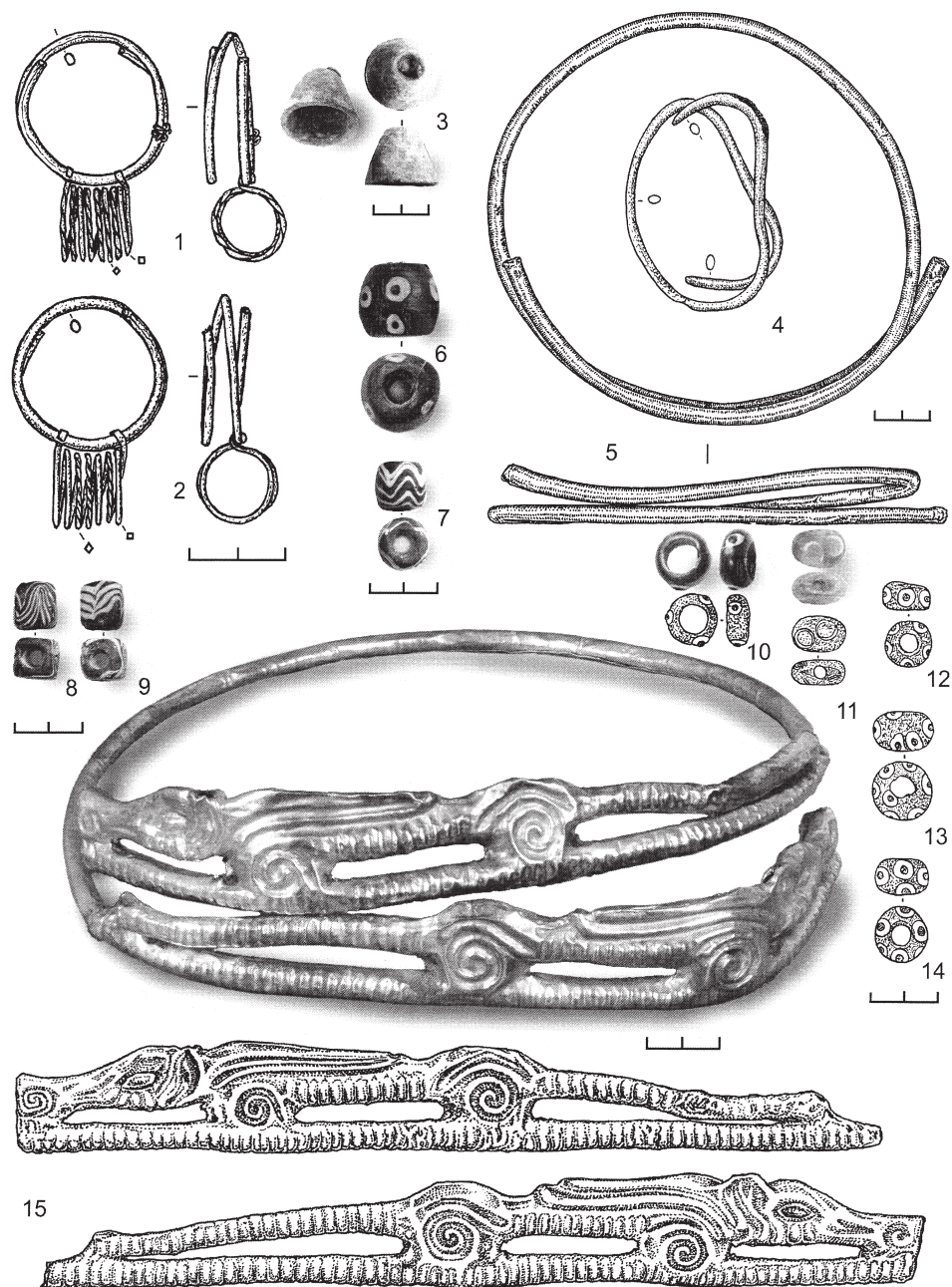


Fig. 2: Kichigino burial ground, mound no. 3. Finds. 1-2, 4, 6-14 – grave pit no. 4; 3 – near the edge of grave pit no. 6; 5 – grave pit no. 3; 15 – grave pit no. 5. 1-3 – silver; 4 – bronze; 5, 15 – bronze, gold; 6-14 – glass.

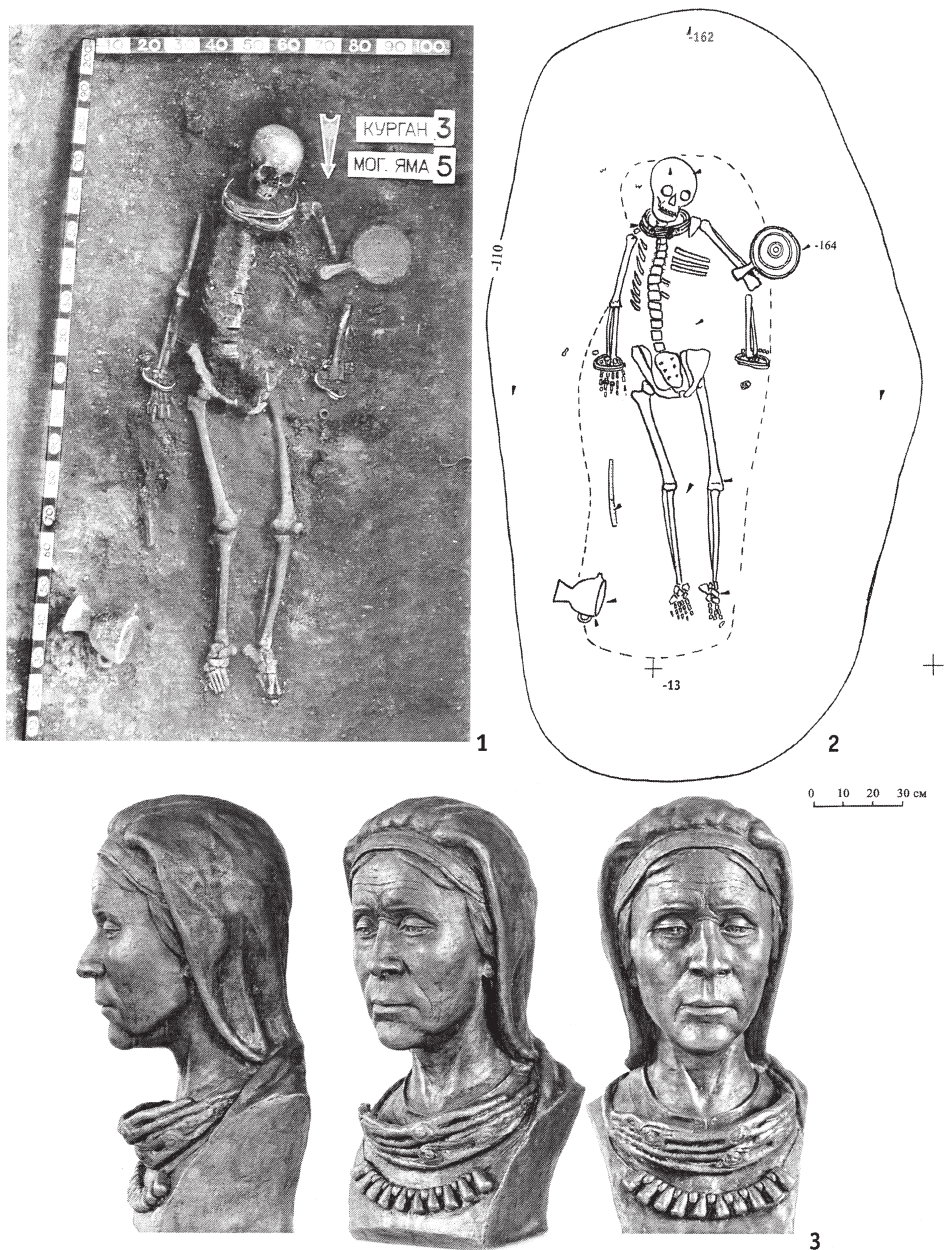


Fig. 3: Kichigino burial ground, mound no. 3. Tomb no. 5. 1–2 – photograph and general layouts of burial; 3 – anthropological reconstruction (by A. Nechvoloda).



a piece of chalk, a bone spoon, a bronze semi-ring with sharp edges, and the remnants of a wooden object with bronze clips found near the head of the body. At the left, between the body and the step of the entrance pit, there was a leather quiver containing a large number of arrows with bronze arrowheads. There was a torque on the woman's neck. This was made by turning copper wire over a thick silver plate in one-and-a-half twists. Another torque of the same kind, made by twisting the copper wire base with a thick golden plate with the same number of twists (Fig. 2.5), was on the woman's knees. Temple pendants made in the same way were added to it.

Behind the head of the woman(?) buried in grave pit no. 4, were a bronze mirror with a broad thick moulding on the edge of the disc and a long side handle, a ceramic stack-stand, bone spoons(?), an iron knife(?) and an awl. At the right of the head, close to the step of the entrance pit, stood a large flat-bottomed vessel with a small horizontal handle at one side of the body and an imitation spout on the other. Near the vessel, also close to the step, the rib-cage of a sheep was placed under its foreleg and shoulder blade. On the neck of the woman were two torques similar to those on the neck of the woman in grave pit no. 3, as well as a necklace consisting of large beads of random shape (Fig. 2.6–14). One decoration was made of iron, a second looks like a silver pipe filled with a black substance. Two temple pendants were found near the skull – a multi-loop spiral, made from curled tetrahedral silver, hung on a silver ring in nearly two twists (Fig. 2.1–2). Both wrists bore bracelets of one-and-a-half twists of round bronze wire (Fig. 2.4). To the left of the feet, between them and the wall of the chamber, was placed a leather quiver containing many arrows with bronze arrowheads.

The burial of a woman in grave pit no. 5 turned out to be of particular interest. Her sleeves and the top of her dress were decorated with small beads, and the wristband of the right hand also carried small leaves of gold foil. Both wrists bore bracelets of one-and-a-half twists, their bronze framework covered with old plate (Fig. 3.1–2). There were also chaplets of band agate. The ring finger of the right hand wore a spiral-shaped multi-coiled ring of round-cut gold wire. There had probably been an artificial limb in the place of the right wrist, which had worn a similar ring. On the woman's neck there was a torque with zoomorphic edges depicting lying raptors (Fig. 2.15). Its frame consists of a flat semi-ring made of gold plate around the bronze round-cut wire. The ends of the semi-ring had terminals combined from the two halves, with the bronze frame between them.

On the forearm of the woman was a mirror with a long side handle, the disc having thick edges, while the mirror case was decorated with cut concentric circles, with a conical boss surrounded by a high ridge. The mirror was placed in a leather case, the remains of which contained a human tooth and a piece of chalk (Fig. 3.1–2).

Near the mirror a piece of rock crystal was found. At the body's feet there was a small bronze cauldron on a conical tray. The cauldron had a vertical handle at one side and a spout on the other. Below the right wrist lay a touchstone, some iron knives, an awl and a bone spoon. According to A. Hohlov and E. Kitov, the woman was 45–55 years of age and of European anthropological type (Fig. 3.3).

The mirrors and long swords of transitional type are grounds for a preliminary dating of the Kichigino mound no. 3 burials to the first half of the 4th century BC.

### Cultural and Chronological Context

Mirrors with ridging around the disc (grave pit no. 4) are found in the South Urals from the transition between the Sarmatian and Sauromatian periods. The oldest have a broad flat handle and a broad thick ridging; they started to appear in the second half of the 5th to the beginning of the 4th century BC.<sup>4</sup> A little later obviously, maybe at the transition to the 4th century, mirrors of a different type from that in grave pit no. 5 came into use. These had a long side handle, a thickened edge to the disc, and cut concentric circles, in the middle of which there was a cone surrounded by high ridging. Mirrors of this type had no evident origin in the culture of the South Ural nomads of the Sauromatian period. According to A.S. Skripkin, they existed only in the 4th century BC;<sup>5</sup> whilst N.E. Berlizov believes them to be the chronological markers of that century.<sup>6</sup> From our point of view, however, it might be that some isolated items of this type could well be found in the South Urals and Lower Povolzhye burials of the 4th–3rd centuries BC, while in the western territories they also were current in the 2nd–3rd centuries AD.<sup>7</sup> It should be made clear that we here speak only of complete mirrors and not of fragments, since placing fragments in graves was a later practice.

It was first considered that the swords and daggers with the arc-shaped quillon (the so-called ‘transitional type’) or a blunt-angle broken blade, similar to the ones found in grave pits nos. 1 and 2, have to be linked to the 4th century BC (following the opinion of M.G. Moshkova), and are not encountered in complexes of the transition between the 4th and 3rd centuries BC.<sup>8</sup> There was an admission by K.F. Smirnov concerning the appearance of the blade weapons of the ‘transitional type’ already in the 5th century BC. Among other things, he held that in the 4th century BC in South Priurale ‘there still existed a great number of transitional shapes that appeared already in the 5th century BC, such as the swords with the arc-shaped or blunt-angle bar-shaped broken quillon and a short and slightly bent head’.<sup>9</sup> This was supported by V.Y. Zuev.<sup>10</sup> Following the new finds from North Kazakhstan, M.K. Khabdulina also came to the conclusion that the dates of these types of daggers might be as early as the turn of the 6th and 5th centuries BC,<sup>11</sup> while S.Y. Gutsalov expressed his own point of view concerning the appearance of ‘transitional type’ swords in the South Zaurale steppe not later than in the middle of the 5th century BC.<sup>12</sup> In our opinion, the first examples of such swords in South Zaurale belong to the second half of the 5th century BC. This is the date of the Berezovskii mound, which is situated near the Kichigino burial ground. The finds include the long iron sword with a bar-shaped head slightly bent, and an arc-shaped quillon.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Smirnov 1964, 159; Skripkin 1990, 142, 150–51; Gutsalov 2003, 184.

<sup>5</sup> Skripkin 1990, 95, 150.

<sup>6</sup> Berlizov 2003, 93.

<sup>7</sup> Berlizov 2003, 98, fig. 5.5.

<sup>8</sup> Moshkova 1963, 33–34, tabl. 18.5–10; Klepikov 1998, 8; Vasilev 2001, 40, 43.

<sup>9</sup> Smirnov 1989, 172.

<sup>10</sup> Zuev 1998, 144, 148.

<sup>11</sup> Khabdulina 1994, 56.

<sup>12</sup> Gutsalov 2001, 73.

<sup>13</sup> Khabdulina and Malyutina, 1982, fig. 1.10.

The burial of grave pit no. 3 of mound no. 1 from the Agapovskie Gory IV burial ground is also dated to the second half of the 5th century BC. There was an iron sword found there with a bar-shaped(?) head and an arc-shaped quillon ('narrow butterfly type' according to Gutsalov and S.G. Botalov).

Gutsalov and Botalov classified the iron sword with the hook-shaped head and the blunt-angle broken quillon from pit no. 4 of the same mound as belonging to the beginning of the 4th century BC.<sup>14</sup> A sword with the bar-shaped bent head and a blunt (almost right-)angled broken quillon, the edges of which were slightly pitched, was found in mound no. 1 of the Philippovka burial ground.<sup>15</sup> We believe that this burial ground can be dated back to the end of the 5th–beginning of the 4th century BC. Burial no. 10 of mound no. 23 from Pokrovka 2 burial ground, with a long iron sword that had a straight bar-shaped head and an arc-shaped quillon, belongs in our opinion to the beginning of the 4th century BC.<sup>16</sup>

The zoomorphic torque from pit no. 5 is obviously most close to those from the Stavropolsk (Kazinsk) treasure. Its jewellery was dated by E.F. Korolkova to 'the 5th–4th centuries BC (most probably, the 4th century BC)', while she also held that the torques of the trove in the eastern zoomorphic style indicate that there was a penetration of some population groups to Prikubane from the east, maybe from South Priurale.<sup>17</sup> We should also note here the similarity of the raptor's hips, shoulders and mane ornament on the torque from Kichigino and a number of items from Philippovka mound no. 1.<sup>18</sup>

The turn of the 5th and 4th centuries BC was the time when the existing stereotypes of the South Zaurale early nomads were undergoing intense transformation. We believe that this was caused by the influx of nomads from Central Asia into the region. They brought with them new funeral rites and traditions – niche grave pits along the long side-wall, the southern orientation of the dead. At the same time, new types of jewellery and ornament appear, such as torques, spiral temple pendants and rings. The appearance of new types of close-combat blade weaponry – long cavalry swords of the 'transitional type' – might also be related to the arrival of new population groups.

This influx gave birth to the appearance of the 'multi-grave' mound tradition. The new burials were now placed not in the middle of the mound as before, but in a circle around the central grave, where the head of a large family or clan was buried. Having appeared at the turn of the 5th and 4th centuries BC in South Zaurale, this tradition continued in the territories which were opened up later by the Sarmatians.<sup>19</sup>

After the 4th century BC, the nomadic world of the South Urals may have consisted of two large tribal units – the Priurale and the Zaurale. Their centres were situated in the Ilek and Or basins, near the modern city of Orsk. These units each consisted of several tribes, led by powerful and rich aristocratic families. It is evident that it is the burial ground of one such family that is situated near Kichigino. This family obviously had a

<sup>14</sup> Gutsalov and Botalov 2001, 153–54, figs. 3.2, 4. 36.

<sup>15</sup> Pshenichnyuk 2003, 16.

<sup>16</sup> Yablonskiy *et al.* 1994, 51–54, fig. 92.33.

<sup>17</sup> Korolkova 1995, 87, fig. 1.1–3.

<sup>18</sup> Pshenichnyuk 2003, 12, 17, 20.

<sup>19</sup> Tairov 2004.



high status in the nomadic society of the South Urals and controlled vast territories of the south of the forest-steppe area. Its wealth was probably based upon working gold stream gravels of the Kochkar region and controlling, at least partially, the import to the steppe of nonferrous metals produced by the metal-makers or the Itkul culture of the forest-steppe Zaurale.

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## REVIEWS

## WEST AND EAST: A REVIEW ARTICLE (10)

*Handbooks and Companions; Introductions and Text Books*

The publication of companions and handbooks continues unabated (not just in subjects within the purview of this journal) into a market that will surely become sated. *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age*<sup>1</sup> maintains the form and portable format of this series, is well illustrated, and furnished with useful maps, index and glossary. The 'Select Bibliography' meshes with the recommendations for further reading provided at the end of each chapter. Cynthia Shelmerdine has marshalled a team of acknowledged experts (mainly North American and British) and, in her Acknowledgments acknowledges that the project has been quite long in gestation. She herself opens the batting with 'Background, Sources, and Methods' (pp. 1–18), which includes a section (with tabulations) addressing the hoary question of relative and absolute chronology. Fourteen chapters follow, three of them subdivided: 'The Early Bronze Age in Greece' (Daniel Pullen, pp. 19–46); '... in the Cyclades' (Cyprian Broodbank, pp. 47–76); 'Early Prepalatial Crete' (pp. 77–104); 'Protopalatial Crete' (pp. 105–39), in which Sturt Manning takes on the formation of the palaces and Carl Knappett the material culture; 'The Material Culture of Neopalatial Crete' (pp. 140–64) and 'Minoan Culture: Religion, Burial Customs, and Administration' (pp. 165–85), both by John Younger and the late Paul Rehak; 'Minoan Crete and the Aegean Islands' (Jack Davis, pp. 186–208); and 'Minoan Trade' (Philip Betancourt, pp. 209–29). James Clinton Wright examines 'Early Mycenaean Greece' (pp. 230–57); Janice Crowley 'Mycenaean Art and Architecture' (pp. 258–88); 'The Mycenaean States' (pp. 289–326) are the province of Shelmerdine and John Bennett (on economy and administration) and Laura Preston ('Late Minoan II to IIIB Crete'); and 'Burial Customs and Religion' (pp. 327–61) are divided between William Cavanagh and Thomas Palaima. 'Mycenaean Greece, the Aegean and Beyond' (Christopher Mee, pp. 362–86) and 'Decline, Destruction, Aftermath' (Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy, pp. 387–415) bring this very useful volume to a close. The chronological arrangement sits above the geographical, thematic and comparative elements; social history is combined with material culture. Thus, the aim of providing a 'reliable, readable introduction for university students' (endpapers) is likely to be fulfilled.

*The Routledge Handbook of The Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia*<sup>2</sup> is a hefty and monumental tome – an impressive monument to the scholarship, industry and

<sup>1</sup> C.W. Shelmerdine (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age*, Cambridge Companions, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2008, xxxvi+452 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-521-89127-1.

<sup>2</sup> T. Bryce, in consultation with H.D. Baker, D.T. Potts, J.N. Tubb, J.M. Webb and P. Zimansky, *The Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia. From the Early Bronze Age to the Fall of the Persian Empire*, Routledge, London/New York 2009, lvi+888 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-415-39485-7.

enthusiasm of Trevor Bryce and his small team of Australian, British and American expert collaborators. It is also an attractive volume, rounded out by 20 maps and 140 figures, a 16-page 'Historical Overview', as learned as it is concise, a 10-page Glossary, chronological and dynastic appendices, 41 pages of indexes, and a substantial bibliography. The entries themselves, some 1500 (alphabetical, with sensible cross-referencing), consuming almost 800 pages and 450,000 words, extend from Aba 'see Upi' and Abatum to Zurubban and Zurzukka 'see Shuandahul', from the Aegean coast of Turkey to the Indus valley via Anatolia, Syria-Palestine, Mesopotamia and Iran, from population groups to countries and cities to empires, and from the Early Bronze Age to the fall of the Persian empire to Alexander the Great. Some are brief, whereas Persia(ns) receive eight pages (including a map and four half-tone illustrations), Hattusa receives six (including six half-tones), as do Urartu and Babylonia, and Babylon and Elam five each, Miletus and Persepolis four, etc. Publishers are sometimes guilty of hyperbole, but not here where descriptions such as 'the most comprehensive general treatment yet available', 'truly indispensable', 'remarkably full coverage', 'accessible, engaging, informative', etc. give an unvarnished truth. Indeed, labour of love is probably apt. My only quibble is that both students and (particularly) general readers, two of the stated audiences, wince at or are confused by Common Era dating.

The series of Oxford handbooks marches forward. That on *Engineering and Technology in the Classical World*<sup>3</sup> is broader and less daunting than one might fear. Thirty-one scholars from nine countries (essentially the British Isles, northern Europe and North America) are brought together by the Canadian editor, John Peter Oleson, to provide 33 papers (one a triptych) grouped in eight sections. 'Sources' (pp. 15–90) includes contributions on ancient written sources for engineering and technology, depictions of technical processes, and historiography and theoretical approaches. 'Primary, Extractive Technologies' (pp. 93–222) covers mining and metallurgy, quarrying and stone-working, sources of energy and the exploitation of power, agriculture, and animal husbandry, hunting and fishing. 'Engineering and Complex Machines' (pp. 225–366) considers Greek engineering and construction, Roman ditto, hydraulics and water supply, tunnels and canals, and machines in Greek and Roman technology. 'Secondary Processes and Manufacturing' (pp. 369–547) has a wide spectrum: food processing and preparation, metalworking and tools, woodworking, textile production, tanning and leather, ceramics, glass and 'Large Scale Manufacturing, Standardization, and Trade' (one of Andrew Wilson's three contributions). Transport matters form the next section (pp. 551–670), two chapters on land (roads, riding, vehicles) and two on sea (ships, navigation, harbours); 'Technologies of Death' (pp. 673–711) considers warfare and fortification, one chapter on Greek and one on Roman. The intriguing 'Technologies of the Mind' (pp. 715–818) turns to writing, book-production, the role of literacy, time-keeping and calculation (weights and measures, coinage, practical mathematics), gadgets and scientific instruments, and inventors, invention and attitudes to innovation. Stranded in a section on its own, 'Ancient Technologies in the Modern World'

<sup>3</sup> J.P. Oleson (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Engineering and Technology in the Classical World*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2008, xviii+865 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-518731-1.

(pp. 821–35), is the chapter by Michael Schiffer on ‘Expanding Ethnoarchaeology: Historical Evidence and Model Building in the Study of Technological Change’, something of a contrast. I am sure that a similar volume on the industrial world would be incomprehensible to most of us, its authors making no concession to our technical and technological ignorance. Here, there is no such difficulty. Things are simpler, explicable and explained.

The volume on *Early Christian Studies*<sup>4</sup> in the same series follows a similar pattern: eight sections, 46 chapters and 48 authors, overwhelmingly North American. Very thoroughly indexed (pp. 979–1020) for subjects, persons (ancient and modern) and Biblical citations. Early Christian Studies (with a cut-off date of AD 600) seems to have risen from the ashes of Patristics into ‘a distinctive... interdisciplinary endeavour in its own right, embracing... Classics, Ancient History, Theology, Religious Studies, Art History, and Archaeology’ (p. 1), taking up new trends in historiography and critical theory, adopting new agendas, etc. Much of this is brought into play here. The ‘Prolegomena’ features contributions such as ‘From Patristics to Early Christian Studies’ and ‘Which Early Christianity?’. Part II, ‘Evidence: Material and Textual’, incorporates archaeology, visual culture, epigraphy, palaeography and codicology; Part III, ‘Identities’, brings together Jews and Christians, pagans and Christians, Gnosticism, Manicheism, the Arians and the Pelagians; and Part IV, ‘Regions’, is truly East (Greece and Asia Minor, Egypt and Palestine, Syrian and Mesopotamia) and West (Italy, Gaul and Spain in one chapter, North Africa in another), paying full acknowledgment to recent scholarship wherein ‘the realization of the extent to which geographical location affected the issues, concerns, and even forms of early Christianity’. ‘Structures and Authorities’ (Part V) contains clergy and laity, the Biblical canon, creeds and councils and canons, ‘Church and Empire’ (asking whether it was a state church or a church state), women, monasticism, etc.; Part VI investigates ‘Expressions of Christian Culture’, literary and philosophical, not material; and Part VII ‘Ritual, Piety, and Practice’ – liturgy, prayer, asceticism, penance, martyrdom, pilgrimage, etc. The final section deals with theological matters, and the last chapter introduces scholars to some of the principal ‘tools of the trade’ for studying early Christianity. Not the book where one expects to find Common Era dating, but one does.

And then there is *The Oxford Handbook of Archaeology*,<sup>5</sup> where the balance of two British editors to one American is reflected in that of the contributors (five from Southampton) – also half a dozen from the Old Commonwealth and a brace apiece from Brazil and Scandinavia. It is admitted that this can be nothing more than a snapshot of a fast-changing discipline with a hint at future possibilities (p. xvii). There are seven sections. The first (pp. 3–141) purveys the foundations, starting with Kristian Kristiansen’s account of the discipline, its nature, practices, various traditions, approaches to interpretation, theories, politics and ethics, the future. Several of these themes are reprised using different instruments in Robin Boast’s history of the disciplines ‘formative century, 1860–1960’,

<sup>4</sup> S.A. Harvey and D.G. Hunter (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2008, xxviii+1020 pp., 6 maps. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-927156-6.

<sup>5</sup> B. Cunliffe, C. Gosden and R.A. Joyce (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Archaeology*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2009, xviii+1162 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-927101-6.

Matthew Johnson's examination of the 'Theoretical scene' over the ensuing 40 years, Andrew Jones's essay 'Into the Future' and Marcia-Anne Dobres's 'Technologies'. Section II, 'Tools of the Trade' (pp. 145–233), contains A.M. Pollard on 'achievements and challenges in archaeological dating' (the nature of time, radiocarbon dating and methodologies, etc.), Gary Lock's 'Human activity in a spatial context', Roger White's 'Data collection by excavation' and M.S. Tite's 'Mastering materials'. 'Early Humans' (pp. 237–408) opens with Jonathan Marks's reflections on 'The nature of humanness' before *seriatim* 'Early Hominids', 'The emergence of *Homo sapiens sapiens*', 'The Neanderthals' and 'Peopling the world'. Moving on to 'Strategies for Survival' (pp. 411–516), its three chapters encompass 'Hunters and Gatherers', 'Early farming and domestication' and 'Studying human diet'; while 'Complex Societies...', Section V, has Ian Morris on 'Cultural complexity' (pp. 519–54) and Robin Skeates on 'Trade and Interaction' (pp. 555–78), which includes colonisation and cultural diffusion, before Li Liu on 'China: state formation and urbanization' and contributions on Mesoamerica and on central Andean prehistory. 'Some Regional Overviews' (pp. 677–999) covers sub-Saharan Africa, the circumpolar zone, East Asia, Australasia, the Pacific (Chris Gosden), North America, South America, 'Pre-Islamic Central Asia' (Georgina Herrmann, pp. 763–811, including a history of archaeology in the region) and 'The Mediterranean and its hinterland' (Cyprian Broodbank, pp. 677–722). Finally, in 'Issues and Debates', we face 'Indigenous voices, archaeology and the issue of repatriation' (by Jonathan Williams of The British Museum, nailing no colours to the mast, pp. 1001–28), (*cf.* James Cuno, *Who Owns Antiquity?*, reviewed below), 'Sex and gender', 'Archaeological representation: the consumption and creation of the past' and 'Community Archaeology'. The first and last sections get political. V. Gordon Childe much mentioned throughout, but no more than Augustus Pitt-Rivers.

Any 'Reader', such as *Histories of Archaeology*,<sup>6</sup> an outgrowth of a conference of the Archives of European Archaeology project, will, of course, reflect the interests of its compiler(s), however discreetly. Thanks, perhaps, to an Australian co-editor, Tim Murray at La Trobe, there is a fascinating piece by his predecessor, Jim Allen, on V. Gordon Childe's unhappy sojourn in his native land from 1917 to 1921 (pp. 58–71), which led to his first book, *How Labour Governs* (London 1923), based on his experience as a ministerial 'staffer' in Sydney, and had a considerable influence on his subsequent political and intellectual outlook.<sup>7</sup> Overall, 18 papers or book-chapters, published between 1965 (Jacob Gruber, 'Brixham Cave and the Antiquity of Man') and 2002 (Marc-Antoine Kaeser, 'On the International Roots of Prehistory' and Alain Schnapp 'Between Antiquarians and Archaeologists – Continuities and Ruptures'), are here reproduced, each individually introduced in a paragraph by the editors, who also furnish an overall Introduction in which they take a brief *tour d'horizon* of the 'Histories of Archaeology' – why, how and what; as polemic; in its social and cultural context; individuals and institutions.

<sup>6</sup> T. Murray and C. Evans (eds.), *Histories of Archaeology: A Reader in the History of Archaeology*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2008, x+485 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-955007-4.

<sup>7</sup> This work has recently been 'rediscovered', quoted in the newspapers as offering many useful insights into the overwhelming electoral rejection of the Labor party in New South Wales after 16 years in government (see, for example, G. Pemberton in *The Australian* of 19 March 2011).

Murray contributes 'The History, Philosophy, and Sociology of Archaeology: The Case of the Ancient Monuments Protection Act (1882)'; his co-editor, Christopher Evans, 'Archaeology against the State: Roots of Internationalism', which complements Martin Hall's piece on '... The Context of Southern African Iron Age Studies', where the censorship of politically unpalatable interpretations of Great Zimbabwe in the Southern Rhodesia of 1965–79 is brought out, Don Fowler's 'Uses of the Past: Archaeology in the Service of the State', Michael Dietler on '... Ethnic Nationalism and the Manipulation of Celtic Identity in Modern Europe', i.e. France, Bettina Arnold's 'The Past as Propaganda: Totalitarian Archaeology in Nazi Germany', Leo Klejn's 'Gustaf Kossinna (1858–1931)' (Kossinna is a principal begetter of correlating cultures with ethnic groups) and Suzanne Marchand's '*Kultur* and the World War'. The dedicatee, Bruce Trigger, provides a discussion of archaeological historiography. The volume is equipped with a combined bibliography and, usefully and not always to be found in volumes republishing mixed material, an index. Inevitably, some overlap with the territory addressed in the first section of the *Oxford Handbook*.

*An Introduction to the Ancient World*<sup>8</sup> is the comprehensively revised, expanded and updated 2nd edition of a book first published in 1997, and it is well up to the task of providing a short narrative survey of the history of the ancient Near East, Greece and Rome, the three pillars on which it is constructed, for use as a textbook for ancient history teaching at an undergraduate/introductory level. Unusually for such a work, the Near East and the Classical world are brought together. The first pillar (pp. 9–62) contains seven chapters on the Near East: 'The Origins of the Civilizations of Egypt and Mesopotamia'; 'The Third Millennium'; 'The Second Millennium', divided into Middle Bronze Age and Late Bronze Age; 'The First Millennium', divided into Early Iron Age and 'The Western Asiatic empires (c. 750 BC–AD 651)'; 'Religion'; 'Economy and Society'; and 'Government'. The brisk pace is maintained through four chapters on 'The Greek World', in which the Early Iron Age/'Dark Ages' is despatched in little over a page and the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods receive chapters apiece of 20–30 pages, each divided into sections dealing with phenomena – social changes, economy and society, culture, government – or sub-periods and events – the Persian Wars, the Peloponnesian War, from Alexander the Great to the Roman conquest, etc. Rome is more generously treated, roughly half the book: five chapters and 152 pages on 'Early Roman History (753–265 BC)', 'Further expansion and new social tensions (264–133 BC)', 'The century of Civil wars (133–30 BC)', 'The Early Imperial Age (27 BC–AD 193)' (pp. 208–64, by far the longest chapter), and thence to Constantine and after. Once again, each chapter is divided into a similar mixture of phenomena, sub-periods, events, etc. A brief 'Epilogue' ponders when antiquity ended, the artificiality of periodisation, the continuance of some form of Roman, Byzantine or Holy Roman 'empire', Christianity and its schisms, etc. A 'Select Bibliography' runs, nevertheless, to 23 pages and usefully (in view of the nature of the book and its intended readership) is divided into ten headings. The index is sensible and sensibly and helpfully glossed. The 34 maps and 116 illustrations (line-drawings and photographs;

<sup>8</sup> L. de Blois and R.J. van der Spek, *An Introduction to the Ancient World*, 2nd edition, translated by S. Mellor, Routledge, London/New York 2008, xiv+338 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-415-45827-6.



objects, buildings, reconstructions, plans) are again invaluable tools for the beginner seeking to know what is where or what something looked like, as are the short explanations of Greek and Roman names and money, and the list of Roman emperors and chart of relationships in the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Altogether, it is easy to see why this work rated a new edition.

*The British Museum Concise Introduction: Ancient Greece*<sup>9</sup> might be considered a nice complement, opulently illustrated in colour, for the middle section of de Blois and van der Spek's volume: it is about the Greek world, not a geographically constrained Greece, and its intention is to elucidate the accomplishments of Greek civilisations, not to provide narrative history. As might be expected, the rich collections of the British Museum furnish most of the pictorial matter. The first chapter, 'Rediscovering Ancient Greece', takes us from 'the discus-thrower' through Charles Town(e)ley and William Hamilton, then Heinrich Schliemann, to 'Archaeology Today'; and a brief concluding section, 'Recycling the Past' considers the themes of some modern cinematic films as well as comparing the pose of a Henry Moore reclining female bronze with two goddesses from the east pediment of the Parthenon. The eight intervening chapters combine the more historical – 'Greece in the Bronze Age', 'The Emergence of Greece' and 'The Hellenistic World' – with the more thematic – 'Life in the Polis: A Man's World', 'Life in the Oikos: The Greek Household', 'Religions, Gods and Heroes', in which the Parthenon is prominent, and 'Wonders to Behold', i.e. sports, theatricals, music and dance, etc. And 'The Greeks Overseas' (pp. 134–53), close to our focus, receive proportionate attention. The work is rounded off by a map of major Greek sites around the Mediterranean, a time-line of key dates, a glossary, a list of major Greek collections and suggestions for further reading.

Malcolm Errington's *A History of the Hellenistic World*,<sup>10</sup> by contrast, is 'a history of important public events and developments, not an encyclopedia with a brief run-down on all aspects of cultural life in the 300 years covered' (p. x). As such, it can function as a first-rate text for guiding students through the complexities of the period from Alexander's death to Cleopatra's, taking in all regions of the Hellenistic world and offering lucid explanations of what happened, how and why – metamorphosis under Macedonian expansion, the evolving relationship between Greek city-states and the new monarchies (the transfer of socio-political leadership northward to regimes more authoritarian yet with elites more open), Macedonian collapse, events in Anatolia and around the Black Sea, etc. The arrangement is in four parts – 'The Making of the Hellenistic World' (pp. 11–76), born into tension between Athens, the Aetolian League and Macedonia, by Antigonos, Cassander, Demetrius, Lysimachus, Ptolemy, Seleucus, etc. and 'The Structure of Power' that resulted; 'The Hellenistic World in Action' (pp. 77–161) – chapters on Europe, Asia and Egypt; 'The Challenge of Rome' (pp. 163–245) – Egypt, Europe, Seleucid Asia, the Balkans, etc.; and 'Rome in the Hellenistic World' (pp. 247–308), divided between Europe, Egypt and Asia, the end of the Seleucids, central and eastern Anatolia, and finally 'Egypt

<sup>9</sup> J. Neils, *The British Museum Concise Introduction: Ancient Greece*, The British Museum Press, London 2008, 191 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-7141-2259-5.

<sup>10</sup> R.M. Errington, *A History of the Hellenistic World 323-30 BC*, Blackwell History of the Ancient World, Blackwell Publishing, Malden, MA/Oxford 2008, xx+348 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-631-23388-6.

Becomes Roman' – topped by an Introduction and maps, and tailed by a summation, 'Epilogue', select bibliography, king lists and a thorough, 25-page index. Each chapter opens with a time-line. Spelling of proper names will always be a problem; sticking to forms such as Kyros rather than Cyrus introduces needless complexity in a standard history/textbook.

### *Atlases and Mythic Voyagers*

While the *Barrington Atlas*<sup>11</sup> remains the cartographic king, the *Neue Pauly*/Brill's *New Pauly* supplement volumes,<sup>12</sup> the latter an English translation from German of the former, produced to a slightly larger page size, though this is still a deal smaller than the *Barrington*, are true historical atlases of the ancient world, being well organised, thoroughly indexed (pp. 276–307), and with a huge amount of information provided in the accompanying commentaries – in effect, double-page spreads with one page of commentary, sometimes with subsidiary maps, to each colour plate-page of map; plus Addenda (pp. 255–75) containing sources, literature and tables. The work is divided into eight sections, with a little confusion over numeration: 'Ancient concepts of the world and explorations' (pp. 2–9); 'The era of the early high cultures (3rd millennium to c. 1200 BC)' (pp. 10–31); 'The era of the eastern kingdoms (c. 1200–6th cent. BC)', split between East (pp. 32–61) and West (pp. 62–85); 'The reshaping of the Mediterranean world' (6th–4th/3rd cents. BC)' (pp. 86–111); 'The era of great powers (4th/3rd to 1st cents. BC)', also split – between 'Alexander the Great and the Hellenistic successor states' (pp. 112–35) and 'Rome's rise to world power' (pp. 136–171); 'The Roman Empire in the Imperial period (1st–5th cents. AD)' (pp. 172–235); and 'The era of the Byzantine Empire (5th to 15th cents. AD)' (pp. 236–53). Moreover, this is geographically the ancient world, not the Graeco-Roman, with the ancient Near East well represented from 3rd-millennium Mesopotamia to the Sasanids (pp. 216–19) and the first three Crusades (pp. 248–49). And the themes of the maps are also wide-ranging, as examples will show: 'The Eastern Mediterranean in the Late Bronze Age – political and cultural interconnections'; 'The Hallstatt Culture...'; 'Commerce and trade in the Mediterranean worlds, 7th/6th cents.–4th cent. BC'; 'City development and town planning in Greece'; 'The Bosphoran Kingdom from the 5th cent. BC to the 1st cent. AD'; 'Roman colonization'; 'Trade routes in the Roman Empire (1st–3rd cents. AD)'; 'Routes of Christian pilgrims (4th–6th cents.)'; as well as more typical maps of administrative areas, military campaigns, etc. A valuable work produced to a high standard: large format, clear maps, though some beckon for a larger format or perhaps a double-page to themselves. In historical atlases there will always be debate about what to include, how to represent it, and how to achieve a 'balance'. The German editors and their publisher are to be warmly congratulated, nevertheless, as is Brill for making an English version available.

<sup>11</sup> R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), *The Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (Princeton/Oxford 2000).

<sup>12</sup> Respectively: A.-M. Wittke, E. Olshausen and R. Szydlak, in collaboration with V. Sauer and other specialists, *Historischer Atlas der antiken Welt*, Der Neue Pauly Suppl. 3, Verlag J.B. Metzler, Stuttgart/Weimar 2007, xx+308 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-476-02031-4; *Historical Atlas of the Ancient World*, English edition by C.F. Salazar *et al.*, Brill's New Pauly Suppl. 3, Brill, Leiden/Boston 2010, xx+307 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-90-04-17156-5.

While the *Neue Pauly*/Brill's *New Pauly* has produced an atlas among the supplementary volumes, the *Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients* (alias *TAVO*) has issued a series of commentary volumes to provide very detailed gloss on particular maps. Among them is Anne-Maria Wittke's *Mušker und Phryger*,<sup>13</sup> modestly subtitled as a contribution to Anatolian history from the 12th to the 7th century BC, linked to *TAVO* map B IV 8. The identification of the Mushki with the Phrygians, or otherwise, is a very hotly debated question. Here we have the most comprehensive work written about this problem, in which the author gives an extensive presentation and discussion of what evidence we have about the Mushki from Near Eastern and Graeco-Roman authors and inscriptions. There is also a lengthy discussion of the geography of the Mushki and their territory before the author turns to archaeological evidence. The extensive indexes are a great boon. This is a work that deserves to be better known and widely used.

In the same series is *Kleinasien vom 12. bis 6. Jh. v. Chr.*,<sup>14</sup> its two volumes divided between text and maps. This too deserves to reach a wider readership. It is a detailed presentation, with bibliography, of the whole of antiquity in Anatolia and beyond. There is brief information on chronology, and cultures are identified with areas, and *vice versa*. No major type of evidence escapes the authors: architecture, pottery, metal objects, inscriptions, etc. The maps are very detailed and easy to use. It is true that much has been discovered since the publication of this set; it remains, nevertheless, an exemplary base on which to build.

In *Travelling Heroes*,<sup>15</sup> Robin Lane Fox becomes one by entering the Al Mina disco in that strange part of Turkey retroceded by the French mandataries just before the Second World War, as also by acknowledging his debt to archaeologists (pp. xi-xii), his own digging being horticultural not archaeological. This work, broad of sweep, is in four unequal parts – 'Hera's Flight' (three chapters, pp. 3-41, including 'From China to Cadiz', Phoenician finds linking Huelva/Tarshish in Spain with Khorasabad in Iraq, Sargon and Midas); 'East and West' (seven chapters, pp. 45-172, one of which focuses on Al Mina and makes several references to work published in this journal, and others on Lefkandi, early Greek items in the Near East, Cyprus, the Levant, Italy in general and Pithekoussai in particular); 'Travelling Myths' (eight chapters, pp. 175-322, featuring Daedalus, Heracles, Io, Europa, Mopsus, Chimaera, Adonis, Typhon and many others); and 'Just So Stories' (three chapters, pp. 335-80) – plus a short note on the dating of Homer (8th century), some 66 pages of endnotes and 50 of bibliography, and supplemented by maps. Lane Fox combines his own literary-historical expertise with recent archaeological discoveries and the practised eye

<sup>13</sup> A.-M. Wittke, *Mušker und Phryger: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Anatolines vom 12. bis zum 7. Jh. v. Chr. Kommentar zur TAVO-karte B IV 8: 'Östlicher Mittelmeerraum und Mesopotamien um 700 v. Chr.'*, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B (Geisteswissenschaften) 99, Dr Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden 2004, xvi+389 pp., 2 maps in endpapers. Paperback. ISBN 3-89500-385-9.

<sup>14</sup> F. Prayon and A.-M. Wittke, *Kleinasien vom 12. bis 6. Jh. v. Chr.: Kartierung und Erläuterung archäologischer Befunde und Denkmäler*, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B (Geisteswissenschaften) 82, Dr Ludwig Reichert, Wiesbaden 1994, xvi+171 pp., 18 maps in separate wallet. Paperback. ISBN 3-88226-819-0.

<sup>15</sup> R. Lane Fox, *Travelling Heroes. Greeks and their Myths in the Epic Age of Homer*, Allen Lane, London 2008, xiv+514 pp., black-and-white and colour illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-713-99980-8.

of a modern traveller to suggest actual locations of and for the stories of Homer and Hesiod and to re-examine patterns of contact within the Greek world of the 8th century BC and how Greeks of that time related to and regarded their neighbours (Phoenician, Assyrian, north Syrian, Cypriot, etc.). He rejects the idea that Homer and Hesiod owed a direct debt to Near Eastern texts and poems (p. 370).

From the epic age of Homer, we voyage to *Wandering Poets in Ancient Greek Culture*,<sup>16</sup> a collection of 11 papers from scholars of predominantly Anglo-American origin or domicile, arising from a conference in Cambridge in 2005 (though this is not made explicit), that 'explores the phenomenon of the itineracy of ancient Greek poets, their movements around and engagements with the cities and cultural networks of the ancient Mediterranean and... themes of travel and poetic itinerancy in Greek literature' from the Archaic period (Ewen Bowie, pp. 105–36) to the Hellenistic (Angelos Chaniotis, pp. 249–69), taking in the role of wandering poets as local historians (Andrej Petrovic, pp. 195–216) and local (*polis*-based) identities in Greek lyric poetry (Giovan Battista D'Alessio, pp. 137–67), all very satisfactorily introduced by the joint editors (pp. 1–22). In 'Hittite and Greek perspectives on travelling poets...' (pp. 23–45), Mary Bachvarova avers (p. 24) that 'the mechanism by which literature from the Near East reached Greece has not been well studied', which brings us back to Lane Fox (especially his chapters 20 and 21). Set within a broad consideration of ancient networks of exchange, patronage and affiliation, the emphasis is on why poets travelled and how local communities used the skills of these outsiders for their own purposes. A broader index would have been useful.

### *Ancient Worlds*

It is hard to do justice to the English translation of Maurice Sartre's *Histoires Grecques*;<sup>17</sup> the subtitle, 'Snapshots from Antiquity', is much more descriptive and points to the breadth of the material offered up by this eminent historian. There are 43 chapters (typically of 8–10 pages), from 'Theseus Unites Attica's Inhabitants, or the Origins of the City-State' to 'The Death of Hypatia, or Remaining Pagan in a Christian World', a time span of well over a millennium, plus a very brief 'Afterword'. The author admits that his taste is for the margins of the Greek world, especially the eastern and southern. To give some flavour, places and topics covered include '... Cyrene, or How to Found a Colony...', the origins of money, '... Greek Mercenaries and Merchants in Pharaonic Egypt', tyranny, '... the Bases of Athenian Democracy', '... Greeks and Persians in Asia Minor ca. 550–ca. 490', '... Progress of Democracy after the Greco-Persian Wars', '... Pericles' Law on Citizenship', '... Athenian Imperialism', '... Training and Initiation of Spartan Youth', 'Nicocles of Salamis in Cyprus...', '... Alexander, Iran, and the Greeks', 'Greek Settlement in Alexander's Empire', '... Revolutions in Sparta in the Third Century', '... Greeks in Bactria and India', 'Education and Citizenship in the Hellenistic World', '... Hellenism in Syria in the

<sup>16</sup> R. Hunter and I. Rutherford (eds.), *Wandering Poets in Ancient Greek Culture. Travel, Locality and Pan-Hellenism*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2009, xiv+313 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-521-89878-2.

<sup>17</sup> M. Sartre, *Histoires Grecques. Snapshots from Antiquity*, translated by C. Porter, *Revealing Antiquity 17*, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA/London 2009, xx+422 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-674-03212-5.

Third and Second Centuries...’, ‘Greeks, Jews, and Hellenism in the Transjordan’, ‘... Hellenism in Jerusalem’, ‘... the Army and War in the Hellenistic World’, ‘Amphora Stamps from Rhodes...’, ‘Prizes for an Athlete from Miletus...’, ‘Epaminondas Offers a Banquet...’, ‘... Client Princes and the Provinces in the Eastern Mediterranean’, ‘Greeks and Jews in Alexandria in the 1st century AD’, ‘... Grain Crises and Speculation in Asia Minor in the First Century’, ‘... How to be Christian and Cultivated’, and not least “Kill Them All,” or the Greeks, Rome, and Mithridates VI Eupator’ and ‘Urinating in Front of Aphrodite...’. Overall, the snapshots of this practised artist build into a panorama.

*The Dynamics of Ancient Empires*,<sup>18</sup> which grew out of a series of conferences at Stanford University from 1998 to 2001, with a coda in Perth, WA, is part of a series focused otherwise principally (and comparatively) on the Roman and Chinese experiences. There are seven contributions here: Jack Goldstone and John Haldon, whose interests overlap in history and sociology, provide the substantial introductory chapter (pp. 3–29); Peter Bedford deals with the Neo-Assyrian empire, Josef Wiesehöfer with the Achaemenid, Ian Morris supplies ‘The Greater Athenian State’ (pp. 99–177 – the longest chapter for the smallest empire?), the late Keith Hopkins writes on ‘The Political Economy of the Roman Empire’ and Haldon ‘The Byzantine Empire’. Walter Scheidel’s ‘Sex and Empire: A Darwinian Perspective’, where for once I would advocate looking for comparisons in more recent times (cf. the writings of Ronald Hyam), concludes the volume. The introductory piece, which attempts to derive general conclusions from the later chapters, though making few direct references and linkages, has headings such as ‘State Success and Ideological Integration’, ‘States and Elites’, ‘States, Empires, and Complexity’, ‘History and Evolution of the Imperial Form’, etc.; and it suggests that the five single-empire chapters will, for each, examine origins, survival, the structures and power relationships that underpinned this, and the economic basis and generation of wealth. Inevitably the particular stress varies quite significantly from chapter to chapter. What is an empire and what is a state, and what do we mean by the two terms? Morris clearly has problems with an Athenian empire, and to what extent this assemblage (or, for that matter, the Byzantine empire at several junctures – though, in contrast, it retained an imperial dynamic) could be considered an empire is moot: was it not, perhaps, a Greek territorial state? On one of the crucial points, about a lack of a sense of foreign-ness between ruler and ruled, I would refer readers to the observations by John Darwin in this current issue of *AWE*. The examination of Byzantium owes more to Garry Runciman than to his uncle Steven. Undoubtedly, students of a particular empire will gain from learning more about different (even if similar) imperial entities, and may be encouraged to reconsider, reinterpret and ask new questions about their ‘own’ in light of what is here revealed about others. Whether a united bibliography is useful in a work such as this is a matter for debate.

*The Ancient World at War*<sup>19</sup> is a large format, lavishly illustrated volume with an ambitious scope. In 19 chapters, furnished by 21 authors from, or based in, the British Isles and

<sup>18</sup> I. Morris and W. Scheidel (eds.), *The Dynamics of Ancient Empires: State Power from Assyria to Byzantium*, Oxford Studies in Early Empires, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2009, xviii+381 pp., maps. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-537158-1.

<sup>19</sup> P. de Souza (ed.), *The Ancient World at War: A Global History*, Thames and Hudson, London 2008, 320 pp., 351 illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-500-25138-6.

the United States, it does its best to cover the ancient world in full: 'The Terrible Tide of War' (Philip de Souza's introductory piece); 'War Before Prehistory' (R. Brian Ferguson); 'Ancient Near Eastern Warfare' and 'Parthian and Sasanian Warfare' (Nigel Tallis); 'The Might of the Persian Empire' (Nick Sekunda); 'Minoan and Mycenaean Warfare' (Alan Peatfield); 'War in Archaic and Classical Greece' (Hans van Wees); 'Alexander the Great and Hellenistic Warfare' (David Potter); 'Armies of the Roman Republic' (Nathan Rosenstein); 'Celtic and Iberian Warrior Cultures' (Louis Rawlings); 'Imperial Roman Warfare' and 'Central Asia from the Scythians to the Huns' (Jon Coulston); and 'Rome and the Barbarians' (Hugh Elton). The final five chapters cover South Asia, China, Korea and Japan, Mesoamerica, and the Andes. Descriptions of military actions and events are combined with context: analysis of the underlying social, economic and cultural background, and of the evolution of equipment, tactics and strategies. The volume is copiously illustrated (objects, paintings, friezes, equipment, excavations), almost half in colour, and contains useful battle-plans as well as maps; there are side-bars containing key dates in each chapter. All measurements in both metric and imperial.

With *The Middle East: The Cradle of Civilization Revealed*<sup>20</sup> we have reached coffee-table size – a lavish and colourful production (more Hudson than Thames) including nearly 500 colour illustrations – compiled, under the general direction of Stephen Bourke of the University of Sydney, by a group of 13 academics based in North America, Australia, Israel and Britain. There are obvious limits when content has to be heavily distilled yet remain potable to a general reader. There are seven chapters, each subdivided: 'Introducing the Middle East', with sections on what it is, peoples and cultures, economy and agriculture, the importance of water, and archaeological finds; next is 'The Fertile Crescent: Birthplace of Agriculture' (pp. 22–55), sections on early humans in the Middle East and on Neolithic culture; 'Mesopotamia: The Cradle of Civilization' (pp. 56–103) – 'An Urban Explosion', the emergence of city-states, Ur; then 'Power Struggles: Kingdoms at War' (pp. 104–57), covering the growth of city-states, the western states, the rise of Assyria; 'Masters of the Known World: The Age of Empires' (pp. 158–245), namely Assyria and its rivals, Medes and Babylonians and, of course, the Persians; and then 'Under Occupation: Hellenistic and Roman Conquerors' (pp. 246–309), in which we go beyond Rome to Parthians, Byzantines and Sasanians. However, there is a further attempt to produce digestible gobbets of between two and four pages apiece; thus, the section on the Persians contains 'The Achaemenid Empire' (including a king list), 'Cyrus the Great' (including an inset on Pasargadae), 'Cambyses II and Darius I' (with an inset on the foundations of Susa), 'Persepolis', 'Achaemenid Art', 'Imperial Government', 'The Persian Royal Road', 'The Ionian Revolt', 'Xerxes I', 'War with Greece' and 'The Last Achaemenids' (with an inset on royal women). This arrangement typifies the whole work. One gets breadth and this is, of its nature, a broad-brush work never intended to be a forum for original insight or minute detail. The final chapter, 'Search for Origins: The Rediscovery of the Middle East' (pp. 310–51), brings us to the present via 'Anatomy of a Tell', 'Neo-Babylonian Excavations', 'Classical Accounts', 'Islamic Travelers', 'Missionaries and Envoys', 'Explorers and Collectors' (from Lady Hester Stanhope to Gertrude Bell and the other usual suspects), 'Cracking the Cuneiform Code',

<sup>20</sup> S. Bourke (ed.), *The Middle East: The Cradle of Civilization Revealed*, Ancient Civilizations, Thames and Hudson, London 2008, 368 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-500-25147-8.



'Pioneering Excavations', discovery of the Hittites and 'The Discovery of Sumer', activity Interwars, 'Biblical Archaeology', 'Unearthing Ancient Iran', and finally 'The Spoils of War' and 'The Treasures of Nimrud'. Here one might quibble with some of the emphasis and comments. There is a chronology (once again, how well does Common Era dating work in a publication designed for a broad readership?), a list of further reading and an index.

Negotiation is one of those words that keeps cropping up. In Katherine Clarke's book,<sup>21</sup> 'the articulation and expression of time, especially time past, reflect the values and aspirations of both those who "make" it and those who comprise their audience or readership. Time is in this sense not only constructed, but also negotiated...' (p. vii). The canvas is the Greek *polis* and its citizens; the studio, the Hellenistic world. The volume explores the creation of history at a local level, as a social activity within a civic context, which reflects and contributes towards a sense of shared identity, but by keeping the focus local, Clarke is able to examine the dynamics of how time and the past were constructed and then 'managed'. Thus, she delves into the construction of calendars, the measurement of time, chronological works and grand narratives and the techniques of their begetters, i.e. the annual cycle and the long time span of history, and the local pull versus the global stage. Having dealt with the mechanics in the first two chapters, in the next, 'The world outside the *polis*', she looks, amongst others, at Ephorus' contribution to the invention of universal history, the 'Olympiadic revolution', leading on to Diodorus Siculus and 'the culmination of universal chronology', before turning to Strabo and finally moving into time in the non-Greek world. Then back to the *polis* and its past: how local histories denoted the passage of time, 'paced the past', using generational, regnal and dynastic or magisterial and priestly calculations, mapping time within a year, synchronism ('drawing together time across space'), etc. Next is 'Persuasion and plausibility: history and rhetoric in the *polis*', i.e. the invention and selling of plausible pasts and their supposed lessons for a later present, Demosthenes, Aeschines and Isocrates, etc. Finally, '... audiences and contexts', alignment of local historiography with the dominant self-image of the city without its becoming abjectly parochial (does not the title 'Valuing the past: promoting the *polis*' [pp. 313–38] sound like the 'bullet-point' in some ancient 'mission statement' for hucksters to 'spruik' a certain idea of the *polis urbi et orbi*?), itinerant intellectuals on a (Roman) world stage akin to the *Wandering Poets* reviewed above.

#### *Sculpture, Vases, Treasures, Art*

Paul Collins, curator of Later Mesopotamian Antiquities at the British Museum, has written an excellent and concise text, but he must have realised that this might well be overawed by the illustrations – 130 colour photographs of the eponymous *Assyrian Palace Sculptures*,<sup>22</sup> executed between the 9th and 7th centuries BC when Assyria grew to dominate the Fertile Crescent and beyond. The sculptures are stunning, and so are the photographs. The volume

<sup>21</sup> K. Clarke, *Making Time for the Past: Local History and the Polis*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2008, xiv+408 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-928108-3.

<sup>22</sup> P. Collins, with photographs by L. Baylis and S. Marshall, *Assyrian Palace Sculptures*, The British Museum Press, London 2008, 144 pp., 130 colour illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-7141-1167-4.



is in six chapters: 'Introduction: Assyrian Palace Sculptures' (pp. 8–27), 'The Art of Ashurnasirpal II', 'The Art of Tiglath-Pileser III', 'The Art of Sargon II', 'The Art of Sennacherib' and 'The Art of Ashurbanipal'; and in all but the first, the text is brief. In his introductory chapter, Collins ranges more widely, discussing the recovery of the sculptures in the course of excavations at Nimrud and Nineveh by Austen Layard (an acolyte of Sir Stratford Canning, HBM Ambassador to the Sublime Porte), their reception at the British Museum, the appreciation and understanding of them, their historical context, the artistic tradition of which they were part, etc.. He provides a map, various fanciful 19th-century reconstructions and works of art inspired by the friezes, and shows Assyrian-inspired sculpture from the Nereid Monument in present-day Turkey.

As we have come to expect, *Special Techniques in Athenian Vases*<sup>23</sup> maintains the Getty tradition of high production values. It contains the proceedings of an international symposium held at the Getty Villa in 2006 in conjunction with an exhibition whose themes formed the basis of this volume of 19 papers by 23 authors – ceramicists and scientists (four from the Getty Conservation Institute), curators and academics, many of them well-known names (Herman Brijder, Brian Sparkes, Dyfri Williams, etc.) – covering an array of topics from social contexts and iconography, via technique, execution and production, on to trade and distribution. The opening papers, by the exhibition's guest curator, Beth Cohen, and Sparkes, set out what techniques are to be examined and the importance of studying technique and not just decoration. Perhaps for our purposes, the last group of papers holds most interest: on the distribution pattern of three techniques in the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods (Athena Tsingarida), with plentiful tabulations and maps; the influence of vases in special techniques on local production in Magna Graecia and Sicily (Martine Denoyelle); interpreting special-technique vessels found in Etruscan tombs (Bodil Rasmussen); and 'Taste at the Periphery of the Greek World: The Iberian Peninsula and the Black Sea' (Friederike Fless), describing the evolving adoption and adaptation of Attic vessels (craters in Iberia, 'Kerch vases' in the Black Sea) by local customers and the response of Attic painters and potters to their demands. An interesting and worthwhile combination of approaches, methodologies, points of view and technologies and techniques.

Fate! With scarcely imaginable irony, the keenly awaited publication of the updated 2nd edition of Nicolas Coldstream's masterly *Greek Geometric Pottery*,<sup>24</sup> first published in 1968, took place a mere fortnight after his death. The updating takes the form of a Supplement (pp. 459–95), in the same general shape as the original: text, divided between the ten local styles examined in the main body of the work and, like it, followed by remarks on absolute chronology, then additional bibliography and a site index (locality, type of site, publication, date). It is a commonplace to describe this work as monumental, indispensable

<sup>23</sup> K. Lapatin (ed.), *Papers on Special Techniques in Athenian Vases*, Proceedings of a symposium held in connection with the exhibition 'The Colors of Clay: Special Techniques in Athenian Vases', at the Getty Villa, June 15–17, 2006, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, Getty Publications, Los Angeles 2008, xiv+242 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-89236-901-0.

<sup>24</sup> J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery. A Survey of Ten Local Styles and their Chronology*, updated 2nd edition, Bristol Phoenix Press, Exeter 2008, xlii+502 pp., 64 pls. Cased. ISBN 978-1-904675-81-5.

and fundamental; all these words are as true now as they were when the original edition appeared over 40 years ago.

Those at the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres associated with the publication of the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* expanded their activities to organise a conference in early 2004, 'Les clients de la céramique grecque', the proceedings of which are here published in a handsome volume equipped with 95 pages of plates, many in colour.<sup>25</sup> There are 15 papers, mainly in French and Italian, the first being that of the *éditrice*, Juliette de La Genière, 'Clients, potiers et peintres' (pp. 9–15). Sergei Solovyov considers Chian pottery from Berezan (pp. 17–25), but much of his focus is on the dugout and aboveground dwellings from the 6th-century phases of occupation in which this pottery was found.<sup>26</sup> Cécile Dubosse offers 'Des vases pour les vivants et des vases pour les morts' from Ensérune (pp. 27–48). The Archaic and Attic red-figure pottery of Argilos receives the attention of Jacques Perreault, Zisis Bonias and Hubert Giroux (pp. 49–57), 'The archaic sanctuary of Apollo on the island of Despotiko' that of Yannos Kourayos (pp. 59–67), while Attic pottery on the island of Amorgos – archaeological finds versus literary tradition – is considered by Lila Marangou (pp. 69–74). Maria Pipili examines 'The clients of Laconian black-figure vases' (pp. 75–83). Both Rosalba Panvini and Filippo Giudice consider Attic pottery in Sicily (pp. 85–95), Maurizio Gualtieri looks at Tardo-Apula red-figure (pp. 97–106), Mario Iozzo writes about imports of Greek pottery at Chiusi and surrounds between 650/620 and 550/520 BC, appending a catalogue (pp. 107–32), and Martine Denoyelle and Antionette Hesnard discuss Greek pottery excavated from the Place Jules Verne and Villeneuve-Bargemon in Marseilles (pp. 133–40). Didier Viviers asks 'Signer une œuvre en Grèce ancienne: pourquoi? pour qui?' (pp. 141–54).

Geometric pottery is at the core of *Art and Identity in Dark Age Greece*,<sup>27</sup> an exploration of how art and material culture were used to construct identity in the four centuries between the collapse of the Bronze Age palaces and the creation of Archaic city-states. It seeks to escape from some of the emphasis on 'class' prevalent hitherto towards an interpretation in which the place of women and children in a warrior-focused society is recognised, making use of iconographic and mortuary analysis and typological study as well as gender theory to understand the artistic and material context of social change. Five broad chapters sit between Introduction and 'Epilogue: Back from the Dark': 'Art Made to Order', exploring context, social identity, patrons, artists and significant objects; then 'Geometric Art Comes of Age', including children and material culture, centaurs, Gorgon and Medusa, 'A Need for Monsters'; leading to 'Virgin Territory: The Construction of the Maiden', especially graves and dancing, '... The Art of Abduction' – by a centaur, from the dance, etc., and

<sup>25</sup> J. de la Genière (ed.), *Cahiers du Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, France, N° 1: Les Clients de la Céramique Grecque*, Actes du Colloque de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris, 30–31 janvier 2004, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Diffusion De Boccard, Paris 2006, 256 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 2-87754-177-0.

<sup>26</sup> For more on which, see S.L. Solovyov, *Ancient Berezan: The Architecture, History and Culture of the First Greek Colony in the Northern Black Sea* (Leiden 1999).

<sup>27</sup> S. Langdon, *Art and Identity in Dark Age Greece, 1100–700 BCE*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2008, xviii+388 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-521-51321-0.

'The Domestication of the Warrior', bristling with spears, then master of animals, to 'The Male Hearth' and marriage. Suitably illustrated, of course.

Aleksandr Leskov's volume<sup>28</sup> is mainly a well-illustrated catalogue of the Maikop treasure, produced to a fine standard by the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, home to the largest single part of it. What is this treasure?: the world's largest collection of antiquities from the northern Black Sea region outside Russia – over 300 small decorative objects, ranging in date from the Bronze Age to the High Middle Ages, collected by a French banker, M.A. Merle de Massoneau, resident in Russia for 20 years at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, where he supervised the Imperial vineyards in the Crimea and northern Caucasus, and sold by him in stages in the 20 years following. And why Maikop?: there is no single provenance and the objects, having often passed through intermediaries, are now split between Philadelphia, Berlin (two separate museums) and the Metropolitan Museum (only two of whose 32 plaques are illustrated; the rest overlap those from the other institutions). But Maikop is a site in the northern Caucasus, first excavated in 1897 and dated to the end of the 4th/beginning of the 3rd millennium BC, that has yielded gold and bronze objects to which most of those in de Massoneau's collection are identical, and which gave its name to a material culture that extended from the Caspian to the Black Sea. The catalogue (pp. 10–225) is sandwiched between an Introduction (pp. 1–9), which gives an account of the collector and the collection, dispersal and fate of his treasure, including wartime looting and destruction, and an 'Historical Overview' (pp. 226–67). The various parts of the treasure have been published previously to varying degrees. This, however, is the first attempt to bring the whole group together and provide a detailed description, background and context (relationship to other finds from the area), chronological framework, bibliography, etc., relying on Leskov's extensive knowledge and experience in Russia and the West, on show in the 'Overview', to do so. Usefully, an index is provided.

There is a happy balance between 60 pages of text and 50 of plates (222 figures, many in colour) in the volume on *The Aigina Treasure*,<sup>29</sup> a perplexing collection of material bought by The British Museum in 1891 and lacking proper provenance. The ten essays, many by Museum staff, incorporate new finds and discoveries made in the 30 years since Reynold Higgins's study.<sup>30</sup> Dyfri Williams provides both the Introduction and 'The Story of the Aigina Treasure' (pp. 9–16); Lesley Fitton *et al.* then contribute a combined complete catalogue of the treasure with a recently commissioned full technical report (pp. 17–31), and Fitton alone describes 'Links in a chain: Aigina, Dahsur and Tod' (pp. 61–65). Stefan Hiller compares material excavated in 1981 from a warrior shaft-grave at Aigina with that in the treasure (pp. 36–39). Others examine the treasure's Mycenaean (Robert Laffineur, pp. 40–42), Near Eastern (Dominique Collon, pp. 43–45) and Egyptian (Yvonne Markowitz and Peter Lacovara, pp. 59–61) connections, re-examine the

<sup>28</sup> A.M. Leskov, *The Maikop Treasure*, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia 2008, x+294 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-934536-04-9.

<sup>29</sup> J.L. Fitton (ed.), with a technical report by N. Meeks, *The Aigina Treasure: Aegean Bronze Age Jewellery and a Mystery Revisited*, The British Museum Press, London 2008, 127 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-7141-2262-5.

<sup>30</sup> R.A. Higgins, *The Aegina Treasure: An Archaeological Mystery* (London 1979).

'Master of Animals' pendant (Joan Aruz, pp. 46–50), or compare pendants from Tell el-Dab'a, Aigina and the Petrie Museum (pp. 51–58). A handsome, large-format production, as one would expect from this publisher.

Continuing with decorated metal objects leads us to the collection *Rethinking Celtic Art*,<sup>31</sup> the fruits of a workshop to study Celtic art in Great Britain, held in late 2006 within a project entitled 'The Technology (or Technologies, there is uncertainty) of Enchantment', aimed at understanding material culture, aesthetics and power in Later Iron Age–Early Roman Britain. It brings together 15 scholars from across Britain and Australia; it does not publish all of the conference papers. The 'Introduction: reintegrating "Celtic" art', by Chris Gosden and J.D. Hill, two of the editors, is an exercise in deconstruction, but of art rather than Celts. Duncan Garrow, the third editor, contributes a piece about interrogating the project's database (pp. 15–39). With Vincent and Ruth Megaw, 'A Celtic mystery: some thought on the genesis of insular Celtic art' (pp. 40–58), we are back on more familiar territory; and Mary Davis and Adam Gwilt offer 'Material, style and identity in first century AD metalwork, with particular reference to the Seven Sisters Hoard' (pp. 146–84). Other contributions are: 'Seeing red: the aesthetics of martial objects in the British and Irish Iron Age' (Melanie Giles); '... a re-examination of mirror decoration' (Jody Joy); '... regional stylistic diversity in Iron Age coinage' (Ian Leins); '... Iron Age and Roman grooming and display' (Hella Eckardt); 'Celtic Art in Roman Britain' (Fraser Hunter); and 'On the aesthetics of the Ancient Britons' (Mansel Spratling). Brief 'Comments' (pp. 203–18), by Niall Sharples on 'Contextualising Iron Age art' and David Mattingly on art after the Roman conquest, bring the volume to a close. Well illustrated, including some colour plates. No index, as is often the case with conference volumes; but one would have been useful.

### *Bithynia and Beyond*

All politics is local? Tønnes Bekker-Nielsen's focus<sup>32</sup> is the cities of Roman Bithynia (Nicomedia, Prusa and Nicaea – 'a tale of three cities', as part of the Introduction is pithily entitled) in and after the time of the philosopher-cum-provincial small-town politician Dion Chrysostomos (more usually Dio Chrysostom or Dio of Prusa in English – as in *The Dynamics of Ancient Empires* reviewed above; and it is one of the peculiarities of this Aarhus series that excellent [mainly British-] English-language text is interspersed with un-Anglicised proper names, such as Strabon and Aristoteles). Whereas it is common to examine Roman local administration through investigation of formal power structures, urban institutions, magistracies, provincial laws and imperial edicts, here the approach is a little more Namierite: exploring how formal politics intersected with informal factors, be they personal rivalries, prejudice or parochialism, in the cities of north-western Asia Minor. The time span is the 1st–5th centuries AD; however, central to the work is a detailed examination of

<sup>31</sup> D. Garrow, C. Gosden and J.D. Hill (eds.), *Rethinking Celtic Art*, Oxbow Books, Oxford 2008, vi+226 pp, illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-84217-318-3.

<sup>32</sup> T. Bekker-Nielsen, *Urban Life and Local Politics in Roman Bithynia: The Small World of Dion Chrysostomos*, Black Sea Studies 7, The Danish National Research Foundation's Centre for Black Sea Studies, Aarhus University Press, Aarhus 2008, 211 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-87-7934-350-4.

Dion's municipal speeches and his career (Chapter 7 and the Appendix), of petty conflict and lofty ambition. An Introduction outlining these themes (pp. 13–19) leads on to seven chapters – 'Before the Romans'; 'Windows on the Past', i.e. landscape, literary sources, inscriptions and coins; 'The Urban Environment', including self-perceptions, titles and status, planning and architecture, and defences; 'Political Institutions' (pp. 61–95), which takes in annexation, civic self-government, revenues and finance, city magistracies, regional organisation, etc.; 'The Political Class', ethnicity, citizenship, social stratification and examples of some 'Bithynian careers' at local, urban, regional and imperial level; 'A Political Biography...' of Dion (pp. 119–45); and 'The Bithynian Cities under the Later Empire' – and the 'Conclusions...' on honour, status, patron-client relations, the extent to which *polis*-politics was 'political', etc. The bibliography needs better proofing; and 'indices' are better left to economists and mathematicians.

The volume on the sculpture and inscriptions from Kerkenes Dağ (ancient Pteria, destroyed by Croesus of Lydia?) is offered as *Kerkenes Special Studies 1*.<sup>33</sup> One looks forward to more, to enhance awareness of this unique site. Geoffrey Summers, the co-author, began the first investigation of these impressive ruins in 1993, and his work has done much to increase our knowledge of settlement patterns and cultural development in Anatolia in the middle of the 1st millennium BC – evidence from the site suggests that its own brief *floruit* was in the 7th–6th centuries, and that it was a Phrygian outpost within Median and later Lydian territory. The material presented here – sculptures, architectural details and an inscription, all from a monumental entrance complex – was excavated between 2003 and 2005; and here we have an estimable marriage of attention to detail and prompt publication. Excellent photographs and drawings complement a detailed catalogue, introduced by an overview of the location and geography of the site, its history, the complex itself, and its destruction, and Claude Brixhe's restoration and description of the Phrygian inscription. Cybele enters the discussion about costume on the statue of the male figure.

To some of us, Lydia always brings to mind a bad rhyme from 'Groucho' Marx: encyclopaedia. If not encyclopaedic, the contributions to *Love for Lydia*,<sup>34</sup> the volume presented to Crawford H. Greenewalt jr on his 70th birthday and in the year of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Sardis Expedition, are wide-ranging, bound together by a regard for the project and its erstwhile director. The first three (Christopher Roosevelt – excavation; Philip Stinson – architecture and painting; Elizabeth Baughan – furnishings) examine Lala Tepe, a rich and richly decorated Late Lydian tumulus near Sardis. Re-used pottery from Archaic Sardis (Andrew Ramage), 'Mapping Sardis' (Nicholas Cahill), 'Reflections on the

<sup>33</sup> C.M. Draycott and G.D. Summers, with contribution by C. Brixhe and Turkish summary translated by G. Bike Yazıcıoğlu, *Sculpture and Inscriptions from the Monumental Entrance to the Palatial Complex at Kerkenes Dağ, Turkey*, Kerkenes Special Studies 1, Oriental Institute Publications 135, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago 2008, xxiv+88 pp., illustrations in text, 98 pls. Cased. ISBN 978-1-885923-57-8/ISSN 0069-3367.

<sup>34</sup> N.D. Cahill (ed.), *Love for Lydia. A Sardis Anniversary Volume Presented to Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr.*, Archaeological Exploration of Sardis Report 4, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA/London 2008, xvi+249 pp., illustrations, with 20 colour pls. at end. Cased. ISBN 978-0-674-03195-1.

Urban Development of Hellenistic Sardis' (Christopher Ratté), spolia from the Sardis synagogue (David Mitten and Aimeé Scorziello), the 'Domestic Scenery in Late Roman Sardis' (Marcus Rautman – unusually well-preserved wall-paintings in a late antique dwelling) and small bronze coin hoards in late 5th-century Sardis (Barbara Burrell) whisk us through a millennium; and then Kent Severson provides 'Understanding and Preserving the Material Culture of Sardis'. The other three chapters are: 'Circles of Light and Achaemenid Hegemonic Style in Gordion's Seal 100' (Elspeth Dusinberre); '... Feminine Piety and Early Hellenistic Boukrania' (Gretchen Umholtz); and on the reception of classical architecture in the work of the early 20th-century Austrian architect, Adolf Loos, which seems an orphan until its author, Fikret Yegül, moves on to discuss broadly the relationship of architectural design to ornament at several Roman sites, one Sardis. Very well illustrated, rounded off by 20 colour plates. The editor, publicly washing his hands, has left contributors to their own devices over BC versus BCE, etc.

The archaeology of the temple of Ephesian Artemis<sup>35</sup> is a handsome volume brought together by Ulrike Muss, herself a contributor of four and to six pieces: high production values and many well-chosen illustrations (photographs of sites and objects; maps and plans; etc.), most in colour. There are 30 contributions, grouped into five sections: space and time (i.e. geography, palaeography, history), the gods (in the Artemision, Artemis and the Virgin Mary), archaeology and ritual (pp. 77–197: gifts for the goddess, pearls, amber, ivory, terracotta statuettes, bronze votive objects, ceramics, coins, animal bones, gold and its typology, technology and goldsmithing techniques), culture and identity (Egyptian objects, Lydian work, Phrygian bronzework), and the arrangement of sacral architecture (buildings, re-buildings, the altar, a Christian church, with plentiful reconstruction drawings). A thorough and commendable publication of which both editor and publisher should be proud.

*Milesische Forschungen* 6,<sup>36</sup> on the ceramic finds from the temple of Athena in the small Greek town of Assesos, is a monument to, and in the best traditions of, German publishing (Philipp von Zabern) and publication, a thoroughness scarcely to be found elsewhere: large format, on art paper, it bespeaks quality from the minutely detailed table of contents to the numerous fine maps in the pocket inside the back cover. The detailed structured catalogue (pp. 343–450) and the 173 plates follow a text, itself illustrated, of 13 highly structured chapters plus an introduction and conclusions: historical and archaeological sources for the location of Assesos, the excavation process, dating (Herodotus, Lydian chronology, fall of Sardis, Gyges, etc.), drinking vessels (cups, skyphoi, kantharoi, etc.), serving vessels (south Ionian and bowls), pouring vessels, craters and lebetes, storage vessels (hydriai, amphorae, stamnoi, pythoi), other forms and unguentaria, kitchenware, small finds, recent finds.

<sup>35</sup> U. Muss (ed.), *Die Archäologie der ephesischen Artemis: Gestalt und Ritual eines Heiligtums*, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Phoibos Verlag, Vienna 2008, 288 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-901232-91-6.

<sup>36</sup> G. Kalaitzoglou, *Assesos. Ein geschlossener Befund südionischer Keramik aus dem Heiligtum der Athena Assesia*, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Milesische Forschungen 6, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2008, xviii+450 pp., 173 pls., and 18 maps in end-pocket. Cased. ISBN 978-3-8053-3500-3.



Daunting in scope are the Proceedings of the 4th *International Congress of the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*,<sup>37</sup> even when divided between volumes and marshalled into sections: nigh on 600 participants and 83 here-printed contributions (three workshops have been published separately). Would that the editors' 'relief' (p. xi) at seeing the work through the press had yet enabled them to proof-read their own Foreword for homophones. Harrassowitz have, nevertheless, produced a handsome pair of volumes. The papers on the three main themes of the congress are topped by the relevant keynote address and wound up by 'résumés'; this obviously does not apply to section 4, 14 archaeological field reports. Thus, the first section opens with Tony Wilkinson's 'Human Dimensions of Environmental Change in the Ancient Near East' (pp. 3–18), concludes with a résumé by Wendy Matthews (pp. 235–40), who has contributed a 'study of human-environmental inter-relationships in early agricultural and urban settlements in the Ancient Near East' (pp. 143–55), and contains 16 other pieces, for example: 'Urban Environment at 13th Century Emar...' (Lorenzo d'Alfonso, pp. 65–76); 'Restless Settlers. Changing Settlement Patterns in Early Bronze 2 at Arslantepe (Malatya, Turkey)' (Carlo Persiani, pp. 167–76); 'Wadi al Qubur and its interrelations with the development of urban space of the city of Palmyra in the Hellenistic and Roman periods' (Marta Zuchowska, pp. 229–34). Section two opens with Winifred Orthman, 'Aspects of the interpretation of Ancient Near Eastern Art as Visual Communication' (pp. 243–55), moves through 28 papers – 'The Role of Monumental Architecture in Social Transformation: Pella and the EBI/II Transition' (Samantha Gibbins, pp. 377–90); 'Nimrud and Nineveh: Standards of Measurement' (Eleanor Guralnick, pp. 391–401); 'Seal Impressions on Cretulae at Arslantepe: A New Approach' (R. Laurito and C. Lemorini, pp. 413–20); 'The Role of the Image of the King in the Organizational and Compositional Principles of Sennacherib's Throne Room...' (Davide Nadali, pp. 473–93); 'Nimrud Ivories...' (Eleanora Pappalardo, pp. 495–506); 'Visual messages of the Sphinx Gate at Alaca Höyük...' (Uwe Sievertsen, pp. 571–86); etc. – to Dominik Bonatz's brief summing-up (pp. 621–23).

Volume 2 starts with 'Social and Cultural Transformation: The Archaeology of Transitional Periods and Dark Ages' (Roger Matthews, pp. 3–8), passes through Arslantepe again with Francesca Restell's 'Post-Baid Occupation on the Upper Euphrates...' (pp. 21–32), 'The Continuity of Ceramic Production after the Fall of the Neo-Assyrian Empire' (Florian Kreppner, pp. 155–67), Philistine material culture ('Ashdod Ware') (Itzhaq Shai *et al.*, pp. 235–44), to the summation by Diederik Meijer (pp. 273–75), who also contributes 'Punctuating Archaeological Transitions' (pp. 217–24). The 14 field reports (pp. 279–428) include Jericho and Gath, Al-Rawda, Gaziantep Kalehöyük, Saraga Höyük, Tilmen Höyük, Tell 'Arqa, Tell Bari, Tell Mishrifeh, etc.

<sup>37</sup> H. Kühne, R.M. Czichon and F. Janoscha Kreppner (eds.), *Proceedings of the 4th International Congress of the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, 29 March–3 April 2004, Freie Universität Berlin*. Vol. 1: *The Reconstruction of Environment: Natural Resources and Human Interrelation through Time. Art History: Visual Communication*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2008, xxxvi+642 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-05703-5. Vol. 2: *Social and Cultural Transformation: The Archaeology of Transitional Periods and Dark Ages. Excavation Reports*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2008, xxxiv+446 pp. Cased. 978-3-447-05757-8.



Precisely because of the size and scope of these volumes, an index would have been welcome. I can understand, however, that this is really asking too much of the editors. Nearly all contributions are in English, a few in French, German and Italian. Some have abstracts, many not.

*The Black Sea*

*Cultes et vie religieuse*<sup>38</sup> is the book of Dobrinka Chiekova's Neuchâtel doctoral dissertation of 2002. The heavy footnotes reflect this. There are 22 chapters in the course of which individual deities (Apollo, Dionysos, Demeter and Kore, Cybele, the Dioscuri, Zeus, Artemis and Hecate and Phosphoros, Poseidon, Aphrodite, Athena, Heracles, Hermes, Asclepius, etc.) or classes etc. of divinities (Egyptian gods, nymphs and muses, personifications) are examined in relation to the Greek colonies on the west coast of the Black Sea (Tyras, Istros, Tomis, Callatis, Bizone, Dionysopolis, Odessos, Mesambria, Apollonia Pontica and Anchialos) and their metropolises (Miletus and Megara), using literary, epigraphical, numismatic and archaeological evidence, though primarily inscriptions, to provide a picture of religious life. The work seeks to identify, where possible, particular local aspects, perhaps deriving from contact with their Thracian neighbours, and also to cast light on the religious and cultural values of the Thracians themselves.

*Novensia* 18–19<sup>39</sup> publishes the proceedings of a conference focused on Tanais, held in Warsaw in 2005 to celebrate the first ten years of joint Polish-Russian involvement in excavation of this Greek settlement at the mouth of the eponymous river (now the Don). All 25 contributions bar two are in Russian with brief English summaries; C.-H. Fischer's brief analysis of organic dyestuffs from a grave (pp. 125–28) and Marija Buzov's examination of inscriptions on two marble tablets from Tanais containing the earliest mention of the Croatian name (pp. 75–85) are in English with Russian summaries. The issue opens with T.M. Arseneva summarising the history and principal results of research at Tanais since excavation commenced in 1955 (pp. 9–27) and Tomasz Scholl giving a heavily illustrated account of 'Ten years of Warsaw University excavations in Tanais' (pp. 307–38). V.P. Kopylov examines the question of two Tanais's in light of the large Greek colony at 'Elizavetovski fortified settlement' (pp. 219–32), Ewdoksia Papuci-Władyka and E.F. Redina look at Koshary, an ancient settlement in the *chora* of Olbia (pp. 291–306), and S.L. Solovyov contrasts the Greek colonisation of Borysthene and Tanais (pp. 339–50). A London papyrus is reconsidered relative to Bosporan envoys in Egypt (Adam Lukashevich, pp. 233–36) and Bosporan epigraphy is examined through an inscription from Kerch Museum (Alfred Tvardetski, pp. 351–64). Ranging more broadly are V.F. Chesnok on 'The holy olive branch or Gods and heroes of antique stadiums in Russia' (pp. 87–106) and the late S.V. Gurkin on the later

<sup>38</sup> D. Chiekova, *Cultes et vie religieuse des cités grecques du Pont Gauche (VIIe-Ier siècles avant J.-C.)*, Publications Universitaires Européennes, Série 38: Archéologie, Vol. 76, Peter Lang, Bern/Berlin/Brussels/Frankfurt/New York/Oxford/Vienna 2008, xvi+325 pp., 3 tabs. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-03911-448-1/ISSN 0721-3530.

<sup>39</sup> *Novensia* 18-19, Ośrodek Badań nad Antykem Europy Południowo-Wschodniej, Issue editors P. Dyczk and T. Scholl, Warsaw University, Warsaw 2008, 385 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISSN 0860-5777.

nomads of the southern steppes (Pechengs, Turks, Kipchaks) (pp. 139–56). Other papers cover child burials, the interpretation of Hellenistic amphora finds and the history of commerce, a drinking horn from a barrow near the ‘Elizawietowska’ fort, representative material from the western necropolis, a burial ritual structure at Nizne-Gnilowska necropolis, dipinti on a class of 3rd-century BC amphorae from Tanais, bone items, antique gems, the defensive system in the west of early Tanais, Tanais and the barbarians, ceramic stamps, Greek ceramic stamps from the Warsaw excavations, amphorae from Roman complexes, glass vessels of the first half of the 2nd century AD, and a black varnished kantharos. Overall, this volume gives a clear idea of the results obtained from the study of Tanais and other northern Black Sea sites. But it would have been better if the names of the authors in the English table of contents had been transliterated, and where there is transliteration, that it had been uniform. As it is, we find there the names of Polish authors in Cyrillic!

Volume 8 of *Black Sea Studies*<sup>40</sup> occasionally roams wider. Nineteen scholars from or based in Denmark, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Turkey, Georgia, Russia and the Ukraine are published here. The volume grew out of a conference but several of the contributors were not participants. It is grouped thematically into five sections from ‘Setting the Scene’ to ‘Mind the Gap’ (*sic!*). The Preface (pp. 9–12) shows that terminological worries have now afflicted ‘others’ as well as the Anglo-Saxons: settler not colonist, ‘heavy semantic baggage’, don’t mention ‘colonisation’ but do mention, guiltily, Danish colonial experience.<sup>41</sup> First to the crease is Ju.A. Vinogradov, ‘Rhythms of Eurasia and the Main Historical Stages of the Kimmerian Bosphoros in Pre-Roman Times’ (pp. 13–27), followed by Pia Guldager Bilde with ‘Some Reflections on the Eschatological Currents, Diasporic Experience and Group Identity in the Northwestern Black Sea Region’ (pp. 29–45) and Valentina Mordvintseva’s ‘Phalerae of Horse Harnesses in Votive Depositions of the 2nd–1st century BC in the North Pontic Region and the Sarmatian Paradigm’ (pp. 47–65). Peter Attema offers ‘Conflict or Coexistence? Remarks on Indigenous Settlement and Greek Colonization in... Northern Calabria, Italy’ (pp. 67–99) and Alexandre Baralis ‘The Chora Formation of the Greek Cities of Aegean Thrace: Towards Chronological Approach to the Colonization Process’ (pp. 101–30), before we get back to the Black Sea with Michael Vickers and Amiran Kakhidze’s ‘A Kolchian and Greek Settlement: Excavations at Pičvnari 1967 to 2005’ (pp. 131–48). Jakob Munke Højte studies ‘The Cities that Never Were: Failed Attempts at Colonization in the Black Sea’ (pp. 149–62), A.V. Karjaka looks at both ‘The Defense Wall in the Northern Part of the Lower City of Olbia Pontike’ and ‘The Demarcation System of the Agricultural Environment of Olbia Pontike’ (pp. 163–92), A.V. Gavrilov at ‘The First results of the Archaeological Surveys Near Cape Čauda and Lake Kačik on the Kerch Peninsula’ (pp. 193–206), and ‘Archaeological Sites of the Southwestern Part of Bosphoros...’ are investigated briefly by Tatiana Smekalova (pp. 207–13). Jane Hjarl Petersen takes a new approach to

<sup>40</sup> P. Guldager Bilde and J.H. Petersen (eds.), *Meetings of Cultures: Between Conflicts and Coexistence*, Black Sea Studies 8, The Danish National Research Foundation’s Centre for Black Sea Studies, Aarhus University Press, Aarhus 2008, 422 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-87-7934-419-8.

<sup>41</sup> See Tsetskhladze and Hargrave above and the ‘Discussion’ based upon it.

'Kurgan Burials from Nymphaion' (pp. 215–35), Nadežda Gavriljuk uses black-glazed pottery from burials to examine 'Social and Economic Stratification of the Scythians from the Steppe Region' (pp. 237–61), Latife Summerer views indigenous responses to encounters with the Greeks in northern Anatolia through 'The Reception of Architectural Terracottas in the Iron Age Settlements of the Halys Basin' (pp. 263–86). Natalia Novičenkova looks at a hilltop sanctuary near Gurzuf in 'Mountainous Crimea: A Frontier Zone...' (pp. 287–301) and Emzar Kakhidze at 'Apsaros: a Roman Fort in South-western Georgia' (pp. 303–31). Robin Osborne provides 'Reciprocal Strategies: Imperialism, Barbarism and Trade in Archaic and Classical Olbia' (pp. 333–46), David Braund emits 'Scythian Laughter...' (pp. 347–67), about Graeco-Scythian interaction ('conversations') in the northern Black Sea region, and George Hinge concludes the volume with 'Dionysos and Herakles in Scythia – The Eschatological String of Herodotos' Book 4' (pp. 369–97), a work also discussed in the two preceding papers. Overall, an interesting volume, physically pleasing and well illustrated; but my observations on transliteration in my review of the Bithynia volume in this same series (above) are amply confirmed here too. Some cross-checking and standardisation of citations across the bibliographies would have been beneficial.<sup>42</sup>

*Bronzezeitliche Bestattungen*<sup>43</sup> is one of the fruits of the Zentrum für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte des Schwarzmeerraumes in Halle. It presents the finds from Eneolithic and Bronze *kurgan*-burials excavated by the Archaeological Institute of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences between 1979 and 1992 in a fairly small area of steppe on the western bank of the River Dnieper. The late B.N. Mozolevskii directed the work, which was in the nature of rescue archaeology, and some 500 graves were excavated in 45 barrows. The three co-authors provide individual essays on the various archaeological cultures associated with the remains – Yamnaya, Catacomb Grave, Srubnaya – describing the nature of the burials, positions, material found, particular phases and markers for these cultures, etc. There are brief summaries in Russian and (good) English (pp. 65–68), followed by a catalogue/inventory (pp. 77–141) and 156 pages of illustrations. A useful addition to what is available in the West on Ukrainian archaeology, produced in an A4 format well-suited to clear the reproduction of the various line-drawings, maps and plans.

*Iberia-Colchis*,<sup>44</sup> first published in 2003 and appearing biennially until 2007 and annually since, is a periodical produced, under the editorship of Gela Gamkrelidze, by the Otar Lordkipanidze Centre for Archaeology at the Georgian National Museum in Tbilisi.

<sup>42</sup> A few examples: Bilde mingles the 1994 and 2004 editions of my 'Greek Penetration of the Black Sea' and omits to give pages, while Højte produces the correct reference; Attema mangles the reference to S.L. Solov'yov's *Ancient Berezan* volume (see n. 26 above); the same piece by Braund is cited slightly differently in sequential bibliographies; etc., etc.

<sup>43</sup> K.P. Bunjatjan, E. Kaiser and Alla V. Nikolova, *Bronzezeitliche Bestattungen aus dem Unteren Dneprgebiet*, Schriften des Zentrums für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte des Schwarzmeerraumes 8, Beier und Beran, Langenweißbach 2006, 298 pp, illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-937517-39-1.

<sup>44</sup> *Iberia-Kolkheti / Iberia-Colchis*, Researches on the Archaeology and History of Georgia in the Classical and Early Medieval Period, Otar Lordkipanidze Centre for Archaeology, Georgian National Museum, Tbilisi, 2003–10 (issues 1–6). Paperback. ISSN 1512-4207.

It covers the archaeology and history of Georgia in the Graeco-Roman period and its aftermath. Initially, contributions were in Georgian with English summaries. More recent issues have additionally contained a separate section of 'Papers in English'. Currently, this is the only Georgian periodical to publish articles and studies on the regions named in its title,<sup>45</sup> combining thematic pieces, the results of excavations, study of individual objects, etc., and also occasional reviews. A flavour can be gained from a selection of the pieces in issues 5 (2009) and 6 (2010): 'Archaeological Excavations in the Village of Gvankiti', 'Georgia and "Graeco-Persian" Gems', 'Early Christian Temples in Sukhumi', 'Greek Pottery from Atsquri', 'The Map of Prehistoric and Classical Archaeological Sites of Meskhet-Javakheti', 'The Archaeological Sites of the Roman (Late Classical) Period from Ureki', 'Red-figure Skyphoi from Vani City-site', 'Achaemenid Seals from Georgia', 'Daraqoi Settlement and Some Patterns of History of Achaemenid Period Transcaucasus', 'King Parnavaz and the Cult of Armazi', 'The Land of Colchis and the City of Phasis (Towards a Historico-Archaeological Study of Western Georgia in the Classical Period)', 'On the Evolution of the Colchian Amphorae (4th Century BC to 3rd Century AD)', 'Two Silver Rhytons from West Georgia-Colchis (Mtisdziri and Gomi)', 'Metal Adornments from Dedopolis Gora', 'New Data from the Tsikhiagora Sites of the 6th–4th Centuries BC', 'Ancient Vani and its Environs in the First Millennium BC (Questions of the Exploration of the Territory)', 'A New Discovery in Akhagori Village', 'Remains of a Bronze Equestrian Statue from Vani', 'A Colchian Amphora with a Stamp from Poti-Phasis', etc., etc.

### *The Mediterranean*

A session at the UISPP congress in Lisbon in 2006 gave rise to the volume edited by Dirk Brandherm and Martin Trachsel,<sup>46</sup> in which they examine aspects of the problem of the chronological framework in the Mediterranean in the first half of the 1st millennium BC in light of the discrepancies that have opened up between the scientific dating now available and the traditional dating derived from styles of pottery, the information of ancient authors, tie-ins to Near Eastern chronology, etc. Francisco Núñez Calvo, in 'Western challenges to East Mediterranean chronological frameworks', is concerned with the archaeology and chronology of metropolitan (mainly) and colonial Phoenicia (pp. 3–27); Kaan Iren examines 'Dark Age pottery from southern Aeolis' (Protogeometric to Late Geometric) as a tool for discussing problems of chronology, production centres, external relationships and influences (pp. 29–43); and Elena Bozhinova gives an overview of recently excavated sites from the first phase of the Early Iron Age in Thrace, again with a focus on contacts and the chronological framework (much of it derived from sequences

<sup>45</sup> Another periodical from the same Centre is *Dziebani*, which covers all periods of Georgian archaeology and includes articles on classical archaeology. The latest issue is no. 19 for 2010.

<sup>46</sup> D. Brandherm and M. Trachsel (eds.), *A New Dawn for the Dark Age? Shifting Paradigms in Mediterranean Iron Age Chronology / L'âge obscur se fait-il jour de nouveau? Les paradigmes changeants de la chronologie de l'âge du Fer en Méditerranée*, International Union for Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences, Proceedings of the XV World Congress (Lisbon, 4–9 September 2006), vol. 9, Session C35, BAR International Series 1871, Archaeopress, Oxford 2008, vi+176 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-0351-2.

established at sites such as Troy, Thassos, etc.) (pp. 45–57). Trachsel's ambitious goal in 'Steps towards a revised chronology of Greek Geometric pottery' (pp. 59–75) is to overturn the synchronisation between Attic and Corinthian Geometric pottery formulated by Nicolas Coldstream in 1968 (see above), to suggest alternatives, also to cast doubt on the historical dates for Greek Geometric pottery in line with scientific dates and a revised relative chronology. Stepping westward, Christopher Pare suggests an absolute chronology for the later part of the Italian final Bronze Age based on dendrochronological data (from lake-shore settlements north-west of the Alps) (pp. 77–101). Recent radiocarbon research at the University of Groningen is used by Albert Nijboer and Hans van der Plicht to suggest a slight alteration to the absolute chronology of Greek Geometric fine wares, with some discussion of methodologies (pp. 103–18). Ana Bietti Sestieri and Anna De Santis investigate the 'Relative and absolute chronology of Latium vetus from the Bronze Age to the transition to the Orientalizing period' (pp. 119–33), suggesting that since the dates of both the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age have been raised, so too should that for the Orientalising transition, currently based in part on Thucydides' dates for the earliest Greek colonies in Sicily. Mariano Torres Ortiz considers the chronology of the Late Bronze Age in western Iberia and the beginning of Phoenician colonisation in the western Mediterranean (pp. 135–47); by using evidence from Huelva and Portugal and correlations with the Swiss dendrochronological sequence, she suggests a date half a century earlier than usual. Finally, Brandherm (pp. 149–74) enters the debate about the conventional absolute chronology of the Greek Geometric and Phoenician pottery sequences, the problems, the alternatives proposed, and the great disparity (incompatibility?) between data from the western and central Mediterranean and Phoenicia. Abstracts in English, French and German.

A foundation myth of exile and return. Political change brings about the need to 'forge' (in all senses) a new identity or 'revive' an old one: Italy was invented in 1860, and in turn came Italian and the Italians; modern-day Turkey and its Ottoman inheritance; the Gaelic Celtic obsessions of the Irish Free State and its successors; the 'historical' references in numerous 20th-century constitutions. In the case of Nino Luraghi's book,<sup>47</sup> it is the ancient Messenians who, having achieved independence from Sparta in the 4th century BC, sought to manufacture a new identity for themselves separate from their previous one as Spartan subjects, blotting out their Spartan heritage (plenty of examples of this sort of thing through to modern times). Luraghi combines archaeological evidence with that in ancient written sources and employs insights developed by anthropologists and by historians of the early Middle Ages to cast light on how the Messenians regarded their own ethnicity at different times and how they went about constructing it, in the course of which he argues for a new trajectory in Messenian history compared with that presented by Pausanias. 'If at times it looks as though for the Messenians the past was more important than for any other community of Greeks, this is precisely because they had so little of it' (pp. 343–44). In the course of this Luraghi considers 'Ethnicity and memory' (pp. 6–14), 'Delimiting the Messenians' (including the war of memory with Sparta, later waged and appropriated by the city of Messene,

<sup>47</sup> N. Luraghi, *The Ancient Messenians: Constructions of Ethnicity and Memory*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2008, xiv+389 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-521-85587-7.

it having appropriated wider Messenian history and identity), 'The return of the Heraclids and the mythical birth of Messenia', 'The conquest of Messenia through the ages' (including 'Hellenistic constructs: a past for the Messenians', pp. 83–88), 'Messenia from the Dark Ages to the Peloponnesian War', 'The Western Messenians' (ethnic identity, possible diaspora) and 'The earthquake and the revolt: from Ithome to Naupaktos' (concluding in 'Messenian ethnogenesis', pp. 198–208, and the use of later depictions of the rebels in the construction of Messenian identity). 'The liberation of Messene', liberation as an unintended side-effect of Spartan defeat in 371 BC, considers the identity of the 'new' Messenians, ancestors, 'the second wave' of ethnogenesis, etc. and leads on via 'Being Messenian from Philip to Augustus' and 'Messenians in the Empire' to his 'Conclusions'.

Bernard Knapp<sup>48</sup> builds on a generation or more of new research on classes of material and fieldwork to provide the first overarching account of Cyprus in the Bronze and Early Iron Ages from a socio-historical perspective and to offer a new integrated archaeology and history for the island, focused on the social identity of prehistoric and protohistoric islanders: insularity and identity; insularity versus connectivity; 'multivocality' rather than viewing Cypriot history and social, cultural and economic development, ancient and modern, as one dreary conga-line of invasion, migration and colonisation, diffusion, acculturation and hybridisation (archaeological constructs worked over in Chapter 2). The argument is presented through six main chapters, following some introductory background incorporating other Mediterranean islands (Broodbank on the Cyclades, 'connectivity' in Horden and Purcell's *The Corrupting Sea*, etc.):<sup>49</sup> 'Issues, Agendas, and Archaeological Constructs', 'Island Archaeology and Island History: Cyprus', 'Proto-historic Bronze Age Cyprus: A Sociohistorical Approach' (pp. 131–280, and the core of the work), 'The Earliest Iron Age...', 'Island History and Island Identity on Cyprus', 'Insularity, Connectivity, and Social Identity on Prehistoric and Protohistoric Cyprus', finally brought together in 'Islanders, Insularity, and Identity in the Mediterranean' (broadening out again). An impressive 80-page bibliography. Rather too theoretical for my own taste.

*Sizilien*<sup>50</sup> is a magnificent joint Italian-German production published to accompany an exhibition in Bonn during January–May 2008. Wolf-Dieter Heilmeyer provides an opening piece on 'Sizilien – Von der Vorgeschichte bis Garibaldi'; then 20 scholars provide 18 essays (pp. 28–223) on Prehistoric, Greek, Roman, Christian and Byzantine, Moslem, Mediaeval, Renaissance and Baroque Sicily, from an artistic and architectural point of view. Then on to the sad end of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies in 1860–61 and after, before turning to archaeology, folk art, the changing landscape and 2500 years of coinage. The exhibition catalogue follows: 287 items, dating from the Stone Age to a marble bust of Garibaldi and sourced overwhelmingly from the collections of Sicilian

<sup>48</sup> A.B. Knapp, *Prehistoric and Protohistoric Cyprus: Identity, Insularity, and Connectivity*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2008, xx+497 pp., 66 illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-923737-1.

<sup>49</sup> C. Broodbank, *An Island Archaeology of the Early Cyclades* (Cambridge 2000); P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford 2000).

<sup>50</sup> *Sizilien. Von Odysseus bis Garibaldi*, Katalog zur Ausstellung, Deutscher Kunstverlag, Munich/Berlin 2008, 400 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-422-06746-2.



museums (pp. 225–375); and a 23-page bibliography concludes the text. The endpapers contain a map of Sicily and a time-line (35000 BC to 1946). The entire volume, text and catalogue, is richly illustrated by colour photographs of objects, paintings, and statues, buildings and architectural features, frescoes and friezes, murals and mosaics, manuscripts and marionettes.

### *Deities and Death*

The publication of seminars from the Oriental Institute in Chicago has yielded two attractive and interesting volumes with fascinating titles (*Performing Death*) and descriptive subtitles. *Performing Death*<sup>51</sup> brings together 15 papers, plus a concluding discussion, penned by three British, two Italian, one Dutch and nine American scholars. Chicago's own Nicola Laneri provides the introductory piece, 'An Archaeology of Funeral Rituals'; seven papers are grouped into 'A Powerful Death: Exercising Authority through the Enactment of Funeral Rituals', including 'Mortuary Rituals, Social Relations and Identity in Southeast Spain in the Late Third to Early Second Millennia BC' (Robert Chapman), 'Combined Efforts till Death: Funeral Ritual and Social Statements in the Aegean Early Bronze Age' (Massimo Cultraro) and the 'Etruscan Style of Dying: Funeral Architecture, Tomb Groups, and Social Range at Caere and its Hinterland during the Seventh–Sixth Centuries B.C.' (Alessandro Naso), with Adam T. Smith supplying some commentary and concluding remarks; five into 'Memorializing the Ancestors: Death as a Form of Cultural and Social Transmission' – Sumeria, Mesopotamia, Ur ('Death of a Household' by Susan Pollock), Greece and Anatolia (Ian Rutherford on 'Achilles and the Sallis Wastais Ritual'), and Republican Rome; and two into 'Archaeology of Funeral Rituals: A Theoretical Approach'.

*Religion and Power*<sup>52</sup> follows the same form and format: 16 papers in four sections, 14 of the contributors from the United States. Nicole Brisch, for the home side, provides an introduction; three papers appear in 'Historical and Textual Aspects of Divine Kingship in Ancient Mesopotamia and Ancient Egypt' (to Ur is human...?); six in 'Iconography and Anthropology of Divine Kingship', from the ancient Near East and late Babylonian–early Persian to the Maya; three in 'Divine Kingship and Empire' – early China, the role of religion in Achaemenian imperialism (Bruce Lincoln), ancient Rome (Greg Woolf); and two form responses – Jerrold Cooper on Mesopotamia and Kathleen Morrison to wind up. Like the previous volume, usefully illustrated but un-indexed. The seminars themselves are kept small and focused, although seeking to explore significant themes relating to broader Near Eastern issues from a mixture of theoretical, methodological and cross-cultural angles; and this undoubtedly helps to give a sense of purpose to the volumes.

<sup>51</sup> N. Laneri (ed.), *Performing Death: Social Analyses of Funeral Traditions in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*, Oriental Institute Seminars 3, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago 2007, xviii+317 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-885923-50-9/ISSN 1559-2944.

<sup>52</sup> N. Brisch (ed.), *Religion and Power: Divine Kingship in the Ancient World and Beyond*, Oriental Institute Seminars 4, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago 2008, xiv+271 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-885923-55-4/ISSN 1559-2944.



Jaime Alvar's *Romanising Oriental Gods*<sup>53</sup> is the English translation of what had been a book intended as an introductory text for Spanish students. It is here directed at an Anglophone academic audience and much has been revised to effect this change of readership. The gods in question are Cybele, Isis (and Serapis) and Mithras; and the core of this volume is to argue that the importance of these three major cults has been downplayed of late in revisionist works on the decline of Graeco-Roman religion and the rise of Christianity. The work is arranged as an Introduction, a short chapter on 'Religion, Cult and Mystery', then detailed chapters on 'Systems of Belief', 'Systems of Value' and 'The Ritual Systems', where each of the three cults is treated in turn (Phrygian Cybele at pp. 240-93), and the commonalities that bind them loosely into a group are explored (all were selective adaptations of much older cults from the Fertile Crescent), as are their differences; and 'Oriental Cults and Christianity' (an autonomy of religion from the socio-political order was something the cults shared with early Christianity). The interests of this journal lie more in the spread of the cults and myths, and the broader social consequences and physical manifestations (linked to rituals, cult practices, ritual objects and sites), than strictly in the theology.

A commemorative volume to one who died so young (*aet* 29) is unusual and it speaks of the high regard in which Eleni Hatzivassiliou was held in Oxford, where she had completed her doctorate, London, where she had studied, Brussels, where she was working, and in her native Greece; and the high hopes for a career cut short.<sup>54</sup> The 34 authors were friends, teachers, supervisors, examiners, colleagues, contemporaries and juniors. To give just a taste: Karim Arafat ('A Middle Corinthian puzzle from Isthmia'), John Boardman ('The origins of Greek myth'), Jim Coulton ('Homer and the Solymians'), Catherine Draycott ('Bird-women on the Harpy Monument from Xanthos, Lycia: sirens or harpies?'), Alan Johnston ('Some fictile biographies from Naukratis'), Donna Kurtz (as editor), Anna Lemos ('The painter of Rhodes 13472: observations on a vase-painter of the Leagros Group'), Thomas Mannack ('Comedies on South Italian vases'), Catherine Morgan ('An early archaic sphinx from the Polis Cave, Ithaka'), David Saunders ('Dead warriors and their wounds on Athenian black-figure vases'), Michalis Tiverios ('The Derveni krater'), Athena Tsingarida ('Nikosthenes looking east? Phialai in Six's and polychrome Six's technique'), Alexandra Villing ('A wild goose chase? Geese and goddesses in classical Greece'), Dyfri Williams ('*Prometheus Bound* and *Unbound*: between art and drama'), etc. There are various brief tributes and biographical details. Archaeopress is to be congratulated for the prompt appearance of the volume, as are Donna Kurtz and her team for its conception and brisk editing.

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<sup>53</sup> J. Alvar, *Romanising Oriental Gods: Myth, Salvation and Ethics in the Cults of Cybele, Isis and Mithras*, translated and edited by R. Gordon, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 165, Brill, Leiden/Boston 2008, xx+486 pp, illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-90-04-13293-1/ISSN 0927-7633.

<sup>54</sup> D. Kurtz (ed.), with C. Meyer, D. Saunders, A. Tsingarida and N. Harris, *Essays in Classical Archaeology for Eleni Hatzivassiliou 1977-2007*, Studies in Classical Archaeology IV, BAR International Series 1796, Archaeopress, Oxford 2008, ix+329 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-0284-3.

## ARCHAIC GREEK HISTORY

J.M. Hall, *A History of the Archaic Greek World, ca. 1200–479 BCE*, Blackwell History of the Ancient World, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford 2007, xx+322 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 10: 0-631-22667-2 / ISBN 13: 978-0-631-22667-3. Paperback ISBN 10: 0-631-22668-0 / ISBN 13: 978-0-631-22668-0

R. Osborne, *Greece in the Making, 1200–479 BC*, 2nd edition, Routledge, London/New York 2009, xx+377 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-415-46991-3

K.A. Raaflaub and H. van Wees (eds.), *A Companion to Archaic Greece*, Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World, Blackwell Publishing, Malden, MA/Oxford 2009, xxx-viii+750 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-631-23045-8

Since the pioneering work of Anthony Snodgrass some 30 years ago, a generation has been busily advancing the study of Archaic Greece by combining careful reinterpretations of the early literary and historical sources with the ongoing results of archaeological excavation and interdisciplinary methods. The near-simultaneous appearance in recent years of a number of historical surveys, handbooks and ‘companion’ volumes edited by the leading scholars of Archaic Greece would seem initially to suggest that this feverish period of scholarship has now produced a set of *communes opinioniones* for the next generation of scholars to build upon. Indeed, while these volumes agree on much – particularly on state-formation as the dominant narrative – their aims, approaches and conceptions of both the overall period and of its specific aspects remain remarkably and refreshingly diverse. Those already more familiar with Archaic Greece will be rewarded with many nuggets of usefully or provocatively packaged information in each volume, whereas a selection of one or more of them will not disappoint those looking to introduce themselves or others to Archaic Greece or to obtain an overview of current topics, major issues and significant points of view on the subject.

The most familiar of these recent offerings is the 2nd edition of Robin Osborne’s *Greece in the Making*, in the Routledge History of the Ancient World series designed for teachers and students of Classical Studies. Its primary focus (p. xvii) is to summarise and advance Snodgrass’s approach and emphasise that our Classical literary sources for the Archaic period often tell us more about their authors than about the Archaic period. This approach, if fully realised, would perhaps produce a more Classical than Archaic history, but the modern historiographical importance of sensitive source criticism permeates each of these books. Jonathan Hall’s *A History of the Archaic Greek World* (hereafter *A History*) appears in the Blackwell History of the Ancient World series, designed as an authoritative, accessible survey for students and general readers alike. It argues that since the reconstruction of individual events is fraught with immense difficulty (a proposition persuasively demonstrated by two excursuses on the Lelantine War and Pheidon of Argos), the historian is on firmer ground when dealing methodically with long-term processes such as social and economic history (p. 16). As part of the Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World series, Kurt Raaflaub and Hans van Wees have edited *A Companion to Archaic Greece* (hereafter *A Companion*), meant to provide a sophisticated and authoritative overview of the period for an international audience of scholars, students and general readers. The editors rightly boast (p. xxii) that being able to include 35 leading scholars from a dozen nations offers an

unprecedented range and depth of perspectives and material, much of which has been otherwise unavailable in English.

As is clear from the titles of these volumes, Snodgrass's proposal for a 'structural revolution' starting in the 8th century, centring on the *polis* and defining the Archaic period, no longer survives entirely unmodified. Both Hall and Osborne start the story of the Archaic period rather with the collapse of Late Bronze Age society in the 12th century. This of course implicitly encourages a re-periodisation of Dark Age to Early Iron Age which in turn affects the qualities ascribed to the Archaic period *per se*. Osborne's explanation (p. xvii), that '... it is following the fall of the Mycenaean palaces that the greatest discontinuity in the archaeological record occurs, and because, for all that many things change in eighth-century Greece, there is no fundamental change in the sources for the study of Greek society in the eighth century', does not always materialise as the dominant narrative in what follows, for example when presenting evidence for the formation of new communities in the chapter on the 8th century (pp. 66–130). Nevertheless, the Preface to the 2nd edition (p. xix) promises to explain why a traditional account of the rise of the *polis* is excluded. This is fulfilled by the 2nd edition's major addition, 'From communities to *poleis*?' (pp. 128–30), which concludes that, given there is no evidence for the explicit or technical sense or use of the term *polis* in Archaic thought, 'We will not understand the changes of the eighth century any better for claiming to see there the "rise of the *polis*"; indeed the application of terms familiar from the very different classical world will only cloud our view.' Thus, *Greece in the Making's* bibliography on the *polis* question, including Victor Ehrenberg, Ian Morris and Osborne himself, dismisses the work of the Copenhagen Polis Centre as being 'vitiating by its fixation with the term *polis*' (p. 348; cf. also *A History*, p. 69). Reference to a sustained and substantial refutation of this concept would have been of assistance to readers less familiar with the full nature of Osborne's position. Hall, besides giving a more extended account of the *polis* dispute (pp. 67–70, with bibliography at pp. 91–92), also provides an extended argument for the periodisation he and Osborne have adopted, adducing and discussing a wide range of evidence for continuity or overlap between Archaic *poleis* and Late Bronze Age administrative and territorial divisions, between early and late forms of settlement and urbanisation, and between Archaic colonisation and post-Bronze Age migration traditions (Chapters 3–5), while also giving full treatment to the importance of spreading forms of political consciousness in the 7th century (Chapters 6–8). The nuanced perspective on periodisation taken by *A Companion* must be teased out: though the one-page Chronology after the Preface (p. xxiii) lists the Archaic period from ca. 750–480, John Davies's pleasantly clear Introduction (pp. 3–21) explains that periodisation is a result of trends in scholarship and historiography, acknowledges a recent trend towards the periodisation adopted by Hall and Osborne (pp. 17–18), and cautions that "archaic" must always be read with mental quotation marks' (p. 4). Further investigation into *A Companion* expands this discussion: Catherine Morgan's early chapter, 'The Early Iron Age', insists that 1200 to 700 was 'no Dark Age' (p. 43), adducing recent evidence for continuity in settlement, mobility and religion (pp. 46–55), but also admits to important changes in the 8th century (pp. 56–62). This leaves the door open for Morris to put forward his argument for recognising a kernel of true Archaic revolution inside the growing case for continuity with the Dark Age (in a chapter he tells us was the editors' correct decision to include and name 'The Eighth-century Revolution', pp. 64–80).

What a reader of these volumes will perhaps take away is that somewhat different narratives for Archaic Greek history are possible, partially depending on how one approaches some of the central organising concepts, and partially through the selection, exclusion and organisation of topics, approaches and primary and secondary sources. In this, *Greece in the Making* stands out for its sustained attention not only to the critical use of literary sources and the processual use of archaeological evidence but also to the art-historical value of individual objects as well, reflected in an exceptionally well-illustrated volume. In following up Snodgrass and charting a course through this array of evidence, Osborne's post-introductory chapters retain a chronological order: forming communities in the 8th century, the world of Homer and Hesiod, reforming communities in the 7th century, the Greek world in 600 BC, inter-relating cities from 600–520 BC and, finally, the transformation of Archaic Greece 520–479 BC. This produces certain juxtapositions of subheadings and sub-topics not indexed by the table of contents, where they might have given the reader a better sense of how all the pieces fit together. However, *Greece in the Making's* organisational idiosyncracies – which were noted of the first edition in *BMCR* 98.2.09 and 2009.06.37, and which Osborne still admits (p. xviii) will force the reader to flip back and forth with the help of the index to reassemble complete discussions on certain topics – also usefully provide a connected narrative path through a notoriously fragmentary period. *A History*, on the other hand, through its methodical selection and presentation of sources and arguments, suggests that historians of Archaic Greece work less with handbooks and more critically with original sources in spite of their myriad problems. Hall is, in fact, explicitly less interested in 'what happened' than in 'how we know what happened' (p. 15); because of this, *A History* is as much a lesson in the historiography of the Archaic Greek world as in its history *per se*. Chapters present the standard topics and issues prevalent in the study of Archaic Greece (though behind more inventive titles): the end of the Mycenaean world, the *polis*, colonisation, narrow government, hoplites, expanded government, early Athens, the economy, and Greek identity. By explaining these topics in a series of discussions where the adoption of different approaches or scholarly positions is critically explored in terms of its effects on the resulting historical narrative, *A History's* careful approach and erudite design is as much a manual to the state of the field as it is to past and future historiographical practice. The length and variety of the essays in *A Companion* round out the group, and point to the utility of extracting individual selections from it for such purposes as review, preparation or assignment. Three sections covering historical topics, regional surveys and thematic essays make it a not only a convenient one-volume English-language supplement to the *Cambridge Ancient History*, the Copenhagen Polis Centre's *Inventory*,<sup>1</sup> and the Italian *I Greci* series, but probably also now the best single-volume reference work on the Archaic period of this generation. While *A Companion's* Preface (p. xx) notes Osborne and Hall as admirable recent surveys, it also rightly points out that a comprehensive approach to the subject is becoming too complex for only one scholar. Fortunately, and besides those already mentioned, readers will appreciate the convenience of having Hall on ethnicity, Irad Malkin on foundations, François de Polignac on sanctuaries, Gocha Tsetskhladze on the Black Sea, Zosia Archibald on northern Greece, James Whitley on Crete, Nino Luraghi

<sup>1</sup> M.H. Hansen and T.H. Nielsen (eds.), *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis* (Oxford 2004).

on Messenia, Oswyn Murray on the *symposion*, Peter Rose on class and Josef Wiesehöfer on Persia – just to name a few – in one volume.

Whether their flavour is predominantly narrative, historiographical or reference, these volumes all demonstrate their era's commitment to social and processual treatments of the period using a combination of archaeological and textual evidence. Since any selection or presentation of content inevitably creates silences that can affect not only the nature of each volume's utility but also its overall presentation of the Archaic period, readers should consult all three on any given topic if possible. Three examples must suffice to illustrate how material is distributed among the volumes. First, only *A History* (Chapter 2) comprehensively treats the sources for the Archaic period and the pitfalls associated with them (and does so with great clarity), but is the only one to not include a chapter on the physical setting of the Mediterranean *per se*. This topic appears in *A Companion* and *Greece in the Making*, though at the expense of connected surveys of the Mediterranean's Archaic literary or material traditions as sources for history (*cf.* the editors' explanation at *A Companion*, p. xxii). For example, the social and historical significance of oral poetic composition in the Archaic period is found in a subsection (pp. 22–27) in *A History*, it appears on various pages (pp. 132–33, 150–52) in *Greece in the Making*, but fails to significantly appear outside scare quotes (pp. 81–82) in Christoph Ulf's otherwise excellent chapter in *A Companion* on 'The World of Homer and Hesiod' (pp. 81–99, covering status, reciprocity, economics, etc.) and in Raaflaub's sections on Homer and Hesiod (pp. 565–71) in his chapter on 'Intellectual Achievements'.

Second, following the disciplinary challenges of scholars such as Edward Said and Martin Bernal and the groundwork laid by Walter Burkert and others, the Orientalising phenomenon has become an important feature in narratives of Archaic Greek history. The locus and contours of the social discourses and cultural exchanges that make up this phenomenon, as well as our methods and purposes in studying them, have recently been at the centre of significant discussions. It is somewhat regrettable, then, that none of these volumes chose to include longer discussions of the role Greek art and other Orientalising phenomena played in the socio-political developments of the Archaic period. Beyond a few pages (*A History*, pp. 260–61; *Greece in the Making*, pp. 158–61; *A Companion*, pp. 77–78 by Morris and pp. 162–65 by Wiesehöfer), it is hard to get a sense of the new perspectives fuelled by recent re-emphasis on the agency of Assyria and the Near East (though *cf.* *Greece in the Making*, pp. 52–54), the political roles of consumption and display, and arguments against 'Occidentalism' and the division between Greece and the Near East in the first place.

Third, Osborne's call to discard the term colonisation as a misalignment of 'what the Greeks were doing with the settlements made by European nations around the globe' (p. 111) is now almost 15 years old. Though often acknowledged (*cf.* *A Companion*, p. 374), the assertion that Greek *apoikiai* had a slightly different type of relationship to their founders than either the Roman camps which give us our modern word colonisation or the modern European process with which that word is now also associated, seems to have produced less a change in terminology than an increase in sensitivity to the varieties of experience contained within the phenomenon of Archaic Greek settlement overseas. *Greece in the Making* spreads out this discovery under a series of other headings; first in a case study on Cyrene (pp. 8–16) in the Introduction; second in a section on Phoenicians, the alphabet, Al Mina and Pithekoussai (pp. 98–110), followed by the key methodological statement about

definitions (pp. 110–11) illustrated with a case study of Cumae (pp. 121–23) and a full presentation of the excellent table of colonial foundations from *CAH* 3.3 reordered chronologically (pp. 114–18). One comes upon this in its chapter after major sections (pp. 66–98) on demographics, burial, cults, temples, dedications, sanctuaries, Olympics and tomb cult, and before sections (pp. 124–30) on figurative art and why there is no ‘rise of the *polis*’. Seventh-century foundations are discussed yet later (pp. 185–90). *A Companion* has chosen Malkin to respond to the problem of ‘colonisation’ in a chapter on ‘Foundations’ with an account sensitive to both a symbolic founding event and an historical process of foundation over the course of the first generation (p. 375) in which things like cult, *nomina* and urbanisation (pp. 382–90) consolidate the identity of both the new community and the mother city as well (pp. 376–82). *A History*’s chapter on ‘New Homes Across the Sea’ is more interested in the overlaps between Dark Age migration and Archaic colonisation (pp. 93–100) than in pushing for a disjunction between Greek and later practices. In keeping with its didactic and practical approach, it discusses the credibility of foundation stories (pp. 100–06), the relationship between archaeological evidence and the literary traditions (pp. 106–10), illustrated with a case study on Taras (pp. 111–14), and the issue of internal versus external motivations (pp. 114–17).

*A History* is relatively sparing in its use of illustration, as when a complicated discussion of the First Sacred War (pp. 276–81) is faced with a picture of the Tholos at Delphi instead of a map depicting the geographical relations central to understanding the conflict. *Greece in the Making*, on the other hand, is lavishly provided with 88 figures, tables, maps and illustrations, nearly as many as the decently equipped *A Companion*’s 101 in half the pages. Although many of *Greece in the Making*’s illustrations were reduced to half size for the 2nd edition, a web-site set up by the publisher provides access to about one-third of the images in electronic form for use by slide-show and hand-out makers. Since *Greece in the Making* is also illustrated by 51 key passages (Hall provides 27) quoted at length along the way, those wondering ‘what’s a text or image that goes with this or that topic’ will usually find something here.

*Greece in the Making* does not, regrettably, provide a bibliography in list form, substituting instead a helpful and densely packed final chapter-by-chapter bibliographical essay (pp. 336–60) that has been nicely updated for the 2nd edition. *A History* often but not always identifies scholarly positions with individual authors in the text, but, again, each chapter concludes with an annotated bibliography of further reading that helps summarise the numerous positions that were used to organise the discussion within. *A Companion* provides nearly 100 pages of bibliography (pp. 618–712). Testing on the topic of tyranny, I note that while *A Companion* is naturally the fullest, all three eventually agree in citing Andrewes 1956 as a basic treatment, McGlew 1993 on the difficulties of the traditions and Anderson 2005 as the latest sceptic;<sup>2</sup> these are sufficient to get one to the rest, though the variety of perspectives offered by *A Companion*’s direct citation of, for example, Morgan 2003 is appreciated.<sup>3</sup> More significant are the differing presentations of the

<sup>2</sup> A. Andrewes, *The Greek Tyrants* (London 1956); J.F. McGlew, *Tyranny and Political Culture in Ancient Greece* (Ithaca 1993); G. Anderson, ‘Before *Turannoi* were Tyrants: Rethinking a Chapter of Early Greek History’. *ClAnt* 24 (2005), 173–222.

<sup>3</sup> K. Morgan, *Popular Tyranny: Sovereignty and its Discontents* (Austin 2003).



topic: *A Companion* has case studies plus common features; *Greece in the Making* has good traditions versus bad traditions plus a case study; *A History* develops its picture of tyranny through a well-referenced anthropological discussion of the development of stratified societies. Regardless of (or perhaps embracing) their different approaches, following these three bibliographies together would be a comprehensive guide to the modern study of Archaic Greece in the Anglophone world, and ought now to represent the starting point for any syllabus or reading list.

It seems that the audience for these volumes, in practice, will largely be majors, graduate students, people starting research projects or courses that include Archaic Greece, and scholars interested in a quick review to stay abreast of any recent developments. They will benefit most from combining *Greece in the Making's* narrative, *A History's* discussions and *A Companion's* resources. Owners of the 1st edition of *Greece in the Making* might consider upgrading to the 2nd edition after they have acquired *A History*. *A Companion* is probably too expensive for most to own, but it should be close by in every library.

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#### ETRURIA

N.T. de Grummond (ed.), *The Sanctuary of the Etruscan Artisans at Cetamura del Chianti: The Legacy of Alvaro Tracchi* / *Il Santuario degli artigiani etruschi a Cetamura del Chianti: L'eredità di Alvaro Tracchi*, Edifir-Edizioni, Florence 2009, 320 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-88-7970-438-0

N.A. Winter, *Symbols of Wealth and Power: Architectural Terracotta Decoration in Etruria and Central Italy, 640–510 BC*, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, Supplementary Volume 9, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor 2009, lii + 676 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-472-11665-2

The archaeological potential of the Cetamura hill in the Chianti-Valdarno region of Tuscany was first appreciated in 1964 by Alvaro Tracchi (1925–77), an exceptionally talented local fieldworker and historian. A team from the Department of Classics at Florida State University began work there in 1973; the resulting field school (directed *in situ* by Nancy de Grummond since 1983) has provided a great deal of information about the later Etruscans (*ca.* 300–*ca.* 75 BC), whose lives were hardly affected by the outside influences that enable Etruscans elsewhere to be defined as 'Hellenistic'. These 'working-class' Etruscans are the focus of *The Sanctuary of the Etruscan Artisans at Cetamura del Chianti*, which, like its predecessor,<sup>1</sup> has been compiled around the catalogue of a local temporary exhibition.

The editor and her team have succeeded brilliantly in making the catalogue entries and the accompanying texts (all bilingual) useful for students and specialists as well as accessible to the general public. The sanctuary of the title, and the quarter of the artisans who used

<sup>1</sup> N.T. de Grummond (ed.), *Cetamura Antica: Traditions of Chianti* (Tallahassee, FL 2000), reviewed by the present writer at *ClRev* 52 (2002), 194–95.



it, are described and illustrated in detail; and so, votive feature by votive feature and structure by structure, are the finds they have yielded. None of the latter can be described as 'treasures': but, taken together with the siting of a sanctuary next to an artisans' quarter, they tell us a great deal about the priorities and practices that exercised the minds of a modest rural population and of the artisans who served it, *inter alia* through a cult that seemingly involved locally made iron nails (or 'year nails', as Livy 7. 3. 5–8: pp. 41–43). The remainder of the exhibition presents material and contexts of other periods represented at Cetamura: ties with sites in the Chianti area emerge in the Orientalising and Archaic periods, while a land route through Volterra to Pisa and Luni is suggested for the Roman phase. A final section describes the many technical procedures (conservation and restoration, archaeobotanical and other physical analyses) that underpin research at Cetamura as elsewhere. Clearly, much remains to be done and discovered at this site, which is in the process of telling us a lot about basic Etruscan identity – and reminding us that, at all levels of society, the Etruscans were 'a people devoted more than any other to religious observances' (Livy 5. 1. 6).

I turn now from the field to the museum storeroom. Nancy Winter, author of the standard work on Greek architectural terracottas,<sup>2</sup> presents us with a handsome monograph that is by far the most authoritative expression yet achieved of the current interest in pre-Roman architectural terracotta decoration in Italy, treated with increasing success in the *Deliciae fictiles* meetings held since 1990 in various foreign academies in Rome. *Symbols of Wealth and Power* will be regarded for the foreseeable future as the basic reference for the fired clay tiles that decorated the roofs of civil and religious buildings in Etruria and central Italy between the middle of the 7th and the end of the 6th century BC. W. and her terracotta friezes of humans, animals and mythological figures are in the same league as Beazley and Szilágyi and their Etruscan and Etrusco-Corinthian vases.

More than 90% of the *ca.* 5000 tiles indexed (pp. 583–628) and diagnosed currently reside in the public collections of Etruria and central Italy; and extensive archaeological information regarding provenance and context is readily available for correlation with typology, function and style. The bulk (pp. 7–538) of W.'s study is accordingly made up of thoughtful and painstakingly observed chapters on the decorated roofing systems, geographically distinct but overlapping to various degrees, of Rome–Campania–Northern Etruria (590–575 BC), Veii–Rome–Velletri (530 BC), Caere (540–510 BC) and Tarquinia–Veii (550–510 BC). These are preceded by chapters on undecorated or modestly decorated roofs (650–530 BC), and on decorated roofs (640/630–580 BC) with Late Orientalising influences (lingering to *ca.* 560 BC). Two final chapters examine manufacturing techniques (including the evidence for workshops) and provide a topographical synthesis. The book ends with conclusions, indexes (museums, names, and subjects), plans, and colour drawings of reconstructed roofs.

Throughout W.'s impeccably organised and considerably illustrated masterpiece, the emphasis is on architecture rather than iconography. By no means the least of her many remarkable achievements is in fact the provision of a solid and reliable architectural (and regional) framework within which earlier discussions (listed at pp. xlvii–xlvi) of the figured

<sup>2</sup> N.A. Winter, *Greek Architectural Terracottas from the Prehistoric to the End of the Archaic Period* (Oxford/New York 1993).

scenes might usefully be revisited. Meanwhile, as hinted in the first paragraph of the Introduction, W.'s work yields much of relevance to the better understanding of the political evolution of Etruria and central Italy between 640 and 510 BC: 'One significance of [the invention of fired clay tiles for roofing in Greece in the 7th century BC] lay in the fact that it provided not only waterproof but especially also fireproof roofing, unlike, for example, thatching, enabling structures to be built in closer proximity and thus encouraging urbanization' (p. 1). No less significant is the conclusion that, while the technology, workshop practices and marketing skills inherent in the use of roof tiles were introduced to Etruria from Greece, specifically from Corinth and Isthmia, the associated decorative vocabulary was created by the indigenous population: '... it was first in Etruria that decorated terracotta roofs can be documented, from the initial moment of the introduction of the technology' (p. 582).

Mention of the Corinthian connection naturally recalls the literary tradition concerning Demaratus, the Bacchiad exile who is said to have taken up residence in Etruria after the events of 657 BC. In her all too brief 'Historical Considerations' (pp. 577–81), W. notes that 'It is precisely during the third quarter of the 7th century BC that Etrusco-Corinthian pottery begins production, as well as terracotta roofing';<sup>3</sup> she suggests that 'Demaratus may have been involved in the production of terracotta roofs as an owner of workshops', and points to parallels in roof design between Etruria and Corfu, Syracuse, and the Rome of Tarquinius Priscus (Demaratus' son) – all centres colonised or influenced by Bacchiad exiles (pp. 578–79). This is fascinating, but the ancient written sources credit Demaratus with far more cultural influence than a single entrepreneur could possibly have exerted; for Tacitus (*Annales* 11. 14), he taught the Etruscans how to write, while for Cicero (*de Republica* 2. 19. 34) he was responsible for the Hellenisation of the whole of Roman culture. I am convinced by W.'s hypothesis that terracotta roofs were indeed produced by a 'Bacchiad family enterprise',<sup>4</sup> but the status of 'lay figure' (promoted by the Roman tradition) that I have elsewhere applied to Demaratus himself<sup>5</sup> cannot, I think, be entirely discarded.

However that may be, anyone who works their way through these two impressive volumes with anything like the care and attention that have gone into their preparation will learn a great deal about the Etruscans and their civilisation. De Grummond and Winter deserve our warmest thanks for these magnificent and wonderfully accessible presentations of the very different ground-breaking researches that they have conducted over many years. Let us hope that it will not be long before their findings filter through to the level of *haute vulgarisation*.

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<sup>3</sup> But cf. J.G. Szilágyi, *Ceramica etrusco-corinzia figurata, I: 630–580 a.C.* (Florence 1992) 31, n. 38: 'nella produzione figurata etrusco-corinzia è stato irrilevante il ruolo degli immigrati greci'.

<sup>4</sup> N.A. Winter, 'Commerce in exile: terracotta roofing in Etruria, Corfu and Sicily, a Bacchiad family enterprise'. *Etruscan Studies* 9 (2002–03 [2006]), 227–36.

<sup>5</sup> D. Ridgway, 'Demaratus of Corinth and the Hellenization of Etruria'. In A. Hermay and G.R. Tsetschlade (eds.), *From the Pillars of Hercules to the Footsteps of the Argonauts* (Leuven 2012), 207–22.

## THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

C. Tuplin (ed.), *Persian Responses: Political and Cultural Interaction with(in) the Achaemenid Empire*, The Classical Press of Wales, Swansea 2007, xxvi+373 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-905125-18-0

A. Zournatzi, *Persian Rule in Cyprus: Sources, Problems, Perspectives*, Melethmata 44, Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity, National Hellenic Research Foundation, Athens 2005, 87 pp. Paperback. ISBN 960-7905-28-8

A. Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire: A Corpus of Sources of the Achaemenid Period*, Routledge, London/New York 2007, 2 vols., lx+1020 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 10: 0-415-43628-1 / ISBN 13: 978-0-415-43628-1

The selection of works under consideration represents a cross-section of the results of English-language scholarship tackling the somewhat nebulous manifestations of Achaemenid rule, which may be best viewed – like the British and German imperial experiments of the 19th century – not as one, but as many empires sharing a single existence. The most ornate of these presentations is that offered by Christopher Tuplin, *Persian Responses*, based foremost on a colloquium held in September 2004, but with important additions deriving from works produced in early 2007. T. provides an overarching introduction presenting the works in their context. A number are worthy of particular attention: Phiroze Vasunia presents the detailed, well-documented study of ‘The philosopher’s Zarathustra’, to which are added the texts of philosophical fragments.

The Achaemenid satrap Tissaphernes, a one-time model of power politics or of endless duplicity, is the subject of two excellent studies. The putative luxurious Achaemenid lifestyle is considered in three works: Margaret Cool Root describes the gifts of the Yauna; T. the head-dress of the king; Dominique Lenfant the depiction of *tryphe* by Athenaeus in his *Deipnosophistae*. All three presentations are complemented by detailed references to forthcoming work.<sup>1</sup> Finally, one may single out two examinations of the Achaemenid Far West: Eric Raimond’s consideration of the Hellenisation of Lycian cults and Frederic Maffre’s study of native aristocracies within Dascylium. Both works would have benefited from a consideration of T.’s and Sekunda’s studies of Achaemenid settlements and garrisons.<sup>2</sup>

While the Tuplin collection will be consulted primarily by specialists, Antigoni Zournatzi, deftly blending historiography, source analysis, and historical narrative, has authored a valuable and much needed *vademecum* for the study of Achaemenid-era Cyprus – a part of the Achaemenid world that even the recent, related works of Elayi and Sapin, Olivier

<sup>1</sup> The Loeb Classical Library is in the process preparing a new English-language edition of Athenaeus.

<sup>2</sup> C. Tuplin, ‘Xenophon and the Garrisons of the Achaemenid Empire’. *AMIran* 20 (1987), 167–245; N. Sekunda: ‘Achaemenid Colonization in Lydia’. *REA* 87 (1985), 9–27; ‘Persian Settlement in Hellenistic Phrygia’. In A. Kuhrt and H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (eds.), *Achaemenid History III* (Leiden 1988), 175–96; ‘Achaemenid Settlement in Caria, Lycia and Greater Phrygia’. In H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt (eds.) *Achaemenid History VI* (Leiden 1991), 83–143.

Casabonne, and Elspeth Dusinberre – do not dignify with a separate study.<sup>3</sup> She provides the reader with a clear introduction to and sober analysis of the scanty and problematic archaeological and literary evidence, interpretation of which was often distorted by Hellenocentric interests of both ancients and moderns. The major problems in Achaemenid-era Cyprus (satrapal boundaries, possible palaces, political status of native rulers) are outlined in a series of short studies in which the views of her predecessors and colleagues in the field are treated with the greatest of *Anstand*. The reader becomes aware of the problems, possible approaches and the limitations to those approaches. Zournatzi, to her credit, is well versed in the scholarship of the Achaemenid empire and brings to bear comparative material from not only nearby Anatolia (for example the Dascylium *bullae*), but also the far-off Upper Satrapies (imperial Aramaic documents from Bactria). The notes and bibliography are invaluable for those interested in Cyprus and the Achaemenid empire in general. I would add, because of their value as research tools, Pierre Briant's *Bulletin d'histoire achéménide* and the Weber and Wiesehöfer tome, *Das Reich der Achaimeniden*.<sup>4</sup> Zournatzi, having produced this introductory work, should now continue her work and author for Cyprus a more detailed study of the type recently written on Sardis by Dusinberre.

Perhaps the most valuable of the English-language works is that by Amélie Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire. A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period*. Initially, fragments of Achaemenid history in translation, aside from standard authors, were available in Greek-themed collections (for example the false letter to Gadatas, the scholiast on Marathon, extensive excerpts of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*). The first attempt to produce an Achaemenid collection was made by Maria Brosius as part of the *LACTOR* series in 2000.<sup>5</sup> Kuhrt's version (which does cite Brosius) goes far beyond, mirroring the type of material cited in Briant's history. The work is divided into two volumes; the first detailing the *res gestae* of the kings, the second organised under the headings of the monarchy and imperial structure. Extensive citation is made of non-Hellenic material, much of it available for the first time in English. I am unable to find any quarrels with the types of passages selected. Explanatory essays, footnotes, bibliography, illustrations (with reconstructions), citation indexes are all flawless. When I first received the book I ran a controlled experiment with two members of my staff (Molly Samson and Gabby Bradford) to determine the work's suitability for academically oriented American high schools. Both students were able to select passages of interest from the tables of contents, read and understand a good part of them. Their chief complaint was that the material in general was somewhat too detailed for them without an instructor's explanation. Thus, I would not rule out the book's suitability for a more advanced class. My distaste is reserved for Routledge, which has formatted and priced the work at an amazingly high price, placing it beyond the reach of private individuals (who

<sup>3</sup> The oldest of these is J. Elayi and J. Sapin, *Beyond the River: New Perspectives on Transeuphratene* (Sheffield 1998; based on the 1991 French original); O. Casabonne, *La Cilicie à l'époque achéménide* (Persika 3) (Paris 2004); E.R.M. Dusinberre, *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis* (Cambridge 2003).

<sup>4</sup> P. Briant: *Bulletin d'histoire achéménide I* (*Topoi* Suppl. 1) (Lyons 1997); *Bulletin d'histoire achéménide II* (Persika 1) (Paris 2001); U. Weber and J. Wiesehöfer, *Das Reich der Achaimeniden: eine Bibliographie* (AMIran Ergänzungsband 15) (Berlin 1996).

<sup>5</sup> M. Brosius, *The Persian Empire From Cyrus II to Artaxerxes I* (London 2000).

may easily obtain either the French or English versions of the Briant volume) and even of smaller libraries such as my school's (I am unable to determine whether more than a single individual can 'access' the equally expensive ethereal 'e-book'). In so doing they have laid up a store of ill will. But now, in 2009 (I wrote my review text in 2008), a paperback version, affordable, has been issued under the number ISBN 0-415-55279-6.

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Michael Weiskopf

## MITHRADATES VI, 'THE POISON KING': TWO REVIEWS

A. Mayor, *The Poison King: The Life and Legend of Mithradates Rome's Deadliest Enemy*, Princeton University Press, Princeton/Oxford 2010, xxiv+448 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-691-12683-8.

### 1.

It is difficult to comment in such a small space on this work, which aims to deal with all aspects of Mithradates Eupator's life, based on ancient sources and modern studies, and which aspires to reach an educated but non-specialist audience. The structure of the work helps to facilitate its reading: it is divided into 15 chapters, each one with several sections, whose titles sometimes evoke famous films or novels. The book also includes vivid illustrations related with Mithradates' history. The prose is brilliant, especially in the first half of the work, which also abounds in excursions on natural and historical curiosities. Also to attract the reader, the book begins referring to the comets associated with Mithradates and to the massacre of 88 BC.

We face neither a novel nor a scholarly biography: Adrienne Mayor's purpose is to reconstruct the facts by a 'scientific use of the imagination' (p. 5). This raises many problems, because often the author imagines situations which could have been real or not, and yet she presents them as absolutely true. Thus, to name just a few examples: Mithradates V was poisoned by his wife, who acted as a Roman agent; Arcathias was the most beloved son of Mithradates; Bituitus was a chief of the Allobroges; Hermaeus was a Graeco-Bactrian magus; Ariarathes X was Laodice's bastard; and so on and so forth.

But sometimes the imagination leads to erroneous data, as, for example, that: Scythian chariots were not used since the wars of Alexander until Mithradates' time (pp. 127, 148); Diodorus describes a visit to Comana, to what M. calls the 'Temple of Love' (p. 90); Marius fought in Germany (pp. 132–33); Eupator means 'the good father' (pp. 45, 151, etc.), and this king founded a town called Dorilaon (p. 157); Justin's speech of Eupator was delivered in Pergamon (p. 159); Theopompus the historian was from Sinope (p. 53); Themiscyra was a castle named after an Amazon (p. 279); Mithradates did not remarry after Laodice's death (p. 125); etc, etc.

The treatment of the sources is complicated because some passages are taken literally while others are put in doubt. Thus, it is considered true that Mithradates was struck by lightning on his forehead as a child (pp. 40–41), but, for example, the importance is minimised of the Delian inscriptions in which the young prince is mentioned together with his brother and without the surname Dionysus (p. 75).

Mithradates is described as a terrible despot, akin to the protagonist of a Gothic novel: born and died in a castle and obsessed with poisons. The king is repeatedly labelled paranoid, but this is somewhat difficult to demonstrate in a sovereign who, like others of his time, had to face dissidence within his realm and sought to enlarge his domains. But what we know of Mithradates needs no further hypothetical reconstruction or ornamentation: for example, Hypsicrateia, who bore a Greek name, need not have been born in the Caucasus, all the more so if M. pretends to identify her with the historian Hypsicrates, a native of Amisus (*FGrHist* 190). Nor does Eupator need to be described with the hyperbolic language often resorted to by M.

It is difficult to discuss some parts in more detail: the departure of the young Mithradates, which M. associates with Robin Hood, is presented more as a wandering tour of the kingdom than the flight of fugitives. She says that Mithradates and his friends were welcomed in cities and temples, contradicting Justin (37. 2. 7): *neque urbis neque ruris tecto usus est, sed per silvas vagatus*; nor can M. accept the seven years out of the court mentioned by him (pp. 75–76). This might rather be an allegorical reference to different stages of Persian education (Plato *Alcibiades* 1. 121e), in which there were survival tests that were related to Spartan *krypteia* (Arrian *Anabasis* 5. 4. 5).

M. takes as valid the exaggerated numbers of troops and casualties recorded in the sources. The number of 80,000 victims of the ‘Ephesian Vespers’ has been rejected repeatedly by modern scholarship, but we also must take into account that the sources on Mithradates give multiples of 8 and 16 (8 x 2) by 10 on at least 25 occasions. Multiples of 8 x 10, 100, etc. recur in classical historiography (for example in Ctesias *FGrHist* 688 F 13.21, 27; Fabius Pictor fr.10 Peter *apud* Livy 1. 44. 2), therefore we are dealing with figures which cannot be considered truthful.

M. states that Mithradates did not die in 63 BC, so the face of the – presumed – royal corpse which came to Pontus was disfigured. This is plausible, although it cannot be demonstrated. It is indeed curious that the Bosporans, subjects of rulers who were friends of Rome, kept for decades some insignia wrested from the Romans by Mithradates (Orosius 6. 21. 28). Nevertheless, it cannot be admitted that Hypsicrateia had acted as a guide to Caesar (pp. 365–67) and that this was covered up by Caesar’s biographers.

It is worth noting that M.’s intuition is sometimes acute, for example regarding the great influence of Archelaus on the accounts of the First Mithradatic War (p. 231), or detecting some contradictions in Justin’s harangue of Mithradates (p. 159).

M.’s bibliographical appendix is very comprehensive for a non-scholarly work. However, she misses some key titles such as the monograph of de Callatay,<sup>1</sup> the contributions of Olshausen, and Goukowsky’s edition of Appian’s *Mithridateios*. M. claims to have reached beyond modern scholars in certain respects, and she considers that her work is the first large-scale biography of Mithradates since that of Reinach (p. 7), forgetting the work of B.C. McGing, which despite its title is a comprehensive biography of this ruler, and of the current reviewer.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> F. de Callatay, *L’histoire des guerres mithridatiques vue par les monnaies* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1997).

<sup>2</sup> B. McGing, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator, King of Pontus* (Leiden 1986); L. Balasteros Pastor, *Mitridates Eupátor, rey del Ponto* (Granada 1996).

M. frequently introduces questionable assumptions, however we must regard this work as representing an important step in encouraging interest in the history of this Pontic king.

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## 2.

Mithradates is not exactly our favourite person from antiquity: psychopath, expert on poisons which he used freely even on his own family, and on himself to ensure a degree of immunity from the poisons of others, mass-murderer, totally ruthless with friend or foe and filled with self-delusion. Yet he collected gems and works of art, so not all bad. And he also nurtured the great ideal to weld again Greece and the Near Eastern kingdoms, embracing Armenia and Persia, with his Greek kingdom on the south shores of the Black Sea, and to make a stand against the growth of Rome; a forerunner of those who in later years (Orodes, Shapur II) were more successful in this aim and who effectively held the Roman empire back from areas where Greek industry, arms and trade had long penetrated. He massacred the Romans in Anatolia, and proceeded to hold at bay, at least temporarily, successive Roman generals, Sulla, Lucullus, Pompey, but eventually succumbed to superior force and tactics. But he was a far from perfect champion of the Graeco-Persian ideal. That at the end he even considered invading Italy overland is a measure of his imagination – and misplaced optimism. His claim to descent from both Alexander and Darius were not entirely fanciful, but all our sources for him are essentially hostile. So it takes an unusual historian like M. to take a longer view. She is an anthropologist who has written informative and innovative books on fossil-collecting in antiquity and on the use of science in warfare, sufficiently detached from conventional historical narratives to offer different insights, but in full command of the traditional sources. She also writes well and freely, and the reader is guided through the intricacies of Mid-Eastern politics and intrigue with a sure view of the essential narrative; illuminated, moreover, not just with the archaeology of the day but with reflections on the Mithradates story as it has been told in later centuries by artists and others (this mainly in illustrations rather than narrative). Versatility and imagination in history-writing are relatively new to the Classical readership, and can only help ensure and justify the continued life of study of 'the Classics' and all its intellectual benefits.

Woodstock, UK

John Boardman

## A GRAND TOUR OF THE THEODOSIAN EMPIRE AND ITS NEIGHBOURS

G. Traina, *428 AD: An Ordinary Year at the End of the Roman Empire*, translated by A. Cameron, Princeton University Press, Princeton/Oxford 2009, xxiv+203 pp., 10 maps. Cased. ISBN 978-0-691-13669-1.

Giusto Traina's very stimulating book embodies a highly original conception, namely that of taking one 'ordinary year', AD 428, and, in relation to that moment, surveying what we know of the divided Roman empire, of its different regions, and of its barbarian neighbours and its Eastern rivals and associates. The result is extremely illuminating, not least



in acknowledging that the pattern of individual lives and the evolution of communities is marked and determined by progression in time. It is of course possible to bypass, or even downcry, 'l'histoire événementielle', and to focus instead on the nature of social or religious life or on long-term economic developments. But few Christians living at this moment will have been unaffected by imperial proclamations of the 420s determining what groups were heretical, and what penalties they should suffer. And there was widespread reaction, in both East and West, to the doctrines – soon themselves to be declared heretical – of the bishop or patriarch of Constantinople who took up office in this year, Nestorius. Nor can anyone in Roman Africa have been unaffected by the arrival of the Vandals in the following year.

T. begins, however, from a viewpoint which is only made possible by his (rare and exceptional) grasp of Armenian evidence, namely the deposition in this year by the Sasanians of the Armenian king, Artashes, which was a major turning-point, in that it meant the end of the Armenian monarchy. T. takes this critical point to have been the occasion on which a high Roman official, Flavius Dionysius, went on a mission to the Sasanid court, and had to be cured *en route* by the famous Syrian ascetic, Simeon Stylites. The context is left unexplained in the Syriac *Life* of Simeon, but this suggestion is convincing. Dionysius' next task was to be to escort Nestorius from Antioch to Constantinople.

This example of the conjunctures which T.'s survey brings to life will be enough to illustrate how suggestive and thought-provoking the book is. After this, his grand tour stops first in Syria, and then moves across Asia Minor to Constantinople, and from there to Italy, to the barbarian occupation of much of the western provinces, and to Africa (and above all to Augustine) on the eve of Vandal conquest. Then to Egypt, and to Jerusalem, and finally east to the Sasanid empire. This last chapter, to the reviewer's mind, is the only part of the book which is not really convincing, in that it depends too heavily on later narratives whose status as historical evidence is uncertain. It might have been more suggestive to give more space to the so-called 'Nestorian' church, subsequently known as the Church of the East, which was recognised by the Sasanid kings. The theologian on whose doctrinal works they depended for their theology, Theodore of Mopsuestia, died in this very year, AD 428, as T. notes (p. 9), also duly recording that this moment was chosen by the major 'Nestorian' historian and theologian, Theodoret, as the terminal point of his *Ecclesiastical History* (5. 40). In the context of the controversy over 'Nestorian' doctrines which began in this very year – which focused on the writings of Theodore in particular, and was still active in the 6th century – the very emphatic (and, implicitly, defiant) terms in which Theodoret describes him are loaded with significance: 'teacher of the whole Church who fought the good fight against the ranks of heresy'. In this context the relevance of Theodore's teaching to the connections between the Roman, or proto-Byzantine, West and the Sasanid East are not quite brought out as much as they could be.

We have truly remarkable and extremely detailed evidence for the internal life of what would later be called the 'Church of the East' in the form of the Syriac acts of the synods which it held in AD 410, 420 and 424, published and translated by the great J.-B. Chabot<sup>1</sup> in 1902 from a collection of documents originally assembled in the late 8th century. The Acts of AD 410 show the participation of Bishop Marutha of Mayferkat, which lay east of

<sup>1</sup> J.-B. Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale ou recueil des synodes nestoriens* (Paris 1902).

the Tigris, but (just) within the Roman empire, and whose role as ambassador to Seleucia-Ctesiphon is recorded also by Socrates in his *Ecclesiastical History* (5. 8); while those of 420 show that of Bishop Acacius of Amida, which was also within the empire, whose role in ransoming and sending home Persian prisoners after the war of AD 420–422 is also recorded, with admiration, by Socrates (7. 21). There was not yet a doctrinal division between this Church and the Greek Church of the Roman empire. But by time Theodoret wrote his *Ecclesiastical History* in the 440s there was, and it would never be healed.

Living side-by-side with the Syriac-speaking Church in the Sasanid empire was the Aramaic-speaking Jewish community there, among whom the 'Babylonian' Talmud was in the course of composition, or compilation; when it reached its 'canonical' form remains quite uncertain. But it clearly shows that contacts with Palestine continued.<sup>2</sup> But a very precise historical record, comparable to the Acts of the synods of the Church of the East, is provided by an unduly neglected source, the *Letter (Iggeret)* of Rab Sherira Gaon, written in AD 923 to set out the story of how the Mishna and the Talmud came to be written.<sup>3</sup> From the 3rd century on, the succession of events in the Jewish community of Babylonia is dated by Sherira Gaon using the Seleucid era. It is from this source that we learn that it was in the time of R. Ashi, who died in AD 427 after nearly 60 years as head of the Academy there, that it was decreed that the whole body of Talmudic tractates should be studied (or learnt by heart) over a 30-year cycle.<sup>4</sup> As is obvious, to touch on this one item is to do no more than allude to a complex social and religious context, still very little understood, but of great importance in religious history.

In spite of its wide coverage, the book is quite short, consisting of 132 pages of text and 59 of notes. Especially given its character, as a suggestive sketch of a series of linked areas, bringing on stage a wide range both of individuals and of sources, it is really a pity that Princeton University Press have been content with endnotes. Putting notes at the bottom of the page, the simplest of tasks with computer-setting, would have immediately enlivened the dialogue between the interested reader and the rich and varied contents of the book.

The relative brevity of the book is however integral to its character. T. might nonetheless have allowed himself an extra 30–40 pages of text to fill out the picture, or succession of pictures, which he paints, and to quote more of the wonderfully varied and evocative literature and documents of the period; but not more than that, for to go much further would have been to lose the stimulating effect of a series of brief, but very well-informed, cameos.

So, if I mention some further items of evidence, and some themes which might have been explored more fully, it is not a criticism, but rather a tribute to the book's capacity to whet the reader's appetite. I will concentrate mainly on the two imperial centres, Constantinople under Theodosius II, who reached his 27th birthday in AD 428, having already been the sole Augustus there for 20 years; and Rome or Ravenna, where only three years earlier the four-year-old Valentinian III had been installed by Eastern forces following the suppression of a *coup d'état*. Many questions relating to the connections, and disjunctions,

<sup>2</sup> For an attempted reconstruction of the history of this community see J. Neusner, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia*, 5 vols. (Leiden 1965–70).

<sup>3</sup> See M. Schlüter, *Auf welche Weise wurde die Mishna geschrieben?: das Antwortschreiben des Rav Sherira Gaon* (Tübingen 1993).

<sup>4</sup> Schlüter (as in n. 3), 234–35.

as between East and West, and relating to communications in Greek and Latin, are raised by T.'s survey, and some will be touched on below.

But for the moment this may be the opportunity to explore a privileged category of evidence deriving from one 'ordinary year', namely the legislation issued by Theodosius in AD 428. We can see it, and that from Ravenna, set out on facing pages (pp. 354–55) in Otto Seeck's great *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste*,<sup>5</sup> if in very abbreviated and allusive style. The still relatively brief tabulation of all the Eastern legislative acts recorded for AD 428 which is provided below will give a strong impression of what the concerns of the Theodosian regime were:

January 31st. *C.Theod.* 6. 2. 26, to Proculus, *Praefectus Urbis*: rules on office-holding and senatorial obligations;

February 20th. *C.Theod.* 3. 15. 3 (and many other extracts), to Hierius, *Praefectus Praetorio Orientis*: rules on the law of marriage and the family;

April 21st. *C.Theod.* 15. 8. 2 + 11. 41. 6, to Florentius, *Praefectus Praetorio (Orientis)*: punishing fathers or slave-owners who force girls into prostitution;

May 30th. *C.Theod.* 16. 5. 65, to Florentius, *Praefectus Praetorio (Orientis)*. Removal of rights of heretical groups (20 different ones being named) – discussed by T. on pp. 35–36, where he rightly notes that, for all the force of imperial rhetoric, the actual penalties imposed were relatively mild;

June 9th. *C.Theod.* 12. 4. 1, to Florentius, *Praefectus Praetorio (Orientis)*. Rules relating to the property of decurions;

July 10th. *C.Theod.* 8. 4. 29, to Florentius, *Praefectus Praetorio (Orientis)*, in response to a *suggestio* (memorandum) from him, on the improper assumption of military rank;

July 13th. *C.Theod.* 13. 3. 19, Proculus, *Praefectus Urbis*. Adjusting the provisions of a *novella lex* (that of January 31st, above) in the case of *archiatri* at the imperial palace.

There is no obvious reason why no legislation from the last part of the year should have been incorporated in the *Codex Theodosianus*. But even this sample will illustrate the range of complex issues which confronted the emperor, some having been put before him in *suggestiones* from higher officials, and some requiring revision after only a few months to take account of special cases. They also illustrate the way in which virtually all imperial legislation, even in the Greek East, took the form of letters written in Latin, and addressed, in nearly every case, to one of a small group of high officials. They may also suggest why the need was felt for a comprehensive *Codex*, named after the emperor, as was to be announced, in a letter to the senate, on March 26th of the following year (*CTheod.* 1. 1. 5).<sup>6</sup>

Not all of the decisions made by emperors were to be incorporated in the *Codex*, and one very illuminating one from AD 428 or very near it, which was not included, is touched upon by T. (p. 23), but not fully exploited. This is the bilingual, Latin and Greek, dossier presented on an inscription from Mylasa (*I.K. Mylasa*, no. 611), with the Latin text of an imperial letter to Eudoxius, *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*, followed by a Greek translation

<sup>5</sup> O. Seeck, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste für die Jahre 311 bis 476 n.Chr.* (Stuttgart 1919).

<sup>6</sup> The background to this momentous step is discussed by T. Honoré, *Law in the Crisis of Empire 379–455 AD: The Theodosian Dynasty and its Quaestors* (Oxford 1998), especially 116–17; and is now very thoroughly analysed by A.J.B. Sirks, *The Theodosian Code: A Study* (Friedrichsdorf 2007).

of it, and then by a letter in Greek, explicitly described as the translation, from Eudoxius to the *Praeses* of Caria. The issue in question was a very minor local one, namely the harbour tax payable in a village in the territory of Mylasa: it had reached the emperor in a *suggestio* from Eudoxius.

The 'ordinary' year AD 428 was to provide exceptionally powerful reasons for the populace to make its complaints and demands known to the emperor, for Nestorius, as soon as installed as bishop or patriarch in Constantinople, both initiated vigorous action against perceived heresies, and proclaimed doctrines – above all the proposition that Mary could not be called 'Theotokos', 'Mother of God', but only 'Christokos', 'Mother of Christ' – which would in three years lead to his own deposition for heresy.

The paradoxical effect of Nestorius' views was the opposite of what he had intended, namely the rapid evolution of the use of the term 'Theotokos' into a mark of orthodoxy; and it was only a few years later that the great church of Maria, *Genetrix Dei* (S. Maria Maggiore), was built in Rome (see below). Mary was to gain an ever more central place in both Catholic and Orthodox piety.<sup>7</sup>

In Lydia, Nestorius' agents were sent to pressurise heretics into declaring their repentance, and adopting a Creed which itself was to be declared heretical at the Council of Ephesus in AD 431.<sup>8</sup> Other Christians reacted more strongly, and negatively.

For instance, on hearing of Nestorius' scandalous doctrines, a monk named Basil is recorded as having set out from Lycia, gone to Constantinople, denounced Nestorius to his face, approached the emperor, been arrested and flogged – and then been saved by popular support, after which the Council was called (John Rufus *Plerophoriae* 35). This episode seems to be among those referred to in a long petition found in the *Acta* of Ephesus (*Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* 1. 1. 5, no. 143, pp. 7–10), addressed to Theodosius by monks in Constantinople, protesting against violence by Nestorius, and demanding the summoning of a Council. The date must be between AD 428 and the announcement by the emperor, in Autumn 430, that there would be a Council in the next year.

Nestorius' doctrines produced strong reactions not only all over the Greek world, where the great churchman and theologian, Cyril, bishop and patriarch of Alexandria 412–444, took the lead in opposition, but in the West as well. Given above all the wealth of literary, documentary and archaeological evidence which is available, it is paradoxical that 5th-century Italy is relatively little studied. It is perhaps T.'s brilliant sketch of the structure of the Western empire, and the situation of Rome, Ravenna and Italy (Chapters. 5–6), which should stimulate a long overdue study of Italy, Rome, the senate and the office-holding aristocracy, the popes and the emperor, from AD 395 until the end of the Western empire in AD 476 (or also of the Gothic regime up to the Justinianic re-conquest of the 530s).

In an unduly neglected article of great importance, Andrew Gillett demonstrates that, while the emperors did remain based in Ravenna until AD 450, there was then a decisive shift by which they returned to Rome for the last quarter-century of their existence.<sup>9</sup> In the years around AD 428 they were still in Ravenna, but that did not prevent complex

<sup>7</sup> See now M. Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (London 2009).

<sup>8</sup> F.G.B. Millar, 'Repentant Heretics in Fifth-Century Lydia: Identity and Literacy'. *Scripta Classica Israelica* 23 (2004), 111–30.

<sup>9</sup> A. Gillett, 'Rome, Ravenna and the Last Western Emperors'. *BSR* 69 (2001), 131–67.

exchanges between them, the senate and the popes. As regards the senate, T. refers briefly (Chapter 6, n. 34) to the evocative book of C.W. Hedrick, *History and Silence*,<sup>10</sup> but does not explore its central theme, the great inscription erected in the Forum of Trajan in AD 431, rehabilitating the memory of Virius Nicomachus Flavianus, who had supported the revolt of Eugenius in AD 394. The rehabilitation was due to the prestige and influence of his son, Nicomachus Flavianus, now *Praefectus Praetorio* of Italy, Illyricum and Africa. The monument to his father took the form of a statue and statue base, on which was inscribed the full text of a long letter from Theodosius II and Valentinian III to the Roman senate, expressing this decision in complex and allusive oratorical style.<sup>11</sup>

In spite of the losses of territory in Gaul, Spain and, very soon, Africa, this was still a period of prestige and influence for Rome, and above all for the popes. It was the pope of AD 428, Celestine (422–432), who built, or at least began construction of, the perfectly preserved and classically proportioned Church of S. Sabina on the Aventine, still adorned by the original carved wooden panels, with Biblical scenes, from its main doors. We are now fortunate that the scale and magnificence of church-building in Rome in this period can be appreciated in the beautifully illustrated volume of H. Brandenburg, *Ancient Churches of Rome*.<sup>12</sup> T. duly notes (p. 69) the letter sent by Celestine in AD 428 to the bishops of southern Gaul, imposing various forms of discipline. But the mention of this letter is a reminder of a state of affairs which amounts to a scandal in modern scholarship. The briefest consultation of the excellent *Oxford Dictionary of Popes* by the late J.N.D. Kelly,<sup>13</sup> will show that there is surviving correspondence by, for instance, Damasus (366–84), Siricius (384–399), Anastasius (399–401), Innocent (401–417), Boniface (418–422) and Celestine himself, not to speak of the great figures of Sixtus (432–440), the builder of S. Maria Maggiore (another very significant expression of the cult of Mary, see above), and of course Leo the Great, 440–461, on whom now see the major study by Susan Wessel.<sup>14</sup> But there is no overall modern critical edition, with translation and commentary, of this series of letters, which between them represent an early, but significant, phase in the growth of papal power. Instead, they can be found, scattered among the works of other writers, in *Patrologia Latina*, especially volumes 13, 20 and 50. Celestine's letters are found in volume 50, and relate to Africa and Illyricum, and also to Apulia and Calabria, as well as to Gaul (*Ep.* 4). Augustine also writes to him, as do both Nestorius and Cyril of Alexandria when the controversy over Nestorius' doctrines begins. Of course there was a language barrier: Cyril (*Ep.* 8) sent Celestine some volumes of Greek patristic writings which he had had translated into Latin, so far as possible, by Latin-speakers living in Alexandria.

All the letters which belong to the specific context of the Nestorian controversy are, however, edited by Eduard Schwartz in the first volume of *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* (Berlin 1927–30), and there is no need for details here. But it should be stressed that, both

<sup>10</sup> C.W. Hedrick, *History and Silence: Purge and Rehabilitation of Memory in Late Antiquity* (Austin 2000).

<sup>11</sup> *CIL* VI, 1783; Hedrick (as in n. 10), 1–5.

<sup>12</sup> H. Brandenburg, *Ancient Churches of Rome from the Fourth to the Seventh Century: The Dawn of Christian Architecture in the West* (Turnhout 2005).

<sup>13</sup> Oxford 1986; revised edition with new material by M. Walsh 2006.

<sup>14</sup> S. Wessel, *Leo the Great and the Spiritual Rebuilding of a Universal Rome* (Leiden 2008).

through letters and through the representatives whom he sent, Celestine had a profound influence on the Council of Ephesus of AD 431. Episcopal correspondence, with exchanges of doctrinal views, between East and West, involving translation in both directions, demands further study.

Polemical reactions in the West to the doctrines of Nestorius could take various forms, first on the part of the major figure of John Cassian, the author of *Institutes of Monastic Life* and 24 *Conferences*. He is the subject of several stimulating pages (pp. 70–72) by T. – though the fact that he came from ‘Scythia’ does not make him a ‘barbarian’; his origin will have been the Roman province called ‘Scythia’, at the mouth of the Danube. In AD 430, as it seems, he wrote the earliest systematic refutation of Nestorius in Latin, namely his seven-book *On the Incarnation of the Lord against Nestorius*.<sup>15</sup>

T.’s suggestive and readable treatment of the West and the impact of the barbarian invasions (Chapter 7) largely concerns Gaul, with a look at Britain (pp. 78–79). Spain, however, appears only very briefly (pp. 81–83), although the same complex process of mutual adjustment, between Romans and barbarians, and between the Spanish Church and the popes, played out there too.<sup>16</sup>

Finally, as a tribute to the evocative chapter (8) devoted by T. to Africa, and above all to Augustine in his last years, we may note the powerful evidence that Augustine’s works were known and valued in Constantinople, at least by the time of his death in AD 430. For it was then that Theodosius, when in the autumn of that year he summoned the Council of Ephesus, to meet in the next year, sent an imperial letter (*sacra*) to Augustine, with a personal invitation for him to attend. According to the 6th-century *Breviarium* of Liberatus (*Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* 2. 5, p. 103), a *magistrinus* named Evagrius was sent with the letter to Carthage, only to learn from the bishop of the city, Capreolus, that Augustine had died. Moreover, Capreolus was unable, because of the invasion by the Vandals, either to summon a council of the African church, or to attend the Council of Ephesus himself. The very moving letter which Capreolus later addressed to the Council was read out to its opening session, on June 22nd, 431, first in its original Latin and then in Greek translation – and it was the Greek which was recorded in the *Acta* (*Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* 1. 1. 2, no. 61). It is duly translated into French in the magnificent volume of André-Jean Festugière; but otherwise, so far as I am aware, this letter has not received the attention which it deserves.<sup>17</sup>

To end with immediate Western reactions to Nestorius, and then to the Council, is to look at what, but for Nestorius, might indeed have been an ‘ordinary’ year, and to see the dual empire from a slightly different perspective: not the individuality of different regions, but the nature and limits of communication and information passing between them. Other readers may carry away different lessons from this book, but none will fail to benefit from the stimulus which it provides.

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<sup>15</sup> *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 17 (2004), 235–391.

<sup>16</sup> For thorough recent treatments, with detailed surveys of the sources, see J. Arce, *Bárbaros y romanos en Hispania (400–507 AD)* (Madrid 2005); and P. Ubic Rabaneda, *La iglesia en la Hispania del siglo V* (Granada 2004).

<sup>17</sup> A.-J. Festugière, *Ephèse et Chalcédoine: actes des conciles* (Paris 1982), 244–46.



## LATE ANTIQUE LIFE THROUGH ARCHAEOLOGICAL EYES

W. Bowden, A. Gutteridge and C. Machado (eds.), conceived and co-ordinated by L. Lavan, *Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity*, Late Antique Archaeology 3.1 (2005), Brill, Leiden/Boston 2006, xxx+656pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 10: 90-04-14414-5 / ISBN 13: 978-90-04-14414-9 / ISSN 1570-6893

L. Lavan, L. Özgenel and A. Sarantis (eds.), with the assistance of S. Ellis and Y. Marano, *Housing in Late Antiquity: From Palaces to Shops*, Late Antique Archaeology 3.2 (2005), Brill, Leiden/Boston 2007, xvi+538 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-90-04-16228-0 / ISSN 1570-6893

The last 20 years have seen an extraordinary transformation in archaeological perspectives on late antiquity. Modern historical reinterpretations of this period as a dynamic socio-cultural epoch in its own right, not merely the wreck of the Roman empire or a proto-feudal prelude to the Middle Ages, have encouraged an unprecedented degree of attention to the archaeological excavation, study and interpretation of late antique occupation layers and cultural material, once often dismissed as unworthy of study.

Such new perspectives are presented in the massive *Late Antique Archaeology* series arising from Oxford conferences (the first, *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology*, appeared in 2003; the latest, *The Archaeology of Late Antique 'Paganism'*, has just appeared [2011]). These volumes not only collect valuable archaeological data drawn from many sites and regions in an accessible form, but provide interpretative essays which address modern historical concerns and relate archaeology to other forms of evidence.

Two recent volumes in the series, reviewed here, both challenge the tendency of socio-economic history to be written on the basis of textual evidence, usually produced by society's elites. They demonstrate how much can be read from archaeological evidence of a society's power relationships, social and religious structures, and distribution of wealth. *Housing in Late Antiquity* is somewhat more successful, perhaps because housing lends itself more naturally to archaeological investigation. This volume seeks to redress past over-emphasis on public buildings and spaces, and to look more closely at private housing. On the other hand, the great majority of the book still focuses on elite (both church and secular) housing, and other forms of habitation receive only a few scattered pages (for example in J. Rossiter, 'Domus and Villa: Late Antique Housing in Carthage and its Territory' and M. Waelkens *et al.*, 'Two Late Antique Residential Complexes at Sagalassos'). *Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity* attempts more explicitly to use archaeological evidence to examine non-elite groups, such as artisans, shopkeepers and villagers (for example in E. Zanini, 'Artisans and Traders in the early Byzantine City'). But its purpose falters with the inclusion of two articles on 'The Poor in Texts', which argue that the poorest of society, owning no material culture, can only be studied through texts (S. Holman, 'Constructed and consumed: Everyday Life of the Poor in 4th c. Cappadocia'; W. Mayer, 'Poverty and Society in the World of John Chrysostom').

Both books tend to focus on towns rather than the countryside – as is typical of late antique archaeology in general – with a few notable exceptions such as V. Kalas, 'Cappadocia's Rock-Cut Courtyard Complexes' and G. Volpe, 'Architecture and Church



Power in Late Antiquity: Canosa and San Giusto (Apulia)' (both in *Housing*); and P. Van Ossel, 'Rural Impoverishment in Northern Gaul at the End of Antiquity' (*Social and Political Life*). To some extent this bias is redressed if the *Late Antique Archaeology* books are read as a series, since some gaps are filled by earlier volumes on *Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside* (2003) and *Technology in Transition* (2007) – which includes chapters on wine and pottery production. Urban contexts and civic culture of East, West, Constantinople and Rome itself are thoroughly explored, for example in C. Machado, 'Building the Past: Monuments and memory in the Forum Romanum'; L. Lavan, 'Fora and Agorai in Mediterranean Cities during the 4th and 5th c. AD'; G.P. Brogiolo, 'The Control of Public Space and the Transformation of an Early Medieval town: a Re-examination of the Case of Brescia'; and J. Bardill, 'A New Temple for Byzantium' (all in *Social and Political Life*).

In addition to sites and buildings, a variety of other archaeological sources are exploited, such as coins and jewellery and mosaics (R. Reece, 'Coins and Politics in the Late Roman World' and E. Swift, 'Constructing Roman Identities in Late Antiquity?', both in *Social and Political Life*; and F. Ghedini and S. Bullo, 'Late Antique Domus in Africa Proconsularis', in *Housing*), as is the potential of computer-aided analysis (K. Cooper, J. Hilner and C. Leyser, 'Dark Age Rome: Towards an Interactive Topography', in *Social and Political Life*; S. Ellis, 'Shedding Light on Late Roman Housing', in *Housing*). Many chapters explore the correlations between archaeological and textual evidence (notably I. Baldini Lippolis 'Private Space in Late Antique Cities: Laws and Building Procedures', in *Housing*). Most make an admirable attempt to set the archaeological data from a specific region or site in the context of broader socio-economic transformations and interpretive issues, such as cultural and civic identities, wealth and poverty, and the role of the Church.

Both books are outstanding in bringing together viewpoints from a wide range of institutions scattered across four continents, with contributing scholars from Europe, Turkey, the United States and Australia (unfortunately, the helpful list of contributors offered in earlier volumes of the series does not appear in the latest three). There is relatively little material from the Near East: the only chapter in either book specifically on a Middle Eastern region is A. Walmsley, 'The Excavation of an Umayyad Period House at Pella in Jordan' (in *Housing*); and even the otherwise exhaustive bibliographic chapters omit, for example, important studies of housing such as those by S. Dar, D. Urman and C. Haass.<sup>1</sup> Most surprisingly, there are no chapters on – and virtually no mention of material from – Britain, in either book, although some works are listed in the bibliographic chapters. I assume the academic segregation of 'Anglo-Saxon' from Roman studies has played a role in this.

Aside from these particular quirks, the books are refreshingly bold in ranging across East and West, Roman and post-Roman fields of scholarship. The fertility of such an approach is revealed by the parallels and contrasts which emerge. In *Housing in Late Antiquity*, we see

<sup>1</sup> S. Dar: *Sumaqa: A Roman and Byzantine Jewish Village on Mount Carmel, Israel* (Oxford 1999) and *Raqit: Marinus' Estate on the Carmel, Israel* (Oxford 2004); D. Urman, *Rafid on the Golan: A Profile of a Late Roman and Byzantine Village* (Oxford 2006); and C. Haas, 'Alexandria and the Mareotis Region'. In T.S. Burns and J.W. Eadie (eds.), *Urban Centers and Rural Contexts in Late Antiquity* (East Lansing, MI 2001).

a most striking parallel development of a new style of two-storey elite housing in the Near East, eastern and western Europe (Walmsley, cited above; W. Bowden and J. Mitchell, 'The Triconch Palace at Butrint'; S. Ellis, 'Late Antique Housing and the Uses of Residential Buildings'), but not, by contrast, in Asia or Africa (L. Özgenel, 'Public Use and Privacy in Late Antique Houses in Asia Minor'; Rossiter, cited above). Another emerging picture is the contrast between radical changes in secular elite housing (seen, for example, in A. Chavarría, J. Arce and G. Ripoll, 'The Urban Domus in Late Antique Hispania') and the rich, technologically sophisticated church-building in both Europe and Asia which reflects the wealth and extra-religious roles of the Christian hierarchy (Y.A. Marano, '*Domus in Qua Manebat Episcopus*: Episcopal Residences in Northern Italy during Late Antiquity'; G. Volpe, 'Architecture and Church Power in Late Antiquity: Canosa and San Giusto (Apulia)'; B. Ceylan, 'Episkopeia in Asia Minor').

A valuable resource for any student or scholar is provided by the extensive bibliographical review chapters characteristic of this series, here authored by L. Lavan and L. Schachner (who cover 'Political' and 'Social' life respectively) and I. Uytterhoeven (on Housing). Both books are well illustrated in black-and-white, with comprehensive indexes.

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## TWO BOOKS ON PUNIC IBIZA

B. Costa and J.H. Fernández (eds.), *Misceláneas de Arqueología Ebusitana (II). El Puig des Molins (Eivissa): Un siglo de investigaciones*, Treballs del Museu Arqueològic d'Eivissa i Formentera 52, Eivissa 2003, 326 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 84-87143-33-4 / ISSN 1130-8095

R.M. Puig Moragón, E. Díes Cusí and C. Gómez Bellard, *Can Corda: Un asentamiento rural púnico-romano en el Suroeste de Ibiza*, Treballs del Museu Arqueològic d'Eivissa i Formentera 53, Eivissa 2004, 171 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 84-87143-34-2 / ISSN 1130-8095

The Archaeological Museum of Ibiza and Formentera has a long tradition of publication of books in which the rich material it keeps is studied. This material comes from several settlements that existed on these two islands, especially on Ibiza, which constituted the territory of the Punic city of Ebusus.

*Misceláneas de Arqueología Ebusitana (II)* has as its main subject the city's cemetery, Puig des Molins, and commemorates the first hundred years of scientific research in the island. The first paper, by B. Costa and J.H. Fernández, outlines the history of this research and the principal publications dedicated to the different types of material found here. Another paper by them describes the phases of the cemetery, from the later 7th century until the 1st century BC. The main features of each phase are presented, in particular the typology of the tombs and their evolution during this unusually long period.

J. Ramón writes about the north-western limit of the cemetery, in a terrain which remains outside the main part of the necropolis. This area shows, like other parts of the

necropolis, the change in ritual from cremation, more usual in the Archaic period, to inhumation in *hypogaea*, usual since Classical times. This excavation has let also to define the limits and extent of the Archaic cemetery – some 8000–10,000 m<sup>2</sup>.

A further paper by the editors studies representations of Gorgons and gorgoneia on a variety of objects (pottery, stone, ostrich eggs, terracotta, etc.) found at Puig des Molins. They propose to interpret these as symbols of regeneration or renewal after death, noting that the number of these images is very slight, and suggesting that the symbol might be used only by a limited number of persons. In another paper they study two examples of glass beads depicting male heads: taking into consideration the known parallels they interpret these as amulets which could ease the passage to death.

In the final paper, Costa, Fernández and A. Mezquida study an unusual find from the necropolis: a chest with two coins still inside, which can be dated to the later 2nd–early 1st century BC. The authors examine the context of the tomb and interpret the find as some kind of savings for the other world.

The second book here reviewed has a narrower subject. It deals with a rural settlement excavated in the south-west of the island of Ibiza containing several buildings with very concrete purposes: a cistern, an oil press, a central court and several rooms. These belong to a villa of the 1st century AD which, however, has behind it a long tradition of rural settlement during the island's Punic period. Certainly, some of the structures (for instance, the oil press complex) seem to have been built in earlier times. The volume studies both the structures and the materials and gives a vivid image of life in the countryside of the already Roman city of Ebusus in the 1st century AD, with surviving elements of previous ages but also with material that shows the incorporation of the island into the wider Roman world.

Without doubt, the already extensive collection of publications by the Archaeological Museum of Ibiza and Formentera is contributing to Ibiza's becoming one of the best known Punic cities in the western Mediterranean.

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## TWO BOOKS ON ROMAN EMPORIAE AND ITS TERRITORY

A. Kaiser, *The Urban Dialogue: An Analysis of the Use of Space in the Roman City of Empúries, Spain*, BAR International Series 901, Archaeopress, Oxford 2000, vi+132 pp. Paperback. ISBN 1-84171-097-0

J. Casas Genover and V. Soler Fusté, *La Villa de Tolegassos: Une explotación agrícola de época romana en el territorio de Ampurias*, BAR International Series 1101, John and Erica Hedges, Oxford 2003, 304 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 1-84171-321-X

The main aim of A. Kaiser's book is to present a model of how the Roman city of Emporiae functioned through the (ideological) analysis of its preserved material structures. Regarding the actual shape of the city as an 'urban dialogue', the author tries to 'identify the group of residents of the city that would have had an influence on where specific activities were located' (p. 3). From this perspective, the study of a Roman city ceases to

be a plain catalogue of structures and becomes a social history. Nevertheless, the difficulties are numerous, not least, in the case of Emporiae, the deficiencies in the published records of the excavations carried out in the city. After an Introduction, K. devotes a chapter to consider theories of Roman urbanism, in which R.A. Raper's work in Pompeii<sup>1</sup> has played an important role, although K.'s study reveals the limits of his approach and shows ways of advancing beyond it.

The second chapter presents a (perhaps too) brief panorama of the history of the city and of archaeological research in Emporiae. The third chapter begins with an overview of the Vitruvian conception of urban space (public and private, with many categories within each of them) and its application to Emporiae, both to the Neapolis and to the Roman city. This is certainly an interesting chapter because K. tries to analyse the different parts of the city from an objective point of view (size, quality, evidence of use).

The next chapter uses a statistical approach, accompanied by GIS, to interpret the use of space and the relationship between the different uses. K.'s conclusion is interesting: 'public, public secular, and commercial structures were clustered together in the same parts of the city and often in the same blocks' (p. 58).

The conclusion, also entitled 'The Urban Dialogue', shows how the different groups within the city structured their spaces, following their different roles, visibility and social relevance. Interestingly, K. suggests that the renewal of the Greek part of the city, the so-called Neapolis, during the 2nd century BC, has to be interpreted as 'an attempt to resist the colonization of the Romans', formally allied to the Greek city. The use of space as a means of stressing ethnic identity is another matter of interest brought up in the book.

The remainder of the volume, some 44 pages, contains a sufficiency of drawings and plans to illustrate the ideas developed in the study.

On the negative side, it is necessary to note some mistakes, mainly in the spelling of Spanish words. However, the general balance is more than positive: this book shows the possibilities arising from the study of (reasonably) well-excavated ancient cities to examine and elucidate social structures and, even, the ideologies responsible for the urban form.

J. Casas and V. Soler's book publishes the results of 15 years of excavation of a Roman villa (Tolegassos) within the territory of Emporiae. The site was occupied during the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, although somewhat more sporadically, as well as in Augustan times. Excavation has shown the agricultural character of this early occupation.

Around AD 45–50 a new villa was built; it comprised at least two buildings. One of them had a square court around which a series of rooms was developed, while a portico marked the main axis of the building. The villa underwent transformations in the next phases of use, until its abandonment perhaps in the first decades of the 3rd century AD. Some occupation is attested from the 4th century AD.

Within the villa, the warehouses were perhaps the most important structures because they stored the agricultural produce. At Tolegassos one containing *dolia* has been excavated. It functioned throughout the life of the villa, and some of the *dolia* continued in use during the 4th-century re-occupation.

<sup>1</sup> R.A. Raper, 'The Analysis of the Urban Structure of Pompeii: A Sociological Analysis of Land Use (Semi-micro)'. In D.L. Clarke (ed.), *Spatial Archaeology* (London 1977), 189–221.

One chapter is dedicated to economic life in the villa and another studies the coins found in different parts of the buildings. The volume concludes with a chapter dealing with Romanisation in north-east Catalonia.

This work provides us with an exhaustive account of the development and operation of a Roman villa over more than two centuries, as well as the tools, warehouses and pottery used by the owners. The building, although it has some monumental features (columns in the porch), represents not the luxurious type of villa known well in many parts of the empire but one deeply tied to the soil and built in order to obtain the profits from it.

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## EPHESUS

W. Seipel (ed.), *Das Artemision von Ephesos: Heiliger Platz einer Göttin*, Eine Ausstellung des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Archäologischen Museum Istanbul und dem Ephesos-Museum, Selçuk, Archäologisches Museum Istanbul, 22. Mai bis 22. September 2008, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Phoibos Verlag, Vienna 2008, 255 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-85497-137-5

Turkish version: W. Seipel (ed.), *Efes Artemisionu. Bir Tanrıçanın kutsal mekânı*, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Phoibos Verlag, Vienna 2008, 368 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-85497-136-8

A. Ohnesorg, *Der Kroisos-Tempel. Neue Forschungen zum archaischen Dipteros der Artemis von Ephesos*, Österreichischen Archäologischen Institut in Wien und der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Forschungen in Ephesos XII.4, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna 2007, xviii+222 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-7001-3477-0

V. Mitsopoulos-Leon and C. Lang-Auinger (eds.), *Die Basilika am Staatsmarkt in Ephesos 2: Funde der klassischen bis römischen Zeit*, Österreichischen Archäologischen Institut in Wien und der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Forschungen in Ephesos IX.2.3, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna 2007, xxvi+212 pp., 71 tabs. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-7001-3733-7

The temple of Artemis at Ephesus was one of the most distinguished – certainly one of the largest – in the ancient Greek world. In its final manifestation it was regarded as one of the Seven Wonders of the World, the only Greek temple to be accorded that distinction. The cult of Artemis was of paramount importance to the people of Ephesus – witness the riots led by the silversmiths of the city, with the cry of ‘Great is Artemis of the Ephesians’ in response to what they regarded as the subversive preaching of St Paul.

Yet, following the eventual triumph of Christianity, the temple completely disappeared and the record of it survived only in written descriptions. Its rediscovery in 1869 by John Turtle Wood is an epic of 19th-century archaeology; having located its probable position by following the route described in an inscription for a procession from the interior of the

city (whose remains were visible) to the sanctuary he had to remove 20 ft (in his account; 6 m in the present works) of overlying deposit to find the foundations of the temple. What he revealed were the remains of the final colossal temple and underneath this the remnants of its equally colossal predecessor, a fragment from one of whose columns proclaimed it to be a dedication by Croesus, king of Lydia. Material from both temples was sent by Wood to the British Museum, where it remains.

Subsequent Austrian excavations to the west of the temple led to the discovery of its great altar, and the removal of more elements to the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. Renewed excavations inside the temple itself conducted at the beginning of the 20th century for the British Museum by D.G. Hogarth uncovered the Croesus temple's antecedents and a rich deposit of offerings associated with these. This material, however, remained in Turkey, at the Istanbul Museum. More recent work at Ephesus has been directed by the Austrians, at the temple site under the direction of Anton Bammer. Other Austrian excavations have taken place in the city of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The rich finds from all these Austrian excavations are kept in the modern local museum at Selçuk.

The disappearance of the temple in the postclassical period was due partly to its very thorough destruction when the cult of 'Diana of the Ephesians' was replaced by Christianity (and the building of the great Justinianic Basilica of St John on a different site), but also to the fact that the temple had been situated on low-lying ground by the River Kayster, resulting in the deep deposit of silt and raised ground water levels which still flood the excavations if they are not constantly pumped away. (When I first visited Ephesus in May 1956 all that was visible was a lake with a solitary marble slab protruding above the water's surface. A column of the final temple has now been re-erected on this.)

*Das Artemision von Ephesos* is the catalogue of an exhibition initially staged at Istanbul of material from the excavations of Hogarth and Bammer, in other words from the earliest phases of the cult-place, whose structures are the antecedents of the Croesus temple. There is nothing in it from London or Vienna. The preceding essays, however, give an excellent overview of all the successive temples and the cult. They include one by Bammer describing the early structures, small peripteral buildings with an inner courtyard and some form of internal shrine; the successor building called Temple C by Hogarth; and the various 'cult-bases' associated with them. Another essay, by Mustafa Büyükkolancı and Karoline Zhuber-Okrog, describes the colossal temples, the Croesus temple and its replacement, the actual Wonder of the World. The catalogue is illustrated with splendid colour photographs of every object in the exhibition (though these are only a fraction of the total finds). Catalogue no. 1, exceptionally, is the 2nd-century AD. statue of Artemis herself, in island marble, the so-called 'Beautiful Artemis', found in 1956 not in the sanctuary but in the Prytaneion of the Staatsmarkt. All the other objects come from the sanctuary – statuettes in gold or ivory, gold pins and other ornaments, faience, amber, rock crystal, terracotta, mostly dating from the middle of the 8th century BC, the gold statuettes in particular to the Orientalising period, the years from *ca.* 650 to 550 BC. Earlier objects include catalogue no. 225, an Egyptian scarab of the Libyan period, 10th to 8th century; catalogue no. 270, a terracotta bull described as Protogeometric, 11th to 10th century, as is catalogue no. 283, part of a Protogeometric skyphos. The earliest of all are two pottery fragments, both Mycenaean, catalogue nos. 282 (Late Helladic III B–C) and 281 (Late Helladic IIIC early to middle). Finally, there is a series of electrum coins, all of around 600 BC, examples of the

earliest struck coinage from the Greek world. All the objects date before the construction of the great Croesus temple, and were lost before work on that building began.

The significance of this material is considerable. It demonstrates not only the position of the cult of Artemis in the early community, but also its wealth, its contacts with other parts of the eastern Mediterranean world, including Egypt; while the gold is presumably from the Pactolus and Lydia, wealthy before the legendary wealth of Croesus himself. What is clear from the finds is that the cult of Artemis had more than a local significance. She is rather a deity of the whole region, not just the Greek community of the city of Ephesus. Her cult image, represented by the 'Beautiful Artemis' and other similar statues found in Ephesus is not like other Greek images of Artemis. In the catalogue Robert Fleischer's essay on the cult statues is an excellent discussion of the implications of the image form and its relationships. This book forms a most effective introduction to the early development of the temple and cult.

*Der Kroisos Tempel* marks the next stage, the construction of a new, vast temple, far dwarfing its predecessors, built of marble and with lavish decoration. After its destruction (supposedly by arson, though there are no obvious traces of this in its remains, and it is difficult to see how, given its form, an incendiary was able to set fire to it) it was totally covered by its replacement which precisely replicated its plan. Little of it remains *in situ*. Aenne Ohnesorg painstakingly gathers together all the material, including that in the British Museum, that survives from it. This is a full and definitive study.

The large-scale plan shows how little of the original foundations remain and can be identified. Even so, fragments of most elements from the superstructure are meticulously identified and described. From the outside it would have appeared to be an exceptionally large but otherwise normal temple building having a central cella structure with a deep porch and surrounded by a double Ionic colonnade. There are variations in the columns – the number of flutings to the shafts varies, only the capitals of the outside columns carried volutes (the rosettes which it was once thought replaced volutes on some capitals are shown by Ohnesorg to come from the inner sections of the corner capitals), while the inner columns of the peristasis have a simpler form, an echinus carved with an ovolo under a square abacus. The height of the external columns is not certain. Ohnesorg calculates it to have been in the region of 10–11 times the lower shaft diameter of at least 1.50 m. The entablature was marble, and over this a roof of marble tiles, though of course this was limited to the surround, leaving the interior as an unroofed courtyard with a small shrine containing the cult-statue. Ohnesorg suggests that the construction of the temple began at about 575 BC, that is, before the accession of Croesus himself.

It is clear from this material and its excellent presentation here that the temple cannot have come into existence in isolation. The design relied on skills already available to its architects, named by Vitruvius as the Cretans Chersiphron of Knossos and his son Metagenes. Also involved, according to Pliny and Diogenes Laertius was Theodoros of Samos who had worked on the equally colossal, but slightly earlier 'Rhoikos' temple of Hera on that island, particularly for the problem of building on marshy ground. This was solved by a sub-layer of timber under the stonework, confirmed at Ephesus by the discovery of carbonised remains in J.T. Wood's excavations. The involvement of architects from Crete is puzzling, since there is no evidence for similar architecture there at this time. The size of the building and the multitude of columns point to Egypt as the inspiration (where



there were already Greek trading settlements in existence). Ohnesorg looks to the Cyclades for marble working antecedents and notes particularly the unusual S-shaped clamps (Taf. 2) used also in the altar of the Dioscuri on Delos, and the more usual 'swallowtail' clamps also found in the Cyclades as well as elsewhere (see my review of *Gergakome*).<sup>1</sup>

This book is most thorough and comprehensive. It is difficult to see what else could be elucidated of this crucially important but woefully fragmented building.

*Die Basilika* takes us to a completely different part of the city, in Hellenistic and Roman times, after its re-foundation and fortification by Lysimachus. The 'Staatsmarkt' or Upper Agora is situated at the top of the rise from the eastern (Magnesian) city gate, before the main processional road descends past the multi-storeyed Roman 'hanging houses' to the area of the Library of Celsus, the Theatre and the other principal public buildings which, with their good state of preservation form a marked contrast to the scanty remains of the great temple. It is immediately adjacent to the Prytaneion and the open assembly building ('Odeion') and seems to have served the administration of the city at a time when it was the centre of the Roman province of Asia. The excavation here was directed by Wilhelm Alzinger for the Austrian Archaeological Institute from 1961 to 1972, but publication was delayed by the subsequent illness of the Director. Volume 1 of the publication has already discussed the finds of Hellenistic and Roman pottery. This second part deals with the other finds, from Classical to Roman.

The building itself is an extended, three-aisled structure along the northern side of the Agora, replacing a simple Hellenistic Stoa. The central aisle is the widest, giving the basilical form, with the side facing the Agora an entirely open colonnade, with rooms at either end. A doorway gives direct access to the Prytaneion.

The finds include some small fragments of late Panathenaic amphorae, and other black- and red-figure fragments, none of any great moment. The other finds comprise stamped amphora handles, Roman amphorae, lamps, loom-weights, terracottas and glass, all thoroughly catalogued and discussed. Compared with the material from the Artemision this is all ordinary and mundane. The provenance is limited, as can be understood most clearly from the amphora handles, which give an entirely Aegean regional (and mostly local) origin – Miletus, Cos, Cnidus, Chios, Mende and Thasos. The terracottas range in date from Hellenistic to Roman, and were found in all the areas excavated, the largest number from one context being 35. From the great range of types (divinities, cloaked figures and so on) they can hardly have formed dedications or offerings, and, like the wine amphorae, seem rather to imply commercial undertakings. There is nothing comparable with the widespread provenance of the material deposited in the Artemision. The earliest finds suggest the presence of private houses and workshops dating to the initial re-foundation of the city which were removed to make way for the construction of the Agora. Coin finds extend from the 4th century BC, through Hellenistic (Arsinoe) and Roman to the early 7th century AD and the Byzantine emperor Heraclius.

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<sup>1</sup> Review of W. Held, *Gergakome: Ein 'altehrwürdiges' Heiligtum im kaiserzeitlichen Karien* (Tübingen 2008) in *AWE* 11 (2012), forthcoming.

## NEW BOOKS IN EGYPTOLOGY

- R.H. Wilkinson (ed.), *Egyptology Today*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2008, xiv+283 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-521-68226-8
- I. Shaw and P. Nicholson, *The British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, revised and expanded edition, The British Museum Press, London 2008, 368 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-7141-1980-9
- K. Griffin (ed.), with the collaboration of M. Gundlach, *Current Research in Egyptology 2007*, Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Symposium, which took place at Swansea University, April 2007, Oxbow Books, Oxford 2008, x+158 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-84217-322-0
- T. Wilkinson (ed.), *The Egyptian World*, The Routledge Worlds, Routledge, London/New York 2007, xxviii+558 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-415-42726-5

*Egyptology Today*, edited by R.H. Wilkinson, comprises 12 papers organised systematically in four, almost equally weighted, sections: 'Methods: paths to the past', 'Monuments: Structures for this life and the next', 'Art and Artifacts: objects as subjects' and 'Texts: Words of gods and men'. For all articles the authors provide, as well as footnotes and references, further literature at the end of the book (pp. 251–76), thus allowing the reader to delve further into the subject. In the introductory chapter (pp. 1–4), the editor stresses that today's Egyptology 'demands a much wider level of scholarly interaction and cooperation' and should also include the methods of natural science. Thus, the volume contains not only papers on archaeology, history and language, for example, but shows also how medical science and the conservation of artefacts are integral parts of Egyptology as well.

The essay by K. Weeks, 'Archaeology and Egyptology' (pp. 7–22), outlines the history of excavations in Egypt and also gives an insight into the author's work in the Valley of the Kings. Weeks also stresses 'that many of the techniques adopted by archaeologists working elsewhere in the world have been slow to make their way into Egyptological research' and 'Egyptian archeology is still an isolated specialization in academia'. Thus it seems that Egyptology has still a long way to go. D. Redford's chapter on 'History and Egyptology' (pp. 23–35) aims at a similar direction of possible shortcomings in Egyptology by discussing how historiography has been a somewhat neglected genre in Egyptology. A.R. David's contribution on medical science and Egyptology (pp. 36–54) outlines in a very concise form the importance of medicine for the study of mummies and mummification. I was wondering why S.H. Parcak's 'Site Survey in Egyptology' (pp. 57–76) and P. Dorman's 'Epigraphy and Recording' (pp. 77–97) were not part of the first section and thus related to archaeological fieldwork. Surveying, discovering, excavating and finally documenting sites, after all, is the beginning of all facets of Egyptology.

The following chapter, 'Monument and Site Conservation' (M. Jones, pp. 98–120), takes a critical look at site conservation and the often poor preservation of archaeological sites in Egypt. This is, however, not just a modern phenomenon as already W.M.F. Petrie and H. Breasted, more than 100 years ago, lamented the destruction and degradation of sites that had happened during the 19th century. Today, the dangers for the monuments in

Egypt are multi-faceted and are influenced by population explosion, groundwater levels, salt damage, air pollution, industrial development and the growing sector of tourism. The author also mentions that local people in Egypt are often not involved in the cultural heritage of Egypt which can lead also to great frustration among the population, although in recent years this has been successfully addressed by Zahi Hawass, Secretary-General of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, who has achieved increasing 'public understanding of ancient Egypt through the media and documentary films'.

The article by R.E. Freed on the 'Art of Ancient Egypt' (pp. 123–43) takes a more general approach to the topic and also provides an outline of the history of ancient Egypt illustrated with some examples of statuary, all from the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. 'Ancient Egypt in Museums Today' (A.P. Kozloff, pp. 144–62) describes a selection of museums in Egypt and the rest of the world which hold Egyptian antiquities. The museums in Egypt are still facing the lack of trained curators but, amongst others, the American Research Center in Egypt is sponsoring museum training projects. The contribution by S. Gänssle on 'Artifact Conservation and Egyptology' (pp. 163–85) gives several case studies of conservation on objects from the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston undertaken by the author herself. An appendix on common ancient Egypt raw materials and a glossary of conservation terms at the end of the article are extremely helpful.

The last part of the book is dedicated to texts and language. The first paper, J.P. Allen's 'The Egyptian Language' (pp. 189–205), discusses the writings systems, phonology and grammar, and is quite demanding and requires some prior knowledge of the Egyptian language. 'Ancient Egyptian Literature' (J.L. Foster and A.L. Foster, pp. 206–29) contains many quotes from ancient Egyptian texts in translation and definitely should trigger interest in finding out more about these texts and reading them in their entirety. This section's concluding chapter by R.J. Leprohon (pp. 230–47) introduces the reader to the major corpora of Egyptian religious texts. The volume is concluded by the editor who looks into 'Egyptology Tomorrow' (pp. 248–49), stressing where progress in Egyptology is evident and which fields need further improvement – such as the co-operation between Egyptologists and other specialists. Perhaps a chapter on 'Studying Egyptology today' would have been interesting to highlight the various ways of Egyptology is taught around the world. In summary, this volume gives a very good insight into the fascinating field of Egyptology and its potential for the future.

I. Shaw and P. Nicholson took on the daunting task in the early 1990s to compile a reliable general *Dictionary of Ancient Egypt* in English. The 1st edition was published in 1995 with hundreds of entries, illustrations, drawings and maps. Understandably the selection for the entries had to leave out some key terms as well as some archaeological sites. In the newest edition the existing corpus of entries was substantially enlarged to more than 600, more than 500 illustrations are shown, and bibliographies for the entries have been updated, in some cases even to 2007–08. The entries have been written by two world-renowned archaeologists and are followed by bibliographies and many entries featuring additional photographs and maps. Maps are often now more detailed, as can be seen under the headings of Amarna, Dei el-Medineh, Naukratis, Nuri, Tanis, or Tell el-Daba. Due to the increasing research on Predynastic Egypt, sites such as Nabta Playa, el Adaima, Farkha and Kafr Hassan Dawood have been added or updated. At Abydos the latest discoveries at Cemetery U are now described. Unfortunately, the publication for the mentioned Palestinian pottery from

tomb U-j by U. Hartung is missing. Several Dynastic sites have also been newly included: Elephantine; Qasr el-Sagha in the Fayum; the island of Sehel, with its many rock inscriptions; the Graeco-Roman settlement at Oxyrhynchus, where the largest corpus of classical manuscripts in the world was found; etc. For Elephantine a photograph of the island is shown, while the map of the island can be found under the entry of Aswan where it is obviously misplaced (the caption is for a map of the region of Aswan which was here in the 1st edition). A major find from ancient Egypt is surprisingly no longer part of the dictionary. While the entry of Narmer remains essentially the same, one wonders why the famous Narmer Palette is no longer illustrated. Newest developments in Egyptian archaeology are included as well, such as the discovery of KV 63 in the Valley of the Kings and the cuneiform tablet found at Qantir. The entry for the Supreme Council of Antiquities clearly reflects its importance for Egyptology.

The volume is an invaluable A–Z guide covering more than 4000 years of the ancient culture of Egypt and is an essential source for the general reader, student and researcher.

How multifaceted approaches in Egyptology can be becomes evident from the volume *Current Research in Egyptology 2007* edited by K. Griffin. The volume is the eighth publication from an annual postgraduate conference intended to facilitate contacts and share research between students of British institutions and universities from around the world. Initially set up by students in Oxford in 2000, the 2007 conference in Swansea attracted 40 students from ten countries and the conference has now reached such international appeal that the meeting took place in Leiden in 2010. The Swansea volume comprises twelve research papers on art and architecture, language and literature, history and society and of methods of scientific analysis such as radiocarbon dating. A further 25 papers were given at the symposium but are not included in the publication. The time period of all the contributions covers approximately 4000 years and reaches from the Predynastic to the Coptic period.

The series opens with a paper on determinatives of gods in the New Kingdom Papyrus of Ani (R. Aronin, pp. 1–14), followed by an examination that applies archaeobotany and pharmacognosy to re-assess the translation of certain ancient Egyptian terms for plants (J. Campell and R. David, pp. 15–24). These two papers with their diversity in topic set the scene for the remaining ten papers, of which one is concerned with the absolute chronology of the First Dynasty (J. Cockitt, pp. 25–35). Given the uncertainty of an exact chronology of this time the author used 68 <sup>14</sup>C dates to demonstrate the potential of radiocarbon dating for Egyptology. The next essay concentrates on wells and cisterns starting with the Neolithic (H. Franzmeier, pp. 37–52). Following the author, early wells (phase 1) up to the early 18th Dynasty were restricted to the desert. From the Nile valley dozens of wells are known from the site of Amarna (phase 2). In the last phase 3 the way the wells were executed changed and wells were located in all areas of accessible groundwater. Given the archaeological bias towards wells of phase 2, certainly future excavations of settlement sites in the Nile valley will contribute to this discussion.

Papers on the ‘Central Halls’ in Ptolemaic temples (A. Gaber, pp. 54–70) and the use of beads in Badarian sites (V. Gashe, pp. 71–82) again underline the depth of time that is covered. With an art-historical approach the iconography of the blue and cap crowns are tackled, whose specific purpose remains uncertain (S. Gregory, pp. 83–96). After examining the iconography of headgear, in particular in the motif of ‘holding up the sky’, the

author concludes that the blue and cap crowns can be seen as complementary, defining the legitimate status of the mortal king. A short essay (F. Lankester, pp. 97–101) provides a brief insight into rock art from more than 200 sites in the Eastern Desert between Quft and Edfu. Based on a bird depicted on a Predynastic sherd found recently at Hierakonpolis in the next essay, a link is made between this engraving and the rising of the star Arc-turus leading to the provocative proposal that the bird is part of some celestial record (R. Park, pp. 103–11).

Monumentality, one of the key elements of Egyptian royal statuary, is examined in its initial context in temples and then how the population experienced this monumentality in popular cult worship (C. Price, pp. 113–21). The longest article again focuses on some textual and iconographical aspect of the Netherworld, namely the 14 mounds or regions found in Chapters 149 and 150 of the Book of the Dead (P. Robinson, pp. 123–40). The series is concluded by a paper on a Graeco-Roman magical gem (P. Veiga, pp. 141–49) and a discussion on the planned settling of the Sea Peoples in Canaan by Ramses III (P. Wolinski, pp. 151–58). Referring to the propagandistic rhetoric of the Egyptian kings one should always be on guard and not be easily misled by the ancient records.

The publication of a selection of papers presented in Swansea in 2007 definitely shows how alive and diverse Egyptology is today.

The volume edited by T. Wilkinson, *The Egyptian World*, contains 32 contributions from international experts. This allows for the most up-to-date insights and research. The book is subdivided into seven parts describing the environments, institutions, economies, societies, ideologies, aesthetics and interactions of ancient Egypt, followed by an extensive bibliography (pp. 488–545). The structure chosen follows along the line of topics rather than a chronological timeline. This might be unusual when compared to other textbooks or overviews on ancient Egypt, but it allows the reader to study each topic from various angles.

The first part (pp. 7–56) describes the Nile valley, the Nile delta, the Western and Eastern Deserts, the oases and urban life. The chapter by D. Jeffrey (pp. 7–14) lays particular emphasis on how our view of the Nile valley has changed and that its landscape did not remain constant but that due to the rise of the valley floor of 1 cm per century (p. 12), it actually changed considerably over time. P. Wilson's chapter on the Nile delta (pp. 15–28) also stresses the impact of flood perturbations on settlements with further consequences for the economic and political development of the delta. However, the reader might be left confused as Wilson gives a figure of 1.5 m for every one thousand years for the rise of the landscape (p. 21). The essays by J.C. Darnell on the deserts (pp. 29–48) and A.J. Mills on the oases (pp. 49–56) clearly show the increased research in the landscapes east and west of the Nile and mirror a recent shift in Egyptological research. N. Moeller's chapter on urban life (57–72) breathes life into the landscapes previously described as she shows in a concise form how people settled in the Nile valley and organised their communities. One of the important features of the whole book is that several institutions, features or aspects of the ancient Egyptian society are discussed in more than one article and thus the reader can read about them in various contexts.

Part II, on institutions (pp. 75–128), discusses the monarchy, the administration, the temple priesthood and the army. Here it is evident that one expects overlaps in the various chapters, as of course the king was also involved in the administration, was the ultimate

high priest and, naturally, was supreme commander of the army. And indeed the article by A. Dodson on monarchy (pp. 75–90) ties in perfectly with the later contribution by K. Goebis on kingship (pp. 275–95). The essay on administration by K. Exell and C. Naunton (pp. 91–104) concentrates on the New Kingdom and succeeding centuries, unfortunately leaving the reader looking for other literature when interested in the periods of the Early Dynastic through to the Second Intermediate.

The third part – on economies (pp. 131–201) – kicks off with a chapter by D. Brewer on agriculture and animal husbandry (pp. 131–45), the backbones of Egypt's economy. The author again picks up the environmental setting in the Nile valley and then discusses how, in contrast to other countries, the irrigation system in Egypt was not actually implemented to increase acreage for cultivation but 'was merely a means of water control, regulating the naturally available water' (p. 133). A. Stevens and M. Eccleston investigate 'Craft production and technology' (pp. 146–59), taking Amarna as a case study. While this leaves aside a vast part of Egyptian history it is certainly a valid approach, for there are still 'many gaps in our understanding of craft production', and it seems better to speak about the information that we possess while being aware of the gaps. K.M. Cooney then investigates 'Labour' in ancient Egypt (pp. 160–74); for this Egyptologists must combine a variety of sources from archaeology, epigraphy and texts. It is now clear that we have to divide between labour that was attached to the state, which was hierarchically structured and monitored, and labour that was attached to the private sector and organised on a 'village market level' (p. 162). Although one has to be careful in using the word 'market' when speaking about the ancient Egyptian economy as this could lead to misinterpretations, the division into the two spheres is certainly correct. This chapter is followed by E. Bleiberg's debate on the interaction between state and private enterprise (pp. 175–84). Cooney and Bleiberg at times discuss the same documents and this gives the reader an in depth understanding of the sources. Bleiberg's interest is also to analyse the ancient Egyptian economy in light of modern economic theories, i.e. a substantive approach following the ideas of Karl Polanyi and a rationalist approach influenced by the concept of a market economy. Yet neither approach has so far successfully allowed for a full understanding and a coherent picture of the relationship of the state and private sectors. This is further emphasised in S.L.D. Katary's essay on 'Land, tenure and taxation' (pp. 185–201), where these concepts are discussed in light of a theoretical and ideological full-ownership of all of Egypt by the Egyptian kings. As such the king was entitled to bestow land on institutions as well as individuals, which in the course of thousands of years necessarily led to more and more land owned by these recipients. The exact scale, however, is not known and, as a matter of fact, the Ptolemies later 'struggled to find tenants for the cultivable land available and were obliged to adopt strategies of land grants, auction and tax reduction to keep land under cultivation' (p. 201).

Part IV is dedicated to various aspects of the ancient Egyptian society. It starts with a discussion on gender and sexuality by T.G. Wilfong (pp. 205–17). The author stresses that ancient Egypt was a highly gendered society, evidenced by an abundance of texts and images, but also that the topic of gender and sexuality is slow to enter mainstream Egyptology. The article by S.T. Smith on ethnicity and culture (pp. 218–41) shows, once again, that all articles of this volume can be seen as independent and supplementary, as his discussion sets the ideological frame for the last part of the volume dealing with the



interactions of ancient Egypt with her neighbours. The following chapters by F. Hagan on local identities (pp. 242–51) and B. Ockinga on morality and ethics (pp. 252–62) are particularly interesting to read as they use many sources in translation. The concluding chapter of this part (by S. Allam) deals with law (pp. 263–72) and leads from the concepts of *maat* and morality as discussed by Ockinga to the practical transformation of these principles, highlighting the fact that the ancient Egyptians did not live in a society without conflicts.

Part V starts with an essay by K. Goebis on kingship (pp. 275–95) and combines so many aspects that the reader has come across already, such as monarchy and *maat*, that it perfectly enhances the understanding of the king in his divine office and his interactions with the gods. Where the world and the gods came from the reader learns in L. Gahlin's 'Creation myths' (pp. 296–309); how these gods were worshipped in the chapter entitled 'Temple cults' by E. Teeter (pp. 310–24). The concept of a private level of religion is by far more difficult to describe, as L. Gahlin makes clear in her essay 'Private Religion' (pp. 325–39). Part V closes with an essay on 'Afterlife beliefs and burial customs' by S. Ikram (pp. 340–51).

Part VI, 'Aesthetics', opens with a paper on art by G. Robin (pp. 355–65). Although there are illustrations of statues or wall decorations throughout the volume this chapter on art surprisingly has none. K. Spence's contribution on architecture (pp. 366–87) outlines the development of monumental state and royal architecture as well as domestic buildings. No other ancient culture invested so much energy in construction over such a long period of time. The author concludes that through building the kings fulfilled their filial duty to the gods, and that architecture was of such utmost importance that even kings who did not speak Egyptian (the Ptolemies), or pharaohs who hardly were in Egypt (such as the Roman emperors), still needed building programmes. The chapter by J.P. Allen on literature (pp. 388–98) is rather short given the importance of the topic. Yet the author provides so many references and sources that it is not difficult to find further readings.

The last part, 'Interactions', sheds light on ancient Egypt in its Mediterranean and Near Eastern context and on how ancient Egypt has been perceived by the modern Western world after the Napoleonic expedition in 1798. It opens with 'Egypt and Nubia' by T. Kendall (pp. 401–16), which stresses that Nubian history is a 'dynamic field' and that often the way it is treated depends very much on the individual author's personal perspectives and/or field experiences, and the reader should be aware that Kendall's contribution is therefore 'yet another version' (p. 402). Yet it is also a fascinating one, leading us through the archaeology and history of Nubia from the 8th millennium BC to the 1st millennium AD. Just as this chapter benefits from the author's long experience of working in Nubia, so does the following chapter by M. Bietak on 'Egypt and the Levant' (pp. 417–48) from the Predynastic to the 1st millennium BC. Extensive use is made of the author's own research at Tell el-Daba and crucial moments in Egypt's relationship with the Levant, such as the battles at Megiddo and Qadesh, are discussed. While Assyrians and Persians of course invaded Egypt from the Levant, they are only mentioned briefly, since their conquest and interaction are discussed by T. Wilkinson in 'Egypt and Mesopotamia' (pp. 449–58). A look to the Mediterranean is then given by L. Steel in 'Egypt and the Mediterranean world' (pp. 459–75). These four chapters definitely show how Egyptology



today is completely embedded in the wider study and research on the Mediterranean, North Africa and the Near East. The last essay of this impressive volume, by A. Bednarski, is on 'Egypt and the modern world' (pp. 476–87), noting that interest in ancient Egypt is thriving in Western society.

The volume is a most comprehensive work and an informative overview of ancient Egypt and it will definitely contribute to the ongoing fascination with ancient Egypt.

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#### RECENT PUBLICATIONS ON THE BLACK SEA REGION

R. Docter, K. Panayotova, J. de Boer, L. Donnellan, W. van de Put and B. Bechtold, *Apolonia Pontica 2007*, Department of Archaeology, Ghent University, Ghent 2008, 188 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-90-78848-00-4

E. Papuci-Władyka (ed.), *Pontika 2006: Recent Research in Northern Black Sea Coast Greek Colonies*, Proceedings of the International Conference, Cracow, 18 March 2006, Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization 11, Institute of Archaeology, Jagiellonian University, Cracow 2008, 238 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISSN 0083-4300

*Between Olbia and Odessa. Archaeological Research of the Greek Settlement at Koshary on the Black Sea (1998–2008)*, Excavations by the Institute of Archaeology, Jagiellonian University and the Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences Archaeological Museum, Odessa, Catalogue of a Photographic Exhibition at the Jagiellonian University Museum, *Collegium Maius*, April 21, 2008–May 31, 2008, Cracow 2008, 64 pp., illustrations. Paperback. No ISBN. Parallel text in Polish and English

A. Kakhidze, *Pichvnari. Results of Excavations Conducted by the N. Berdzenishvili Batumi Research Institute Pichvnaria Expedition vol. 2: Pichvnari, 1967–1987. The Classical World in the Eastern Black Sea Area: The Fifth Century BC Greek Necropolis at Pichvnari*, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford and Batumi Archaeological Museum, Inovacia, Tbilisi 2007, 408 pp., 100 figs. (summary in English on pp. 206–27, 291–308). Cased. ISBN 978-1-85444-223-6 (Ashmolean). ISBN 978-99940-0-218-4/ISSN 1512-0716 (Batumi)

The present review features four publications from 2007 and 2008 that resulted – directly or indirectly – from international excavation projects at archaeological sites on the western, northern and eastern Black Sea coasts. This phenomenon of joint teamwork between local archaeologists and colleagues from foreign universities is relatively new for the region in question – it became especially popular in the last decade or so, during which the amount of relevant publications in English increased dramatically. The work of such international teams usually focuses on ancient Greek settlements and necropoleis located on the Black Sea coast, but more often than not, the interest of foreign scholars in specific sites and the region as a whole emerges from their general interest in issues of colonisation, adaptation and ethnicity in antiquity.

This is certainly true for the members of the archaeological team from Ghent University who, in 2007, joined the Bulgarian excavation of the necropolis at the site of Apollonia Pontica – a well-known ancient Greek colony on the western Black Sea coast. The results of this pilot project were promptly published in 2008 in *Apollonia Pontica 2007*. While the campaign was very short (the introduction to the volume states that it lasted only two weeks, during which three squares were excavated – C7, D7 and E 7), and the results were admittedly modest, the format of the publication can be considered exemplary. It mostly contains photographs, drawings and detailed descriptions of finds (primarily ceramic) from these squares, arranged by category and presented as ‘preliminary observations’, accompanied by short discussions, remarks, or more general notes (B. Bechtold and R. Docter on plain and cooking ware, pp. 47–98, and on red-slip, black-glazed and painted vessels, pp. 123–50; J. de Boer on Greek transport amphorae, pp. 99–122; W. van de Put on Attic black-figure, red-figure and related wares, pp. 151–66; and R. Docter on various other categories of finds, pp. 167–74, and on the assemblage in general, pp. 175–84). These articles are preceded by a detailed report on the excavation of the three squares (L. Donnellan, pp. 29–46) and by an overview written by the principal excavator of the necropolis (K. Panayotova, pp. 5–28). The latter article is particularly important, since it provides the necessary context for the finds in question, which comprise only a very small part of the entire collection. The excavations of the burial sites at Apollonia Pontica have been going on for many years, and over 2200 graves have been excavated in the course of this work. For the last few years, rescue excavations of both the settlement and the necropolis continued throughout the year, because of the intensive building activities on the Black Sea coast around the area of modern Sozopol, where the site of ancient Apollonia Pontica is located.

Another volume from 2008, *Pontika 2006*, includes the proceedings of an international conference that took place at the Institute of Archaeology of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow in March 2006. Publications of such nature often have mixed contents and can be used for academic research only to a rather limited extent. In this sense, *Pontika 2006* is not an exception. The most valuable contribution to the volume is the series of reports presenting recent results of the archaeological work at the ancient settlement of Koshary in Ukraine. The site of Koshary is located about 3.5 km south of the eponymous village in the Kominternovskii district of the Odessa region, some 40 km east of Odessa. Situated on the right bank of the Tiligulskii Liman (ancient Aksiakos), it occupies a high promontory above the silted delta. The site was first discovered in 1950 and excavated for several decades afterwards. In 1998, a Polish-Ukrainian expedition started to work at Koshary, and from that time onwards excavation reports have been published on a regular basis, although most of them were in Russian, Polish or Ukrainian. The project is still in progress, and therefore only preliminary conclusions can be drawn at this point. The site encompasses an ancient settlement and an accompanying necropolis, dating from the 4th to the middle of the 3rd century BC, and an *eschara* on the south-eastern edge of the promontory, which, according to archaeologists, could have been in use from the second half of the 4th to the first quarter of the 3rd century BC. The excavations of the settlement revealed, among other finds, architectural remains (dwellings, household complexes, defensive structures), which display clear evidence for city planning. Amphora fragments comprise 70–80% of all the ceramic finds and represent primarily the production of the

Black Sea centres (mostly Heracleia, but also Sinope and Chersonesos) and Thasos, but also of centres in the Aegean.<sup>1</sup> The predominance of transport amphorae over any other category of ceramics indicates that the settlement must have been actively involved in trade.

Out of the 17 articles in the volume under review, seven focus on recent finds from the site of Koshary. All but one are published in English, with abstracts in Russian, and all are accompanied by extensive bibliographies and often by photographs, drawings and tables. The subjects range from coin finds (J. Bodzek, pp. 13–23) to pottery (A. Kowal on Grey ware, pp. 75–94) and to various aspects of the life and death of the inhabitants of this settlement (J. Chochorowski on social aspects of the organisation of the necropolis, pp. 25–45; K. Kaczanowski, A. Kosydarski and E. Niedzwiecka on the anthropological study of the burials, pp. 53–61; G. Łaczek on bone amulets from a particular tomb, pp. 111–19). It is a pity that the more general article (E.F. Redina, E. Papuci-Władyka, Bodzek and W. Machowski, pp. 143–60), outlining the history of the archaeological work at Koshary and offering a rather detailed overview of the site, was left untranslated and has but a very brief summary in English.

This shortcoming is compensated, to a certain extent, by another 2008 publication of the Jagiellonian University, *Between Olbia and Odessa* – a catalogue of the exhibition that took place at the Jagiellonian University Museum in April and May 2008. The catalogue features photographs from the exhibition, accompanied by a general description of the site of Koshary and the archaeological work undertaken there by the Polish-Ukrainian team from 1998 onwards. The photographs, which occupy about half of the 64-page-long booklet, show both specific artefacts discovered during the excavations and the more general views of the area, some team members and scenes from the every-day work at the site. The accompanying description – in Polish and English – is quite handy. It also includes a bibliography on the project, with the titles in German and English, among others.

In *Pontika 2006*, the rest of the articles form a rather diverse group, both thematically and qualitatively. Some focus on particular topics (V.N. Stanko on the cult of the bison in early south-eastern Europe, pp. 191–203; V.P. Vanchugov on the oldest fibulae in the northern Black Sea region, pp. 205–19); others indicate general directions in the current archaeological work rather than presenting any specific results of a field project or a study (M.W. Czech on the prospects of archaeological underwater research in the Black Sea, pp. 47–51; A. Pydyn, on the overall experience of an archaeological underwater survey at Olbia, pp. 135–41). The remaining six entries feature the results of the archaeological work at different sites on the northern, north-western and eastern coasts of the Black Sea, including those of Tanais, Nikonion, Tyras, Olbia and Pichvnari. Two of these projects are also carried out in collaboration with Polish archaeologists – from Warsaw University and the Nicolas Copernicus University in Torun, respectively. While the former team presents the results of their excavations in a rather detailed fashion (T. Scholl on the western part of the Hellenistic Tanais, pp. 177–89), the latter provides only a short summary

<sup>1</sup> E. Papuci-Władyka and T.N. Kokorzhitskaia, 'Greek Amphorae from the Polish-Ukrainian Excavations at Koshary, Odessa District (Fourth and Third Centuries BC): A First Presentation'. In J. Eiring and J. Lund (eds.), *Transport Amphorae and Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean* (Athens 2004), 313–24.

(M. Mielczarek on ancient Nikonion, p. 121). The other three articles that focus on the sites of the north-western Black Sea coast are all written by their principal excavators and include very informative accounts on the recent archaeological work at these sites (V.V. Krapivina on the Upper and Lower City of Olbia, pp. 95–110; T.L. Samoilova on ancient Tyras, pp. 61–75), as well as a more comprehensive overview of the entire micro-region (S.B. Okhotnikov on the ancient settlements of the Lower Dniester area, pp. 123–33). All three articles are in Russian, which renders them less accessible to the international audience for which the volume is clearly intended. However, much material from these sites has been published lately in other sources, in various languages and in much more detail.<sup>2</sup>

The same can be said about the site of Pichvnari on the eastern Black Sea coast, in south-western Georgia. *Pontika 2006* contains a brief account of the excavations at Pichvnari from 1967 to 2005 (M. Vickers and A. Kakhidze, pp. 221–37). The archaeological complex at Pichvnari comprises several Greek and Colchian sites dating to various periods. The site has been studied from the 1950s onwards; in the 1960s, large-scale excavations started there and, in 1998, an Anglo-Georgian team began its work at Pichvnari. Among the most recent and comprehensive publications on this site is *Pichvnari II*, which came out in 2007. As is evident from the title, this publication is the second in a series of monographs covering the archaeological work at Pichvnari – the first volume in this series presented the results of the Anglo-Georgian excavations from 1998 to 2002. *Pichvnari II* features the results of the archaeological work at the 5th-century BC Greek necropolis that took place in the years preceding the Anglo-Georgian collaboration at the site – from 1967 to 1987. Despite the two decades of intensive work, this is the first comprehensive publication of such a scale, discussing various categories of finds. The volume consists of two parts: the text and the illustrations. Most of the text is in Georgian (pp. 11–205), but a part of it is translated into English. The latter starts with a short introduction (pp. 206–13), which contains a brief report on the excavations conducted at the necropolis from 1967 to 1987 and a description of the specific burial types and customs for which evidence was found at the site. It is followed then by a description of various categories of finds discovered in the graves (pp. 214–24), including amphorae; Attic, Ionian and Colchian pottery; coins; metal objects; jewellery; glass artefacts; fibulae; arrowheads; and other items. The section finishes with some conclusions (pp. 225–27) and an extensive bibliography (pp. 228–57). The second part of the volume comprises a catalogue and a list

<sup>2</sup> Olbia, in particular, is an exceptionally well-published site: for recent publications in English and German, see, for example, A.S. Rusyaeva, 'The Main Development of the Western Temenos of Olbia in the Pontos'. In P. Guldager Bilde, J.M. Højte and V.F. Stolba (eds.), *The Cauldron of Ariantas* (Aarhus 2003), 94–116; A.V. Buyskikh, 'Die Gründung von Olbia im Lichte jüngster archäologischer Untersuchungen'. *Eurasia Antiqua* 11 (2005), 15–35; D. Braund and S.D. Kryzhitskiy (eds.), *Classical Olbia and the Scythian World* (Oxford 2007); A. Karyaka, 'The Defense Wall in the Northern Part of the Lower City of Olbia Pontike'. In P.G. Bilde and J.H. Petersen (eds.), *Meeting of Cultures in the Black Sea Region* (Aarhus 2008), 163–80; V.V. Krapivina, 'Olbia Pontica in the 3rd–4th Centuries AD'. In D.V. Grammenos and E.K. Petropoulos (eds.), *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea 2*, vol. I (Oxford 2007), 591–627. The latter volume also contains articles on Tyras and Nikonion: T.L. Samoilova, 'Tyras: The Greek City on the River Tyras', 435–70; N.M. Sekerskaya, 'The Ancient City of Nikonion', 471–506.

of illustrations, both in Georgian (pp. 263–90) and in English (pp. 291–309). The illustrations themselves (pp. 309–408), which include drawings and colour photographs, are of a very good quality and make this publication particularly valuable, presenting many important finds to the international academic community for the first time.

Boston, USA

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G.G. Aperghis, *The Seleukid Royal Economy: The Finances and Financial Administration of the Seleukid Empire*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2004, xv+361pp. Cased. ISBN 0 521 83707 3

‘This book is likely to be controversial. It reflects a view on how ancient economic history could be written that is probably not shared by the majority of scholars’ (p. xi). The opening lines of Makis Aperghis’s *The Seleukid Royal Economy*, based on a University College London PhD from 2000, certainly promise a thought-provoking read. This study of the finances and financial administration of the Seleucid empire (the volume’s subtitle) – according to A. himself influenced both by an earlier training as an engineer and by a career in computer software (visible in a large number of graphs and tables throughout the book) – firmly views the realm of the Seleucids as a direct successor of earlier empires, and a point is made of applying documents from the Achaemenid period, for example Elamite texts from Persepolis, to the interpretation of Seleucid financial administration. Its main focus is on the apogee of Seleucid power, until Mesopotamia was definitely lost under Antiochus VII to the Parthians in 129 BC.

Part I (‘Preliminaries’) introduces the sources (including cuneiform tablets, archaeological remains and coinage), provides a brief historical overview of the reigns of the different kings, and puts forward the hypothesis – tested in the remainder of the book – that the Seleucid rulers found themselves continuously faced with a threat of silver shortage because the main military payments were not supposed to be in kind, which was still the main mode of collecting income by the time Seleucus Nicator founded his dynasty, but in silver, and hence needed to take measures ‘to increase silver revenue and survive in the post-Alexander world’ (p. 31). Part II (‘The Underlying Economy’) starts by giving estimates for the populations of the five main regions within the Seleucid empire. Expecting that ‘population figures are clearly going to be the subject of much disagreement’, A. states that ‘great accuracy is not a requirement here’ (p. 35) and argues that ‘although the estimate for an individual region might be somewhat off the mark, that for the entire Seleucid empire, using this method of estimating different regions independently and then totalling, would not be’ (p. 36). He then sketches the underlying modes of production and exchange – ‘agriculture, animal husbandry, the exploitation of natural resources, industry and trade’ (p. 59) – and raises the question of their potential for producing the administration’s income from duty. Along the same lines, royal grants of land and Seleucid city foundations are interpreted as being the direct result not of military and strategic reasoning, but of economic considerations: ‘the desire to open up relatively undeveloped land to economic exploitation’ (p. 99). One of A.’s main examples, however, is not working here: the city plan of Dura-Europos on the Euphrates, with its Hippodamian grid surrounded by walls – of which three, *contra* Aperghis (p. 92), follow natural lines (including the northern and southern

ravines) – does not date from the foundation of the colony of Europos in the early Hellenistic period, but was implemented only towards the end of the 2nd century BC, as the analysis by Dura's leading archaeologist, Pierre Leriche, has shown; the original foundation thus consisted only of the citadel hill and the area directly adjacent to it.

Part III ('The Royal Economy') deals with what goes in and what goes out of the kings' treasury. First, A. scrutinises Book 2 of Pseudo-Aristotle's *Oikonomika*, once spurned by Moses Finley as the 'crashingly banale' exception to his rule that there were no attempts in the Greek world to get at a concept of what 'economy' – as moderns understand it – was. A. interprets the first section of Book 2, in which royal, satrapal, urban and household 'economies' are discussed, as an actual description of 'the administration of the Seleukid empire under Antiochos I', and since the rest of Part III aims to reveal 'an excellent fit between theory and practice' (p. 135), the thesis of the book as a whole depends heavily on this identification of the *Oikonomika* as 'an instruction manual for would-be administrators of satrapies and cities' (p. 299) in the reign of Seleucus' first successor. With this text as 'framework' (p. 3) and 'useful guide' (p. 137), revenues from land, natural resources, market centres, travel and transport by land, sales, animals and head taxes are subsequently discussed and argued to have been 'increasingly collected in silver rather than in commodities' (p. 179). The impact of 'extraordinary revenue', the result of plunder and extortion, is (too?) swiftly brushed aside as 'a negligible proportion' of the Seleucids' revenue, even if A. acknowledges that it could serve as a solution to 'temporary cash-flow problems' (p. 175). The disposal of surpluses in kind is said to have continued to be a problem under the Seleucids, despite an increase in monetary taxation compared with the Achaemenid period, and the Hellenistic kings' outgoings, it is argued, went above all to their army, 'certainly not less than half in "peacetime" conditions and probably considerably more when a major campaign was under way' (p. 211). A chapter on coinage, which intends to show how 'the aim of the early Seleukid kings was to monetize the economy of the empire to the greatest extent and as rapidly as possible' (p. 245), is followed by 'a model for the Seleukid economy', in which the estimates from the preceding chapters in the book come together. A. argues that the model's 'interrelated parts seem to fit together reasonably well', and that this 'could only be the case if the magnitudes of the different parameters and the nature of their interrelationships were roughly correct' (p. 262). The final chapter, on financial administration, sketches the system which would have been needed to make the model work in practice.

General conclusions and two appendices, one on coin hoards lists and one which gives the most important documents in the original and in translation, close the book. A., who 'firmly' identifies himself as a modernist 'with regard to the primitivist-modernist debate' (p. 303) in the final paragraph, did not aim to have the final say about the Seleucid royal economy. It can be expected that scholars, in reaction, will want to lay appropriate emphasis on the more primitive elements of the 'economic measures' taken by Seleucus and his successors. But the author's appealing and in many ways convincing experiment in modelling the finances and financial administration of Alexander's successors in Syria and Mesopotamia will certainly be successful in stimulating others to take 'economic' notions more into consideration, and counts as a welcome addition not only to the study of the Hellenistic world, but also to that of ancient history in general.



X. Aquilué (ed.), *Intervencions arqueològiques a Sant Martí d'Empúries (1994–1996). De l'assentament precolonial al'Empúries actual*, Monografies Emporitanes 9, Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya Empúries, Girona 1999, 684 pp., 615 figs. Paperback. ISBN 84-393-4942-4

The site of the first Greek settlement in Emporion (today Ampurias or Empúries), an island close to the coast according to Strabo (3. 4. 8), had not been excavated (except some tiny sector) because it lay under a still-inhabited small village. Luckily, a series of municipal construction works in 1994–96 enabled limited excavations to be carried out at several places in this coastal village. This book, written by a team of the Museu de Arqueologia de Catalunya based in Empúries, contains the reports of these excavations in one of the places where Greeks established an *emporion* which, in time, would become a true *polis*.

The first chapter, by X. Aquilué, recounts the history of previous research at the site, which led to the discovery of some pieces of interest but without reaching relevant conclusions. One of the main reasons was the continuity of occupation of this tiny place from antiquity until today. Moreover, it was also the seat of a mediaeval county, which has complicated the stratigraphic history of the city.

There is a chapter (by A. Fernández de la Reguera and J. Solé) treating the project which facilitated the excavations, while Aquilué deals immediately with the general outline of the archaeological project.

After this introductory matter, the historical-archaeological studies begin. The first one, very brief, examines the ancient landscape of the region (R. Buxó). The first phase of the settlement (Late Bronze Age) is dealt with by Q. Esteba and E. Pons. This study, like the rest of those present in the work, is accompanied by a catalogue and drawings of the main related finds.

The native settlement of the first Iron Age is studied by P. Castanyer, Esteba, Pons, M. Santos and J. Tremoleda. Several phases are distinguished: phase IIa (650–625/600 BC), in which the first Mediterranean imports began to appear (Phoenician and Etruscan) and the first native imitations; phase IIb (625/600–580 BC), with a continuity of imports from the previous phase, but with the appearance of the first Greek products. During this period the tiny island received increasingly more foreign products within a truly native context.

Phase III (580–late 6th/early 5th century BC) is studied by Castanyer, Santos and Tremoleda and corresponds to the Archaic Greek settlement. One of its main features is the replacement of the huts of the previous phases by rectangular structures with a stone socle and walls made of mud-brick. The materials show continuity with the previous phase but with a considerable increase and variety in the Greek products, mainly of Massaliote manufacture but also of other origins, accompanied by a decline in the proportion of native pottery. Unfortunately, the transformations suffered by the site during the ensuing centuries have damaged these early levels and the panorama of this important phase is quite fragmentary. Furthermore, the subsequent period (which might be called the classical age) is almost unknown in San Martín de Ampurias, except for data found in other parts of the city and excavated afterwards, not included here. This is the time when the city on the mainland, also mentioned by Strabo (3. 4. 8), grew.



For these reasons, the next attested period is the Hellenistic (phase IV: second half of the 3rd century BC), studied by the same team as the last. Similarly, the Roman period is not well represented in the site and we must wait until later Roman times (phase V: 4th century AD onwards) to find more substantial remains – when San Martín became the only inhabited place in the area of the former city. Aquilué and L. Burés study the remains for this period.

The rest of the book is devoted to later times, from the mediaeval to the contemporary. A concluding chapter outlines the main conclusions of the excavations.

Several appendices deal with the stratigraphy of each of the excavated areas, certainly very useful, as well as some archaeological interventions beyond the sectors dealt with in the main part of the work; others are dedicated to vegetable and animal remains found in the excavations.

The book is very well edited, illustrated and referenced and, certainly, the Museum at Ampurias has made a very considerable effort to produce a major reference work. The book is written in Catalan (except for very short summaries in Spanish and English, 16 pages in all), which may prove a hindrance to its use among scholars who do not know the language. However, the bulk of information it contains and the careful presentation of the finds and their discussion make it a fundamental work on the origins and the development of the Greek *emporion* at Emporion, and it will remain so for perhaps a very long time because it seems unlikely that new opportunities for excavations on this scale will occur in San Martín de Ampurias in the near future.

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Adolfo J. Domínguez

A.M. Arruda, *Los fenicios en Portugal. Fenicios y mundo indígena en el centro y sur de Portugal (siglos VIII–VI a.C.)*, Cuadernos de Arqueología Mediterránea 5–6 (1999–2000), Publicaciones del Laboratorio de Arqueología de la Universitat Pompeu Fabra de Barcelona, Carrera Edició, Barcelona 2002, 281 pp., 182 figs. Paperback. ISBN 84-88236-11-5

This book seeks to study the relationships of the Phoenicians with the territories on the Atlantic coast of the Iberian Peninsula, nowadays part of Portugal, in the period between the 8th and 6th centuries BC.

There is a general overview of the climatic and soil conditions of the regions analysed, and of some aspects of the navigation in the Atlantic, before consideration is given to the different regions in which the footprints of the Phoenician presence in Portugal can be observed. Four regions are examined. First, the Algarve, with sites such as Castro Marim and Cerro da Rocha Branca and cemeteries such as Fonte Velha de Bensafrim and others. The most important trait of this region is its strong relationship with the Tartessian world and the deep Phoenician activity.

Second is the estuary of the Sado, with sites such as Alcácer do Sal, the cemetery of Senhor dos Mártires, Abul and Setúbal. Abul is considered as a foreign (Phoenician) settlement and the rest of the sites as native, although with a strong presence of Phoenician-type material, depicted under the label of ‘Orientalising’. Some hypotheses are advanced about the forms of relationship between the Phoenicians and the native elites.

The third area considered is the Tagus estuary. The sites analysed are, on the left bank, Quinta do Almaraz, an important place which perhaps acted as a 'centre' for this region. Arruda introduces interesting reflections about the origin of the population in this site, whether Phoenician or native, and concludes by suggesting 'una presencia, aunque no exclusiva, de población oriental en Almaraz' (p. 111). However, these doubts reveal the difficulties in identifying ancient populations from just material remains. On the right bank of the Tagus, the most important site is Lisbon, where different spots have been excavated (the Cathedral, the Castle of Saint George and several points in the lower city or Baixa). Other sites, such as Outorela, Moinhos da Atalaia, Santa Eufémia, Freiria, Alcáçova de Santarém, show material evidence of contact and relationships with the Phoenicians. Certainly, Santarém is one of the key protohistoric sites in all western Iberia and A. argues in favour of the presence here of peoples of Phoenician stock, coming perhaps from Phoenician sites in the south of the Iberian Peninsula. At the same time, the relationships between Lisbon and Almaraz (opposite it across the river) are also stressed, although the archaeological evidence points to an earlier Phoenician presence inland (Santarém) than at the mouth of the river (Lisbon-Almaraz).

The last region examined the estuary of the Mondego, with sites such as Santa Olaia, Crasto de Tavadre, Chões, is Fonte de Cabanas, Pardinheiros and Conímbriga. Among them, Santa Olaia seems to have been settled by Phoenicians and Crasto to have acted as the central site of the natives. Conimbriga, for its part, linked the lower Mondego to the innermost regions, rich in metal ores.

A final chapter recapitulates the main conclusions reached in the previous sections.

This competent book constitutes the first comprehensive study of the Phoenician presence in the land of what is now Portugal. Thus, it will function as a reference work for all scholars and interested readers. While our knowledge of certain details of the Phoenician presence and colonisation in the Mediterranean has expanded, the Atlantic territories are still little known. Undoubtedly, this book makes a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Phoenician expansion in the European Atlantic.

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Adolfo J. Domínguez

J. Azize and N. Weeks (eds.), *Gilgameš and the World of Assyria*, Proceedings of the Conference held at Mandelbaum House, The University of Sydney, 21–23 July 2004, Ancient Near Eastern Studies Suppl. 21, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Dudley, MA 2007, viii+242 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 10: 90-429-1802-0 / ISBN 13: 978-90-429-1802-3

This volume collects together the results of a conference held at Sydney on Gilgameš and the Assyrian world at which Andrew George, author of what will surely be the standard edition of the Gilgameš Epic for many years to come, was the keynote speaker.<sup>1</sup> The 14 papers are organised into three sections: 'Gilgameš and the World of Assyria'; 'Gilgameš and the Hebrew Bible'; and 'Phoenician and Assyrian Studies'.

<sup>1</sup> A. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic*, 2 vols. (Oxford 2003).

Part One offers a range of interpretative approaches to the Epic. T. Davenport, 'An Anti-Imperial Twist to *The Gilgameš Epic*' (pp. 1–23), gives a structuralist reading of three of the Epic's main episodes, the initial oppression episode, the forest journey and the slaying of Humbaba, and the Ištar/Gilgameš dialogue, finding in them a political message warning against tyranny through the hero's representation as an anti-heroic model for kingship. There are a few corrigenda: p. 11, read 'casts' for 'castes'; p. 13, 'hordes' for 'hoards'; p. 17 'futility' for 'futileness'; p. 20, 'these' for 'theses'. J.-D. Forest, 'L'Épopée de Gilgameš, ses origines et sa postérité' (pp. 25–36), gives a symbolical interpretation of the Epic, in which each episode is related to the zodiacal signs of the astrological cycle as the narrative tracks the progress of the sun's ascent from the winter solstice.

A.R. George, 'The Epic of Gilgameš: Thoughts on Genre and Meaning' (pp. 37–65), in a lengthy and original paper (a different paper from that given at the original conference, as an introductory note makes clear) considers the poem in terms of its function and genre in light of the fact that the Sumero-Babylonian tradition did not itself have a well-defined generic system. He suggests that the Epic itself may be analysed as an anthology of the genres embedded in it, rather than being seen simply as 'myth' or 'legend'.

V.A.B. Hurowitz, 'Finding New Life in Old Words: Word Play in the Gilgameš Epic' (pp. 67–78), surveys several types of word play found in the Epic, which imbue the text with connotations beyond the simple surface meaning of individual words. N.K. Weeks, 'Assyrian Imperialism and the Walls of Uruk' (pp. 78–90), situates the Epic, framed by its reference to the walls of Uruk, within the militaristic ideology of the Neo-Assyrian royal annals and the building inscriptions out of which those annals developed.

Part Two explores a number of points of contact with, and influence of the Epic upon the Old Testament and the Jewish pseudepigraphica.

Forest, once again, in 'L'Épopée de Gilgameš et la *Genèse*' (pp. 91–105), extends his symbolical reading of the Epic in terms of the solar cycle to *Genesis* with particular reference to the tale of Jacob and his wives in *Genesis* 30–36. The pattern which emerges strongly suggests that the author of *Genesis* knew not only the Epic, but also the Atrahasis epic, the earlier Sumerian tales about Gilgameš, and the Egyptian *Tale of the Two Brothers*.

D.R. Jackson, 'Demonising Gilgameš' (pp. 107–14), discussing the appearance of the name of Gilgameš on two Aramaic fragments from Qumran, argues that in the *Book of Giants* Gilgameš has been demonised as an enemy of God, rather than using a Greek god or hero for this role, in order to represent the Seleucid regime as a whole. G.A. Rendsburg, in 'The Biblical Flood Story in the Light of the Gilgameš Flood Account' (pp. 115–27), argues, very forcefully and persuasively to my mind, against the general view that the biblical flood story in *Genesis* 6–8 derives from the redaction of two earlier versions, J and P: he sees rather a single author creating a unified story based upon the flood story on Tablet XI of the Gilgameš Epic. M.A. Shields, 'To Seek but not to Find: Old Meanings for *Qohelet* and *Gilgameš*' (pp. 129–46), discusses the thematic parallels between the Epic and the words of Qohelet, the 'preacher' in *Ecclesiastes*, with particular reference to the significance of the ultimate failure of both figures in their quest for knowledge.

R.T. Stanton, 'Asking Questions of the Divine Announcements in the Flood Stories from Ancient Mesopotamia and Israel' (pp. 147–72), revisits the flood stories in the Epic and the Old Testament accounts. He highlights the significant difference between the

ancient Near Eastern accounts, in which the coming flood is announced in a dream or a vision, and the story of Noah, in which, he argues, God speaks to Noah 'face to face' in a theophany as he speaks to Adam, Abraham and Moses. I.M. Young, 'Textual Stability in Gilgamesh and the Dead Sea Scrolls' (pp. 173–84), compares the textual stability shown by Tablet XI of the Standard Babylonian version of the Gilgamesh Epic with the stabilisation of the Hebrew Biblical text in an investigation of textual transmission before the 3rd millennium BC.

Part Three comprises three papers on Phoenician and Assyria studies which are unconnected with the Gilgamesh Epic. This underlines the ambiguity unavoidably present in the overall title *Gilgamesh and the World of Assyria*, which initially suggests that the Epic and its hero are to be studied in an Assyrian context. In fact only Weeks in his paper in Part One puts the Epic into an Assyrian context. Nonetheless the papers in this section are all welcome and all of a high standard:

J.J. Azize, 'Was There Regular Child Sacrifice in Phoenicia and Carthage?' (pp. 185–206), reassesses the claims that child sacrifice was a regular feature of Phoenician and Punic life, arguing that there is no archaeological, osteological or (reliable) literary evidence to support such a hypothesis. He suggests that, in some instances at least, the evidence points not to sacrifice of children, but sacrifice for children, i.e. for their health and survival. On p. 185 delete 'in' before 'Stager'; p. 196, read 'in the priest's hand'; p. 203, read 'misled' for 'mislead'.

S. Jackson, 'Phoenicians and Assyrians versus the Roving Nomad: Western Imperialism, Western Scholarship and Modern Identity' (pp. 207–23), discusses the use made of 19th-century Western historiography by the Maronites and modern Assyrians in constructing a national identity linking them to the ancient Phoenicians and Assyrians respectively, thus distinguishing themselves from the semitic archetype of the uncivilised and untrustworthy desert nomad. The content of note 4 does not seem to relate to the text, and may have been misplaced.

L.R. Siddall, 'A Re-examination of the Title *ša reši* in the Neo-Assyrian Period' (pp. 225–40), examines the use of the title and cognate forms throughout the earlier Assyrian and Babylonian periods as well as the Neo-Assyrian period, and concludes that the title-holder was not necessarily a eunuch. His closing suggestion that the office was largely symbolic and closely connected with the ambiguously gendered Ištar – hence the requirement that the *ša reši* always appear clean shaven – is well worth following up. Unfortunately, this paper should have been more closely proofed; minor mistakes of every type are far too numerous to list here.

In conclusion, the editors, and the contributors, are to be congratulated on getting these proceedings into print so promptly. However, it is a pity that some time was not spent on providing a general index. There are many links between these papers which might then have emerged more clearly. A consolidated bibliography would also have been useful, although the practice adopted here of a separate bibliography at the end of each paper has obvious advantages. This volume is a welcome addition to the study of the Gilgamesh Epic and a stimulus to further thought about many aspects of this most universal of heroes

S. Balderstone, *Early Church Architectural Forms: A Theological Contextual Typology for the Eastern Churches of the 4th–6th Centuries*, Buried History Monograph 3, Australian Institute of Archaeology, La Trobe University, Melbourne 2007, x+70pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-98037471-1

The aim of this book is to study archaeological remains in relation to the theological debates of the 4th–6th centuries AD. It deals with the conclusion that certain architectural forms became accepted through association with particular doctrinal positions.

This volume is full of information. It starts with an overview of the theological debates and context. For these, I suggest that Susan Balderstone use the several volumes by Aloys Grillmeier, which have become among the classical references for this subject.<sup>1</sup>

here are plans of many churches from the Middle East, each with a brief history of the site, a summary of the theological debates and a clear architectural description, accompanied by a brief bibliography. In order to express her theory, B. brilliantly puts all the necessary data in tables, and gives a summary of church types.

Some questions, however, remain unanswered. For example:

- 1- What about the use of pre-existing buildings? In Egypt, Pharaonic buildings were used as churches in Elephantine,<sup>2</sup> Karnak<sup>3</sup>, Luxor<sup>4</sup> and Madinet Habu.<sup>5</sup> These are just the well-known examples. The book contains other example such as the basilica built in the temple of Baalbek (Heliopolis) in Lebanon;
- 2- What about using natural spaces as churches? Sometimes Christians used quarries and grottoes as churches. It would be hard to apply this theory;<sup>6</sup>
- 3- What about changes of denomination? Many churches changed their denominations without affecting their building; for example, the leader of the Anti-Chalcedonian party, Severus of Antioch, built his own monastery near Gaza but later was expelled by Nephalius the Chacedonian in the year AD 508.<sup>7</sup> The same could be said for the famous monastery of St Menas;<sup>8</sup>
- 4- What about theological ignorance? Sometimes the theological debates were unknown to people. In the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, the alphabetical series, there is a remark attributed to Abba Phocas about a young man, James in Kellia: that he used to partake of communion with Chalcedonians and Anti-Chalcedonians without making any distinction. It seems that this case was not unique;

<sup>1</sup> A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition* (London 1965–).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. P. Grossmann, *Elephantine II, Kirche und spätantike Hausanlagen im Chnumtempelhof* (Mainz 1980).

<sup>3</sup> R.-G. Coquin, 'La christianisation des temples de Karnak'. *Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale* 72 (1972), 168–78.

<sup>4</sup> P. Grossmann, 'Eine vergessene frühchristliche Kirche beim Luxor-Tempel'. *Kairo Mitt* 29 (1973), 167–81.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. P. Grossmann, *Mittelalterliche Langhauskuppelkirchen und verwandte Typen in Oberägypten* (Glückstadt 1982).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. A. Badawi, 'Les Premiers établissements chrétiens dans les anciennes tombes d'Égypte'. In *Tome commémoratif du millénaire de la Bibliothèque patriarcale d'Alexandrie* (Alexandria 1953), 67–89

<sup>7</sup> P. Allen and C.T.R. Hayward, *Severus of Antioch* (London 2004), 8.

<sup>8</sup> J. Drescher, *Apa Mena: A Selection of Coptic Texts Relating to St Menas* (Cairo 1946).

5- What about destroyed monuments? In archaeology, we must depend on what has been discovered, which means that other buildings might have existed at a particular time but have since been completely destroyed without leaving a trace.

I hope that a new edition will add more information relative to these questions.

For most of the Coptic material, B. refers to the entries by Peter Grossmann in the *Coptic Encyclopedia*,<sup>9</sup> however reader will find more details about Coptic architecture his 2002 monograph,<sup>10</sup> which is the first comprehensive survey of Christian architecture on the banks of the Nile.

The book concludes with a very useful index of sites and another of influential churchmen.

To sum up, this work is very useful instrument, providing easily accessible information and a deeper understanding of the early Christian heritage in the Middle East from the 4th to the 6th centuries.

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Youhanna N. Youssef

A. Barbet, *La peinture murale en Gaule romaine*, Picard, Paris 2008, 392 pp., 565 figs., 1 folding map. Cased. ISBN 978-2-7084-0757-2.

One of the hallmarks of the 'civilised' lifestyle that Rome brought to the northern and western provinces of its empire was painted wall-plaster. Well-to-do householders, both in towns and in the countryside, commissioned frescoes similar to those of Pompeii and the other cities buried by Vesuvius. Yet, while the wall-paintings of Roman Italy are well known and much studied, those of the frontier regions have till recently been neglected. The problem is their state of preservation. The extraordinary fate that befell Pompeii ensured that hundreds of painted decorations survived *in situ*, more or less complete; and the same is true, to a lesser extent, of paintings in Rome itself, where events such as the deliberate burial of Nero's Golden House unwittingly saved its murals from destruction. In the northern and western provinces, however, most wall-paintings survive only in scattered fragments. The sheer difficulty of piecing together and interpreting this material has militated against systematic study.

It is only in the last half-century that the situation has begun to change. Monographs have been published on the wall-paintings of Switzerland,<sup>1</sup> Britain<sup>2</sup> and Spain.<sup>3</sup> There have even been volumes on individual sites, such as Renate Thomas's study of the paintings of Cologne.<sup>4</sup> Now comes the long-awaited volume of Alix Barbet on Gaul.

B.'s personal contribution to the study of Gallo-Roman wall-paintings has been enormous. Since establishing the Centre d'Étude des Peintures Murales Romaines in the 1960s, she and her team have restored and analysed hundreds of decorations, applying standards of

<sup>9</sup> A.S. Atiya (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, 8 vols. (New York/Toronto 1991).

<sup>10</sup> P. Grossmann, *Christliche Architektur in Ägypten* (Leiden 2002).

<sup>1</sup> W. Drack, *Die römische Wandmalerei der Schweiz* (Basel 1950).

<sup>2</sup> N. Davey and R. Ling, *Wall-Painting in Roman Britain* (London 1982).

<sup>3</sup> L. Abad Casal, *La pintura romana en España* (Alicante/Seville 1982).

<sup>4</sup> R. Thomas, *Römische Wandmalerei in Köln* (Mainz 1993).

scientific accuracy that have become the model for researchers in other countries. Along with the work of other French colleagues, such as Raymond and Maryse Sabrié at Narbonne, this has vastly enlarged the stock of material: from 185 sites with paintings recorded by Adrien Blanchet in 1913 the total has now risen to nearly 1200. Many of the new discoveries have been published in the leading French periodical *Gallia*, in regional journals, in exhibition catalogues, and in the proceedings of regular conferences staged by the Association Française pour la Peinture Murale Antique; but others have not previously seen the light of day. The volume under review performs an invaluable service in assembling the material between one set of covers and providing an overview of the present state of our knowledge.

The treatment is basically chronological. After preliminary chapters on methodological and technical aspects, the five most substantial chapters review successive periods from the 5th–1st centuries BC to the 3rd and 4th centuries AD. Further chapters switch to a thematic approach, looking at ‘open air’ paintings (actually depictions of gardens and aquatic subjects, not all of which were outdoors), the painting of ceilings and vaults, and various genres and motifs across the centuries. While the state of our evidence is even now extremely defective, some interesting conclusions emerge, especially on patterns of development. The earliest paintings are closely dependent on Mediterranean modes, and, not surprisingly, the bulk of those pre-dating Augustus (First and Second Pompeian Styles) are focused in Narbonnensis, a region long exposed to Greek and Roman cultural influence. During the time of the Third Style (first half of 1st century AD), the use of wall-paintings extends through much of Gaul but remains firmly within the Mediterranean tradition. By contrast, the paintings of the subsequent period go their own way. The architectural fancies of the Fourth Style make little impact, except in the more thoroughly Romanised sites of the southern littoral: the prominent fashion in Gaul, as in other northern provinces, is for red and black schemes articulated by candelabra.

While the assemblage of information is of great value, the organisation and execution of the study are open to criticism. B.’s aim of presenting as many examples as possible is ill fitted to a chronological treatment. Many of the decorations are undatable (as she herself admits); in other cases the proposed dates can be called into question; most confusing of all, the examples within the chronological chapters are arranged topographically, which inevitably leads to switches back and forth between different dates. There is also inconsistency between one chapter and another: some paintings ascribed to the end of the 1st century AD are included in Chapter 6 when they logically belong to Chapter 5. It might have been better to consign the descriptions to a separate catalogue and conduct the analysis as an independent discussion, drawing upon selected examples for illustration.

More seriously, B. is often inaccurate or misinformed. She is particularly weak on iconography. However one assesses the competence of the Roman painter, it is hard to accept that a painting from Lyons (Figs. 49–50) shows an excerpt from the battle of the pygmies and cranes: the huntsmen are no pygmies, and the bird is no crane. At Nizy-le-Comte, if the mythological scenes featured the labours of Heracles (the interpretation of one scene as the killing of the Ceryneian hind is plausible), it is surprising that Barbet ignores the possibility that a weight-supporting figure wearing an animal pelt (Figs. 3–4) could be Heracles taking over the burden of the heavens while Atlas fetches the apples of the Hesperides.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *AntJ* 68 (1988), 134.



Worst of all, the presentation is both sketchy and careless. It is admirable that B. sets out to use words sparingly and to rely on images to communicate information; but, where images are lacking, the text is often too compressed to follow. The wayward punctuation compounds the problem. Particularly frustrating is the bibliographic apparatus, which has numerous errors and omissions. To save space the footnotes adopt Harvard-style abbreviations to indicate frequently cited books and articles, the full details of which are supposedly listed in a bibliography at the back; but there are no less than 92 abbreviations which either are missing from the bibliography or appear in different form. Pity the hapless reader who wishes to track down fuller data on given paintings!

These deficiencies are sad in a book which is an important landmark in the study of provincial wall-painting. Whatever the importance of the compendium of material, it does not justify such lapses from the expected standards of scholarly publication.

University of Manchester

Roger Ling

G. Bartoloni and F. Delpino (eds.), *Oriente e Occidente: Metodi e Discipline a Confronto. Riflessioni sulla Cronologia dell'Età del Ferro in Italia*, Atti dell'Incontro di Studi, Roma, 30–31 ottobre 2003, Mediterranea, Quaderni Annuali dell'Istituto di Studi sulle Civiltà Italiane e del Mediterraneo Antico del Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche I (2004), Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, Pisa/Rome 2005, 663 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 88-8147-389-5 / ISSN 1827-0506

This volume presents the proceedings of a colloquium held in Rome in order to assess the current state of research on Italian Iron Age chronology. It was prompted by growing controversy surrounding regional frameworks and absolute dating in Italy between the 11th and 8th centuries BC – a crucial period in the Mediterranean for state formation, long-range trade and interaction.

With 21 key papers and dozens of *interventi* by over 40 participants, many dealing with the intricate details and problems of dating individual sites and regions, this is not an easy collection to summarise. The contributions are divided into four sections: those of broader geographical and methodological scope (the *quadro generale*), followed by more specific studies of central-northern, central-southern and Mediterranean contexts, including two papers on Phoenician colonisation. Discussion sessions are amply reported at the end of each section, attesting the lively debates amongst participants. The emphasis, however, is on central-northern Italy, where the most intensive research has been conducted in recent years, as shown by the majority of papers in the volume.

It helps to understand the background to the current situation (or crisis) by recalling that Italy has been important to European dating systems, going back to O. Montelius and H. Müller-Karpe, thanks to its links with Mediterranean 'historical' chronologies, notably Mycenaean and Greek colonial. Today, however, the reverse is also true. As chronometric dates, based on tree rings and radiocarbon, have grown in number, central Europe has become increasingly self-reliant, leading several Italian prehistorians to look northward, rather than to Greece and the eastern Mediterranean, for help in dating Italian sequences. In particular, revisions by L. Sperber to the Bronze-Iron Age transition in transalpine zones, based on new tree-ring dates from central European lake dwellings, were seen to have direct

implications for Italy. Various articles and books have appeared over the last 15 years in which the conventional starting date of 900 BC for the Italian Early Iron Age (*Primo Ferro 1*, or *I Fe 1*) is raised to about 1020 BC, the transition to *I Ferro 2* to about 880 BC (from 800 BC) and the beginning of the Orientalising period to about 780 BC (from 730/720 BC). Likewise, some radiocarbon dates from Italian sites are earlier than anticipated by the traditional chronology.

It is also worth recalling that there is much less information available in Italy from stratified settlements with <sup>14</sup>C dates than from burials. Traditionally, therefore, much use has been made of typological seriation tables, which aim to infer sequences of development or phases from artefact-rich cemeteries. Box diagrams of associated grave-goods are a familiar product of this research. What may seem an essentially mechanistic exercise, however, can give rise to contrasting schemes by different scholars (for example at least four in the case of Villanovan Bologna). Moreover, while aiming to present refined time charts, often divided into many short phases, most are arguably better viewed as no more than rough outlines of developmental trends. The danger is that they encourage rigid chest-of-drawers models in which artefact 'chrono-types' simply replace each other, while taking little account of regional variations, the potential complexity of formation processes and artefact biographies or, indeed, real life experiences (how many of us use crockery or wear jewellery that spans 100 years or more of production and different styles?).

However, a consensus has yet to emerge in Italy about the extent, if any, of changes required in absolute dating. The editors of the volume, therefore, invited a variety of scholars, representing different regions and schools of thought, to debate the merits of contrasting chronological frameworks, while mindful of the shortcomings of the evidence and different methodologies employed. Key contributors include some former hardline proponents of high chronologies (for example, R. Peroni and M. Pacciarelli), although a certain softening in their positions emerges. With reference to the typology of dress pins and revised correlations with Alpine dendrochronology, Peroni and A. Vanzetti (pp. 53–80) maintain the need to raise Italian dates, though less radically than stated formerly. They propose that: *I Ferro 1A* (Early Iron Age phase 1A) starts between 977 and 945 BC; *I Ferro 1B* starts between 945 and 910 BC; *I Ferro 2A1* starts soon after 880 BC; *I Ferro 2A2* starts ca. 850–830 BC; and *I Ferro 2B* starts after 834 BC and ends around 730/720 BC, with the transition to Orientalising. Pacciarelli (pp. 81–90) now argues for more modest changes: 950–925 BC for the beginning of the Early Iron Age, at least 825 BC (but possibly 20–30 years earlier) for the start of the second phase of the Early Iron Age (*I Ferro 2*), which still ends in conformity with the traditional date for the early Orientalising period around 725 BC. In sum, as regards Italian correlations with Alpine dendro-dates, some of the heat has gone out of the debate, and Pacciarelli's proposals seem reasonable enough.

Contradictions remain, however, in particular with regard to Greek pottery chronology: one or two tomb groups now regarded as characteristic of the early *I Ferro 2A* (9th century BC) contain Middle Geometric (MG) II cups, conventionally dated in the first half of the 8th century BC, a discrepancy, albeit not huge, which is not easily resolved. The high chronology for Lazio also means that, for example, an inscription in Greek letters on an indigenous vessel from Osteria dell'Osa (tomb 482) is remarkably early (early 8th or even late 9th century BC), which has startling implications for the adoption of the alphabet. Not

surprisingly, some scholars find this hard to accept (compare M.L. Lazzarini and G. Colonna, for example: pp. 477–83).

By contrast, R.C. de Marinis (pp. 15–52) sees no need to raise Italian Iron Age dates on account of Sperber's work. Nor, with reference to the tree-ring dates from the Midas tumulus at Gordion, does he see any reason to raise dates for the Orientalising period in Italy. Plainly, however, some 14C dates (from the Latial period III house at Fidene, for example) are higher than anticipated by the standard pottery chronology. Radiocarbon dating will undoubtedly figure more prominently in future debates. At the moment, firmer conclusions are undermined by the limited 14C database for later Italian prehistory, which is also biased towards central-northern regions. There are few 14C dates from southern Italy and, ironically, even fewer from Sicily, which is right at the heart of the Thucydidean paradigm on which historical dates partly rest. Most of the papers dealing with central-southern regions essentially, and somewhat inevitably, restate the standard chronology. They can hardly do otherwise without short-circuiting the intricate wiring systems of Greek and eastern Mediterranean historical chronology. Moreover, N. Kourou (pp. 497–515) highlights recent finds in Israel that, with reference to Old Testament history, seem to support J.N. Coldstream's established framework for Greek Geometric pottery. Nevertheless, one would still like to know more about how these 'historical' dates or events correlate with chronometric dates from the same or similar contexts.

In any case, a better radiocarbon chronology for Italian protohistory, despite the limitations of standard deviations and the post-800 BC calibration plateau, seems well worth developing. Although 14C dates need to be evaluated with care, not least with regard to their statistical credibility, even bones from older excavations languishing in museum store rooms can be utilisable samples. More Italian research and funding could be directed to this goal. A good example of the potential gains, reported in this volume, comes from the Hamburg University excavations at Carthage (R.F. Docter *et al.*, pp. 557–77), where 14C dates for animal bones in early layers support a 9th-century BC date for initial settlement, and thereby show the limitations of over-reliance on Greek Geometric pottery for absolute dating. It would be interesting to see whether 14C dates from Phoenician sites in Sicily and Sardinia can match those from Carthage and Iberia, which are now being used to infer Phoenician contacts from at least the later 9th century BC. On the other hand, M. Botto (pp. 579–628) notes potential discrepancies here with Near Eastern ceramic chronologies, and he still prefers a date in the early 8th century for the first Phoenician colonisation in the West.

To those with little personal interest or stake in the Italian Iron Age, the volume may seem rather narrowly concerned with time as an exclusively arithmetical issue, rather than a more flexible theoretical construct. However, the agenda needed to be set firmly, technical problems defined and their parameters discussed as an essential first step towards any eventual resolution. It was also useful to explore, and perhaps begin to bridge, some of the contrasting research traditions of the natural sciences, prehistory, classical archaeology and ancient history, not to mention those of scholars working in different areas and countries. This should lead to greater awareness of the weak points in our chronologies, although several controversies exposed in this volume look set to continue well into the future.

A. Baykal-Seeher, H. Genz, S. Herbordt and J. Seeher, *Ergebnisse der Grabungen an den Ostteichen und am mittleren Büyükkale-Nordwesthang in den Jahren 1996–2000*, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Boğazköy-Berichte 8, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2006, x+163 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 10: 3-8053-3649-7 / ISBN 13: 978-3-8053-3649-9

Mit dem Band 8 der von J. Seeher herausgegebenen Boğazköy-Berichte werden die Ergebnisse a) der Grabungen im Bereich der hethitischen Ostteiche in der Oberstadt von 1996–98 (S. 3–42) sowie b) am mittleren Büyükkale-Nordwesthang von 1998–2000 (S. 43–161) abschließend vorgelegt (türkische Zusammenfassung, S. 162–63). Beide Gebiete waren bereits Gegenstand früherer Grabungen, die aus unterschiedlichen Gründen nicht zu befriedigenden Resultaten in Bezug auf die rezenten Fragestellungen geführt hatten.

Neben der Konzentration auf die hethitische Zeit, wurden auch Beobachtungen zu c) den eisenzeitlichen (S. 26–32, 98–158) sowie d) den spärlichen hellenistischen, römischen und byzantinischen (S. 39–43, 159–61) Besiedlungsphasen dokumentiert.

a) Hethitische Ostteiche (J. Seeher) und hethitische Glyptik (S. Herbordt):

War P. Neve noch von einem kultischen Zwecken dienenden Teich ausgegangen, so konnten durch die Nachgrabungen zwei nebeneinanderliegende Teiche, die in verschiedenen Bauabschnitten angelegt wurden, ausgemacht werden. Datierbar ist nur die Endphase des Ausbaus des Gesamtkomplexes in das 13. Jh. v. Chr. (Inschrift Suppiluliumas II.), umstritten dagegen ihre Gründungszeit, die in Zusammenhang mit der notwendigen Revision der Chronologie von Hattusa zu diskutieren ist. Seeher vermutet in Analogie zu den fünf Becken der deutlich älteren, allerdings schmalen und tiefen Südteiche, dass die beiden breiten und flachen Ostteiche ebenfalls als Wasserspeicher und mittels Leitungen/Kanäle als Verteiler dienen. Wie bei den flachen Wasserbecken auf Büyükkale und im zentralen Tempelviertel könnte aber auch eine repräsentative Wirkung bezweckt gewesen sein, wie auch kultische Belange nicht gänzlich auszuschließen sind (vgl. Funde von Votiven?). Das Wasser wurde vermutlich durch Schöpfwerke, die noch heute gebräuchlichen nahekommen, entnommen. Die beiden Glyptikfunde datieren in das 15./Anfang 14. bzw. in das 13. Jh.

b) Der althethitische Getreidesilokomplex (J. Seeher), Kleinfunde (A. Baykal-Seeher) und hethitische Glyptik (S. Herbordt)

Der nordwestliche Bereich des Getreidespeicherkomplexes (heth. ÉSAG), dessen Ausdehnung durch eisenzeitliche Besiedlung nicht exakt bestimmbar ist, war bereits 1960–61 freigelegt worden, ohne dass allerdings der Zweck des zwischen 33 und 40 m breiten, aus zwei Reihen von – wie jetzt nachgewiesen – jeweils 16 nebeneinanderliegender langrechteckiger Kammern erkannt wurde. Die Wiederaufnahme der Untersuchungen ab 1998/99 haben mittels Sondagen folgende Ergebnisse gezeigt (vgl. dazu die Abb. 4. 39. 40): Das Stadtgelände hat vor der Anlage des Silos im 16. Jh. v. Chr. (zwischen 1600 und 1565?) im Bereich des mittleren Büyükkale-Nordwesthangs gewaltige Umgestaltungen erfordert. Ob diese, vor allem der Bau der Poternenmauer, Hantili I. zuzuschreiben sind, wie hier ange-dacht, und nicht eher Hattusili I. oder Mursili I., hängt allerdings von der in der Forschung kontrovers datierten Regierungszeit dieses Herrschers ab. Als gesichert ist anzusehen, dass sich Speichereinrichtungen verschiedener Formen in Zentralanatolien (Kaman Kalehöyük, Kuşaklı/Sarissa, Alaca Höyük) bis in die *karum*-Zeit und noch davor verfolgen lassen.

Nach dem verheerenden Brand, durch Radiocarbonmessungen nunmehr ins 16. Jh. zu datieren (Brandstiftung?, Blitzschlag?), verfiel das mit verkohltem Getreide, vor allem Gerste und Einkorn, und Brandschutt verfüllte Silo rasch und das ganze Gebiet lag dann 700–800 Jahre brach (nur Funde hethitischer Keramik in Erosionsrinnen, die eisenzeitlich überbaut wurden).

Die Länge des Silogebäudes, das bis zu ca. 11200 m<sup>3</sup> bzw. 6700 t Getreide aufnehmen konnte, beträgt 118 m. Die insgesamt 2 x 16 Kammern (Einzelbeschreibungen der Kammerbefunde S. 51–69), die durch 15 Quermauern unterteilt wurden, sind ungefähr 6 m breit und zwischen 13 und 17 m lang, da nur die Mittelmauer einen ziemlich geraden Verlauf aufweist; die südwestliche Außenmauer beschreibt einen leichten Bogen parallel zur ca. 3 m entfernten Poternenmauer, die nordöstliche, deren Zwischenraum zum anstehenden Fels mit einer Tonerdepackung zur Isolierung versehen wurde, ist mehrfach geknickt. Die Kammern waren, wo notwendig und nicht anstehender Fels vorhanden war, gepflastert worden, die Kammerwände bestanden aus 1,5 m dicken Lehmziegelmauern. Der Brand des 16. Jh. hatte im südöstlichen Abschnitt viele Kammern zerstört. Durch die Analyse des Brandschutts konnte nun geklärt werden, dass die Vorräte nur mit einer Abdeckung aus Stangen, Ästen, Zweigen, Stroh und darauf lehmige Erde versehen waren, die den zur Langzeitlagerung des Getreides benötigten luftdichten Abschluss gewährleistete. Neben der klugen Lage des Silos auf grundwasserarmen Gelände, unterirdisch zur Nutzung der Erdkälte, diente zur Isolierung eine Auskleidung aus Stroh, Zweigen, vielleicht Schilf.

An Kleinfunden traten solche aus Bronze (u.a. Bleche, Messer, Pfeilspitzen, Nadeln, Ringe), Eisen, Blei, Ton (u.a. figürliche Objekte, Gußiegel, Keilschrifttafeln, Siegelabdrücke, Wirtel), Stein, Knochen und Glas zutage, bei denen allerdings oft aufgrund ihrer Funktion die chronologische Zuordnung zu Bronze- oder Eisenzeit häufiger erhebliche Schwierigkeiten bereitet (zu den sicheren Eisenzeitfunden s. S. 122–24). Innerhalb der Glyptikfunde datiert die digraphische Siegelung einer Tonbulle in die Zeit Tudḫalijas I. (?).

c) Die eisenzeitliche Besiedlung in den beiden untersuchten Arealen und die Datierung der Büyükkaya I-Stufe (H. Genz)

Die nicht sehr ausgedehnte Besiedlung im Gebiet der Ostteiche, wohl wie auf dem Ostplateau und im Bereich des Nişantepe extramural angelegt, wird aufgrund einfacher Wohnarchitektur, dem mit anderen Kontexten vergleichbaren Keramikspektrum mit kurzer Laufzeit (gedrehte und handgemachte graue Küchenware, wenig Bemalung) und den Kleinfunden in die späte Eisenzeit (Büyükkale I-Stufe, Beginn um 700 v. Chr.) datiert, ebenso die mindestens zweiphasige Besiedlung (vgl. Beilage 2. 3) mit locker und unregelmäßig verteilten, eingetieften Grubenhäusern und zahlreichen Gruben der älteren und einem ca. 30 x 25 m großen Gebäudekomplex eher profaner Nutzung der jüngeren Phase über dem Getreidesilokomplex. Sie konnte nur im Südwesten bis zur Bebauungsgrenze verfolgt werden. Auch hier fand sich zumeist unbemalte Keramik (u.a. Schalen, Töpfe, Kannen, Krüge, Kratere), darunter nur wenige vollständig erhaltene Gefäße, die fast ausschließlich der späteisenzeitlichen Büyükkale I-Stufe angehört (vergleichbare Spektren in Kerkenes Dağı, Alişar, Pazarlı, Akalan, Kuşaklı und Maşat; Bezüge nach Zentral- und Westphrygien). Die Kleinfunde, darunter Fibeln, Nadeln, Pfeil- und Lanzen spitzen, ein Eisenhelm, Beile, Pflugschar, Wirtel, Stempelsiegel, sind häufig schlecht stratifiziert.

Die archäologischen Beobachtungen beinhalten dringend erforderliche Mosaiksteinchen für die historische Einordnung von Boğazköy und das Gebiet des inneren Halysbogen im 8.–6. Jh.: so z.B. das Verhältnis zum Phrygischen Reich bzw. zum phrygischen Kulturraum, die postulierten Kimmerierzerstörungen, das Verhältnis zum Achaimenidenreich. Die Gleichsetzung mit Pteria u.a. durch E.-M. Bossert kann mit überzeugenden Gründen nicht mehr aufrecht erhalten werden.

d) Post-eisenzeitliche Befunde im Bereich der Ostteiche beschränken sich auf Wegtrasen, im Bereich des Nordwesthanges handelt es sich um Bestattungen hellenistischer bis byzantinischer Zeitstellung.

Mit dem Band wurde ein umfassender, gut strukturierter, reich illustrierter (mehr Farbabbildungen wären hilfreich) Abschlussbericht vorgelegt, der mit seinen Ergebnissen einige Forschungslücken schließen konnte.

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I. Benda-Weber, *Lykier und Karer: Zwei autochthone Ethnien Kleinasiens zwischen Orient und Okzident*, Asia Minor Studien 56, Dr Rudolf Habelt, Bonn 2005, xviii+436 pp., 82 tabs. Cased. ISBN 3-7749-3309-X

This book is a revised and updated version of Isabella Benda-Weber's doctoral dissertation, defended at the University of Vienna in 1996. As the title indicates, it is an examination of Lycians and Carians as two case-study 'native' groups of Asia Minor, and their cultural identities relative to their western and eastern neighbours (Greeks and Persians). The main period covered is not explicitly stated but might be expected: the 6th to 4th centuries BC, when the use of inscriptions in the Lycian and Carian languages flourished, and when those regions are considered to be politically and culturally autonomous, albeit within the Persian empire. It should also be made clear here that although many aspects of culture are considered, a main focus is iconography: specifically, how Lycians and Carians are depicted in images.

The study was part of a larger project on 'the image of the foreigner' (*Fremdenbild*) initiated by Jürgen Borchhardt at the University of Vienna in 1986, which involved the creation of an archive of pictorial evidence for peoples living on the borders of the Graeco-Roman world. A principal aim of this project has been to assess Greek and/or Roman depictions of 'others', and to compare these with locally produced self-representations in order to expose the prejudices and ethnic idealisations inherent in the 'classical' vision of the barbarian. In the case of Lycians and Carians, the number of clearly identifiable representations in the art of their culturally dominant contemporaries, Greeks and Persians, is extremely low. Hence B.-W. proceeds in the opposite direction and in this way produces an innovative study. She first examines the local art of Lycia and Caria in order to determine culturally unique factors of representation and then, in light of this, she re-examines actual or possible depictions of Lycians and Carians in Greek, and to a lesser extent Persian, art. In fact, the two studies are largely self-contained, with only a little contribution from the first to the second, but still the question is new and exciting: besides what is said in Herodotus' ethnographies, did Greeks have a concept of what was specifically 'Lycian' and



'Carian'? Moreover, were Greeks and Persians aware of Lycian/Carian traditions of representing themselves, and indeed, of Lycian and Carian art?

The text of the book is divided into eleven sections: an Introduction, nine chapters (including conclusion) and a summary catalogue of the Carian and Greek monuments (the Lycian ones are excluded since they are laid out in the text). A detailed table of contents serves as an index. Both a list of abbreviated references and a full bibliography are included. A large number of drawings of the monuments, mainly Lycian reliefs, are provided at the end of the volume, many of which are new drawings made by the author herself.

The Introduction lays out the main aims and structure. B.-W. explains that she has chosen to treat the Carians and Lycians together because of their close proximity and because of their many aspects of shared history. The inclusion of Caria is valuable because it allows consideration of the Mausoleum and other smaller pieces of Carian art which are under-represented in the literature, together with contemporary Lycian monuments.

Chapter 1 is a short geographical sketch of the two regions, with useful concordances of sites according to Greek, Lycian, Luwian and modern Turkish names. Chapter 2 is a corresponding 'historical and cultural sketch'. This is a long chapter with much detail, and explains B.-W.'s understanding of various historical phases of Lycian and Carian history: Bronze Age; pre-Persian Iron Age; the 'first' Persian rulership (Cyrus to Cimon), corresponding with an old Lycian 'golden age'; the Delian League/'Athenian occupation' (lacking in monuments); a Lycian Renaissance corresponding with leaving the League and anti-Attic sentiment; restoration of a pro-Persian rulership (a second Persian rulership) and new Lycian golden age; and finally the Hekatomnid period in Caria and Lycia.

The third, fourth and fifth chapters contain the examination of the 'autochthonous' elements in first Lycian and Carian culture generally, and then Lycian followed by Carian art in detail. Two aspects of the art are examined: iconography (themes) and realia. In addition, the chapter on Carian art starts with a brief run through of the materials, which are sparser and less coherent than the Lycian. Both the sections on themes and the sections on realia are divided under headings on individual subjects, each beginning with a table cataloguing the relevant monuments and with a reference to a plate of the relevant images. Some of the most noteworthy results are in the sections on realia. Particularly interesting is the fact that there is little consistency in Lycian panoply. One distinctively 'south Western Anatolian' weapon is the sickle-sword, but warriors are depicted in Greek-like, Persian-like and other 'local' styles, and it can be difficult to distinguish parties in battle.

In the sections on themes, B.-W. tends to follow a traditional 'eschatological' approach to interpretation, although she does also see the themes as polyvalent, potentially referring to three spheres at once: lifetime achievements/lifestyles; death cult practices; and the afterlife. Hence, banquets are 'Totenmahl', joining the deceased, who is imagined in the afterlife, with the family at the funeral feast. Hunts can be 'retrospective' and 'prospective', since the deceased looks forward to continuing the pursuit in the afterlife. This leaves an overall impression that that Lycian society in particular is peculiarly concerned with death and the afterlife, and this tends to outweigh some other very prevalent Lycian preoccupations such as the military realm and cities, which are often shown in the special 'city reliefs' of Lycia.

Chapters 6 and 7 review Greek representations of Lycians and Carians, including literary sources. There is an extensive catalogue-like treatment of depictions of mythological



heroes such as Sarpedon in Chapter 6, in which B.-W. notes that they can be shown variously in Greek and 'Oriental' guise, indicating an ambivalent view. Chapter 7 will be of special interest to scholars of Greek art: here B.-W. expands on theories that the friezes of the Parthenon and the Athena Nike temple depict foreigners, adding the possibility of Lycians and Carians. In the first case, B.-W. follows the theory that the riders of the Parthenon frieze include tribute delegations of peoples within the Delian League, and proposes that a nude figure with long, curly hair on W II might depict a Carian/Lycian (there being no distinction between the two in the League). On the Athena Nike Temple, B.-W. notes the unusual appearance of the Bellerophon acroterion, which, it has been proposed, may relate to enmity of Athenians and Lycians/Carians following the recent defeat and deaths of Athenian generals in those lands. Following Fehlen's proposal that the west and north sides show not an historic battle, but a duel from the Trojan War (specifically the episode of Memnon's death, since there are traces of leggings on a central dying figure on slab 'm' from the North frieze) B.-W. proposes that the death of Sarpedon or Glaukos might make a tighter programme. These are interesting syntheses of current scholarship and compelling proposals pertinent to the theme of her book. It is a shame not to have an illustration of slab m of the Nike Temple among the plates.

In the penultimate chapter, Chapter 8, B.-W. quickly reviews the depiction of Carians and Lycians in Persian inscriptions and art. In public inscriptions, only the Karka (Carians) are named, but Lycians make an appearance as 'Turmiriyap' in Persepolis tablets. B.-W. follows Walser's identification of Carians in the palace and tomb reliefs, plus his view that they were overall grouped together with 'Greeks', including Ionians and Lydians.

A concluding chapter summarises the discussions of the main chapters under three headings: 'Acculturation processes', 'Lycians and Carians as epichoric peoples' and 'Lycians and Carians as foreigners'. The section on acculturation is a lucid synthesis of current opinions on the formation of what might be termed 'non-Greek and non-Roman classical art'. The other two sections are not as tight. It is not clear why the headings change from using the term 'autochthonous' to 'epichoric', and the phrasing of the headings also seems to skew the original question. The text sums up what has been said in the main chapters, but a synthesis of regional and chronological distribution patterns could make phenomena such as the possible appearance of Carians in 5th-century Athenian art and the 4th-century emergence of Lycian and 'national' identities more apparent, situating them within the historical context provided in Chapter 3.

A small point about the catalogue and the illustrations: in general, the structure of the text makes it easy for the reader to find discussions of various themes and aspects of *realia*. However, it would be even better if the catalogue contained all of the Lycian monuments and cross-references to relevant plates. The numerous drawings mean that most of the material is illustrated for the reader, but one should be beware of the interpretative nature of drawing. Pl. 8.9 shows Akurgal's reconstruction of an 'adoration' on the Lion Tomb at Xanthos, which is based on very little original evidence. The depiction of instruments and attributes in other images could impact discussions of *realia*.

In the end, however, this does not at all undermine B.-W.'s contribution. This book is a massive undertaking, treating two regions which have not been seen side by side so far, bringing together a great deal of data and holding it together in a clearly conceived overall framework. This encourages provocative proposals which some will find contentious, and

there are areas where the discussion strays off path. But, as an overall project this is ambitious and admirable research and provides much from which researchers can work and to which they can respond.

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J. Berkin, *The Orientalizing Bucchero from the Lower Building at Poggio Civitate (Murlo)*, Archaeological Institute of America Monographs New Series 6, Archaeological Institute of America, Boston/The University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia 2003, xiii+144 pp., 31 figs., 2 pls. Cased. ISBN 1-931909-03-2

Poggio Civitate (Murlo) in northern Etruria has been variously identified as a residence of a wealthy Etruscan noble, chieftain or possibly a seat of a Northern Etruscan League. This book, which is an extension of Jon Berkin's 1993 dissertation, presents the bucchero from the Lower Building at the site and is a welcome and useful addition to the corpus of literature on bucchero.

Much of the published literature about bucchero concerns finds from the region of southern Etruria and there is a dearth of publications from the region of northern Etruria with the major site publications dating to the first half of the 20th century. The majority of the publications about bucchero are based on finds from funerary contexts and as this publication is from a settlement context its value is further enhanced. The Lower Building was a sealed deposit destroyed by fire, adding to its value as a chronological indicator of finds in the region.

The book is divided into five chapters. The first provides an overview of the site of Poggio Civitate and includes a discussion of the site history and a summary of the finds. The two major structures found at the site include an Upper and Lower Building, both of which were destroyed. Three other structures have been identified, including a workshop complex that appears to date to the same period as the Lower Building. This chapter provides a good detailed summary of the site and theories surrounding its use and function as well as the chronological relationships between various structures.

The second chapter examines in detail the stratigraphy and excavation of the Lower Building, which B. dates from the last quarter of the 7th to the first half of the 6th century BC. He discusses the location of the various finds within the Lower Building and has suggested that the bucchero was grouped together by type and may have been in storage at the time of the building's destruction. Other artefact classes are discussed, including locally produced and imported pieces, found in association with the bucchero in the Lower Building. They include metal artefacts, ivory, antler and bone objects, fine and coarse impasto and imported pottery that comprises Ionic bowls, Laconian cups and Etrusco-Corinthian and Corinthian ware.

The catalogue of the 139 pieces of bucchero found in the Lower Building forms the next chapter. It is organised by vessel shape into 14 categories with a final section for unidentified fragments. The catalogue includes an examination of each shape and type with possible comparanda and production regions before listing individual items. Good sized drawings and photographs of each piece are provided at the end of the book.

Chapter 4 presents a detailed analysis of the decorative motifs that appear on the bucchero and the techniques used to create them. Single stamped motifs are the most common form of decoration followed by cylinder stamped, moulded and incised decoration. B. has created a separate classification scheme based on the motifs and has identified 33 different motif types and subtypes.

The final chapter is a conclusion of B.'s findings. Here B. relates the bucchero found in the Lower Building to local and regional parallels and notes the individual nature of the bucchero found at Poggio Civitate. The limited parallels suggest an individual local production, although scientific studies have to date, been inconclusive. B. suggests that the individual production at the site could be a reflection of the differences between the development of southern and northern Etruria at this time.

A large part of the conclusion is devoted to a discussion of the banquet and the possible composition of a 'banqueting service'. As the pieces may have been in storage at the time of the destruction of the building, B. has suggested that the bucchero and other pieces from the Lower Building constitute such a service. He relates the finds to the only other published banqueting service found in a settlement context, from Ficana in Latium. B. notes the differences in region, but suggests that the basic banqueting practices would probably be the same. While it is of interest to have the two discussed together, his argument here is less convincing and is probably the weakest section in the book.

Overall this book is a well-presented, easy to follow, useful addition to the corpus of literature published on bucchero. It is pleasing to find a well presented text on the subject that is written in English, possibly opening the field of Etruscan archaeology to a new generation of future archaeologists who as yet may not be conversant in Italian.

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P.P. Betancourt, with contributions by E.A. Armpis, Y. Bassiakos, C. Beck *et al.*, *The Chrysokamino Metallurgy Workshop and its Territory*, Hesperia Suppl. 36, The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2006, xxii+462 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 10: 0-87661-536-1 / ISBN 13: 978-0-87661-536-2

The volume brings together a report on the excavations, surface survey and other phenomena investigated at a small site in eastern Crete, including analyses of various classes materials found, commentary on environmental conditions and scientific analysis. It was examined in the ambit of the INSTAP Study Center for East Crete projects for 1996–97, and later studied in 1998–99. The first part contains an introduction by the editor and a study of the natural environment of the site. The second part is a thorough publication of the metallurgical workshop, starting with the general excavation report on the site and especially on the apsidal structure, interpreted as small hut with a kind of kitchen. This is followed by very detailed catalogues of pottery, stone tools, fragments of a furnace chimney, of pot bellows and of other artefacts found. Chapter 11 deals with faunal remains, Chapter 12 threshing remains, while Chapter 13, by J. Muhly, is a general discussion on perspectives of early metallurgy, and Chapter 14 forms a kind of conclusion to this section of the book, written by P. Betancourt. The third part of the book presents the results of the surface survey of the area, containing a survey of the topography of the region, a report on

settlement at Chrysokamino-Chonatas, another on the excavations in the Theriospelio Cave conducted in the early 20th century by E. Hall, the regional surface survey by D.C. Haggis, one on the geographical boundaries of the Chrysokamino farmstead territory and on land use in the territory. Again, Betancourt provides a concluding piece.

The volume also includes 14 appendices, mainly scientific analyses of the material found, reconstruction of the copper smelting, Minoan, Byzantine and Ottoman pottery, other small excavations in the area (Cave AF 9 and Terrace AF 22b), soils and sediments, organic residues in pottery sherds, by C.W. Beck and his group, and petrographic analysis of Final Neolithic sherds by E. Nodarou.

The site itself was small, the excavation conducted on a rather limited scale, and most of the finds are modest; but the volume contains nearly all possible information on the results of the project from many different points of view, using very different and complex approaches. The small farmstead represents a good example of this type of site in the settlement pattern of eastern Crete; the furnace and its environment give important evidence for the history of early metallurgy in Crete. The small apsidal building yielded Early Minoan III to Middle Minoan IA pottery, but Early Minoan I–II sherds were part of the slag heap and Final Neolithic sherds were also represented among the finds. The evidence of the early copper smelting process is probably the most important contribution of this book: Early Bronze Age metallurgy is very little known otherwise, as a ripe synthesis of the general problems of this subject written by Muhly (pp. 155–77) confirms. The chief author and his colleagues did what they could. Their thorough report, prepared within a short time from completion of their excavation, is a good model for all those whose excavations and surveys remain long unpublished and are thus largely unknown even to specialists in their field.

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Jan Bouzek

M.C. Biella, *Impasti orientalizzanti con decorazione ad incavo nell'Italia centrale tirrenica*, Tyrrhenica 6, Archaeologica 146, Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Rome 2007, xxxiv+280 pp., 43 figs., 44 tabs. Paperback. ISBN 978-88-7689-226-5 / ISSN 0391-9293

This beautifully produced volume provides a catalogue of all the known impasto vessels decorated with a particular technique '*ad incavo*'. Impasto, poorly levigated ceramics, made by hand or on the wheel, sometimes quite thin-walled and highly burnished, was decorated in many ways. Incision, excision and impressions are the most common, although painting, and the application of metal studs or strips was also used. This exhaustive study focuses on impasto vessels decorated with a particular form of excision: this involved the preliminary sketching out of the decorative motifs that were then hollowed out using a tool more than 2 mm wide. The hollowed out areas were then often filled with a coloured paste, most often red, less frequently white and in one case black. It would seem likely that this colouration was originally more common than the surviving examples suggest. This very specific form of decoration was used throughout the 7th century BC and into the 6th in a restricted area where Etruria, Latium and Sabina meet, focused on Capena, but extending across the interior of Etruria to Lake Bolsena and the Fiora valley, the mid-Tiber valley and a few outliers in Chiusi, Città del Castello to the north and Castel di Decima to the south.

Biella presents a detailed study of some 200 vessels, about one-third of which were found at Capena. This total represents all the known vessels of this type: B. has personally inspected those in Europe, but details of those in North America rely on published sources, which the author candidly admits was only due to lack of resources. This is more than outweighed by the extensive archival research in the note books from excavations at Capena (published here as transcriptions in appendices), that have enabled the reconstruction of some contexts and the cataloguing of some vessels that are now lost. This thoroughness ensures that this volume will form an essential point of reference for anyone studying this class of impasto, the material culture of the region or Capena for a long time to come.

The volume consists of a catalogue of vessels, arranged by find-spot and within that by shape. This is followed by a consideration of technique; the shapes and functions of the vessels; a repertoire of decorative motifs; an analysis of the contexts and chronology of the finds; a discussion of the different local productions and conclusions. The catalogue is clearly laid out and contains full descriptions and bibliographic references. The kantharos is by far the most common shape, in its 'Faliscan' form, with concave walls, rather than the canonical shape of the kantharos in bucchero. Next most common is the jar, followed by the plate, dipper, amphora and oinochoe: all closely related to banqueting rituals. Each is discussed in detail and B. notes similarities to other Orientalising wares: impasto, bucchero, Protocorinthian, red-on-white and white-on-red.

The decoration, the distinctive feature of this class of ceramic, is either geometric (triangles and meanders are the most common), floral (palmettes) or figurative, mainly drawn from the real or fantastic Orientalising bestiary. The horse is the most common and human figures are rare. The decoration is described and referenced in detail, but B. does not take the opportunity to discuss the art in its broader Italic or Mediterranean context. For example, on p. 153 discussion of the extraordinary hybrid equine chimeras is relegated to a footnote where they are described with reference to Etrusco-Corinthian wares as grotesques, or painter's dreams. The comparison is valid, but there is also interesting territory to explore where the person who decorated the vessels has drawn selectively, perhaps incoherently, from the Orientalising repertoire to create a vibrant hybrid Falisco-Capenate expression of Orientalising influences. Examples of this local style are the illustration on the front cover of a kantharos (A.21) from Capena representing a *despotes hippon* wrangling two remarkable griffin-like chimeras, or a bi-conical jar from Narce (E.2) where warriors hunt winged horses and lions. This is not, however, a substantial criticism because it is precisely this kind of thorough and detailed study that provides a firm and reliable foundation for future, synthetic and more speculative studies.

Within the production of this class of impasto B. identifies six centres of production at Capena, the Ager Faliscus, Sabina, interior southern Etruria (possibly Acquarossa), Orvieto-Baschi and the upper Fiora valley. The Capena production is the largest and most varied in terms of the shapes and the decorative motifs, the others have less variation. B. is to be congratulated for making the definitions of each class as clear as possible – avoiding any mystification of the art – such that one might feel confident in attributing a new vessel to a particular production using the information provided in the book. This surely has to be one of the key functions of a detailed corpus such as this. The distributions of all the productions are essentially local, but some, particularly Capena, seem to be focused

on a single settlement, whereas others have a more capillary distribution. B. points out that this is only a provisional observation because archaeological research has not been systematic in much of the area under consideration, and future discoveries may change the picture.

Overall the volume is a fundamental, if not definitive, reference work for the study of this interesting, although small, class of pottery. We should look forward to the publication of its companion volume on the more widespread impasto with graffito decoration.

The Open University, UK

Phil Perkins

A.H. Borbein, T. Hölscher and P. Zanker (eds.), *Klassische Archäologie: Eine Einführung*, Dietrich Reimer Verlag, Berlin 2009, 382 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-496-02645-7

This is a reissue of a 2000 volume, not updated, which suggests that it is of proved value. Introductions to classical archaeology are not hard to find these days. This is different in that it is not primarily aimed at the student, and is concerned more with giving an idea of the directions, new and old, which are being taken in the subject in Germany. Appended are articles by Anthony Snodgrass, François Lissarrague and Alain Schnapp reviewing new approaches in Britain and France, and there are other contributions by French and Italian scholars. The result is rather uneven and, inevitably, puzzling. New methods of obtaining intelligible primary evidence for antiquity, which many might feel is the most important thing, have certainly been most useful in providing new data, asking new questions and answering old ones – notably the application of scientific analysis of objects and survey, the latter, though, rather bedevilled by sometimes raw application of statistics. Theoretical approaches derived from other sources, such as anthropology or other social sciences, are more difficult to assess, and their usually short popularity does not encourage approval. We can be sure that the ‘-ism’ of today will be discounted in 10 years’ time. Older skills of analysis and historical approaches are easily lost *en route*, and some practitioners of ‘new’ archaeology can leave one with the feeling that they have never learned to look at the basic evidence; some even disdain to. And despite the broader aims some subjects are becoming more and more parochial. There is nothing unhealthy in all this. That such distinguished and senior scholars as those assembled here have thought it worth their while to consider the matter is a strong recommendation that such a survey is required. An English edition would not be wasted.

Woodstock, UK

John Boardman

E. Bridges, E. Hall and P.J. Rhodes (eds.), *Cultural Responses to the Persian Wars: Antiquity to the Third Millennium*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2007, xvi+454 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-927967-8

This book offers exciting insights into how the conflicts between Greeks and Persians known as the Persian Wars have been perceived, from their origins to the 21st century. It is tailor-made for readers of *AWE* and makes an impressive contribution to reception

studies. The essays do not cover all media, but those chosen (literature and memoirs, opera and films, painting and monuments) represent central cultural interests, and there is passing reference also to those media listed for future investigation, including comic books and heavy metal rock (p. 6).

The volume is divided into five sections based on historical eras, with two to four papers in each. The titles are not transparent, but that is no great matter. The first section, 'Arche-typal Themes', begins with an introduction by the editors, which summarises the debate and the contributions from such a highly informed perspective that it amounts to an original essay in its own right. After the introduction comes an expert paper surveying relations between Greeks and Persians to the death of Alexander by Peter Rhodes, in which he demonstrates how the great divide was initially perceived.

Two papers follow that use Herodotus' evidence to support very interesting ideas about 5th-century reception. Johannes Haubold's modified version of a paper previously published in Italian argues that the Persian court manipulated Greek literary traditions about the Trojan War (thus the title 'Xerxes' Homer') in order to influence the reception of their invasions of Greece. Haubold's account of other instances of the Persian king's use of cultural material to promote a particular image to subjects makes this idea attractive. Herodotus does indicate in his preface that Persians peddled Hellenised versions of the conflict from its origins to the Trojan War, and this is a feature of his later account of what the Egyptian priests told him about Helen and Menelaus too – even though there is a debate about whether Persian and Egyptian sources really gave him these versions. Haubold offers adventurous interpretations of four main passages of Homeric reference to support his thesis. The first involves the Greek Onomacritus, who manipulated oracular literature while he was at Xerxes' court. The slippage from oracles to epic is no worry, but Onomacritus' manipulation is designed to persuade Xerxes to invade, not to promote his image to the Greeks, and that is worrying. Another piece of evidence is Xerxes' visit to Troy, where he heard the story of Priam and made sacrifices to Athena and the dead heroes. The conclusion Haubold draws from this evidence is that 'the overall message was clear enough: Xerxes had declared himself the avenger of Priam'. Yet Herodotus is fond of foreshadowing, and the omens of doom that colour his preceding account of Xerxes' journey to Troy encourage this reviewer to see Priam in this light too: as a king who suffered a fall for all his greatness, like so many kings in Herodotus, and like Xerxes himself by the end of the *Histories*. Artayctes' violation of the shrine of Protesilaus is seen as another piece of propaganda, but Haubold is aware that Herodotus says that Xerxes was deceived into allowing the violation; this means he cannot have deliberately 'authorised' it. The fourth piece of evidence is also problematic. The Ionian instruction to the Persians to sacrifice to Thetis at the place she was seized by Peleus could be their way of helping to convey the image of Xerxes the avenger, since the Trojan War found its ultimate origins in this seizure, but in the context the sacrifice is just designed to stop the storms that had so severely damaged the Persian fleet. I remain open to the idea that the Persians manipulated Greek traditions, but Herodotus seems unconscious of this implication in the evidence on which we build the idea.

Deborah Boedeker develops another very interesting idea about 5th-century reception: that Herodotus' depiction of the role of Eleusinian Demeter in the main battles of the war is designed to make the Greeks receptive to the influence of a goddess who had special



connections with the Athenians. Herodotus mentions her sanctuaries at Plataea and Mycale, her role at Plataea (one of his few explicit divine interventions) and suggests that she defended Attica before the battle of Salamis. Late rhetorical sources (Polemon the declaimer) associate her with the victory of Marathon as well. Herodotus does not make that connection, and Pausanias leaves Demeter out of his description of the battle on the Stoa Poikile, but these are said to be understandable omissions. The paper moves on to discuss the cultic attributes of Demeter: her anger, her protection of the countryside and her association with rulers and their cults. These make her an appropriate goddess to win the Wars and represent Athens. If this evidence is persuasive, Boedeker's next step is even more persuasive: that Athens had good reason to promote Demeter's influence to a Greek audience that included the subjects in her empire.

The second section, 'Ancient Variations', traces the reception of the Wars in the later Classical period. Christopher Rowe argues for a coherent view of the Persian Wars in Plato, while Christopher Pelling accepts a polyphony of views in Plutarch. Rowe reads problematic texts – *Menexenus* and *Laws* 698a10–b1 – in order to refute Morrow's representation of Plato's views as favourable: 'What seemed, to the generality of Athenians, a staggering achievement, appears hardly to have impressed Plato at all.' Pelling examines Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles* alongside the essays on the *Malignity of Herodotus* and on Epicurus to show how Herodotus offered Plutarch a 'repertoire of possibilities' in interpreting Herodotus himself and episodes from his Persian Wars, and how the different generic moments in these works produce favourable as well as unfavourable receptions: 'Plutarch can have different mindsets and follow different principles at different generic moments.' The question of genre is pursued in the footnotes, for instance in the link between the essay on Malignity and the literary criticism of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, but I was left longing to hear more of a direct nature on the definition of a 'generic moment'.

In this same section John Marincola explores the reception of the Wars in the fragmentary 4th-century historians. He shows how they jettison Herodotus' focus on the disunity and medism and hesitancy of the Greeks to produce *poleis* that are unified and on the attack, anticipating the Persians at every turn. A Sicilian reception of the Wars is found in Diodorus, who counted Ephorus among his sources, and who presses the view that the battle of Himera was ever bit as much a 'decisive moment' as Salamis or Plataea. Xenophon, who has so much to say about the East in *Anabasis* and *Cyropaedia*, makes little mention of the Wars. Marincola cites *Anabasis* 3. 2. 13, where Xenophon describes how their ancestors defeated the great numbers of Xerxes' army, but another instance is the view put into the mouth of Socrates in *Memorabilia* 3. 5. 11 in his instruction to the younger Pericles, where the power and achievements of the Persians are promoted in order to make the Athenian achievements even greater. *Anabasis* 1. 2. 89 could also be taken into account, where he lines up the achievements of Apollo, Xerxes and then Cyrus, on the site of Kelainai, to my mind in a comparison that enhances Cyrus' leadership skills. There is also the description of King Agesilaus returning to save Sparta in the Corinthian War taking the same route as the Great King when he invaded (*Hellenica* 4. 2).

Philip Hardie, in another modified version of a paper previously published, rounds off this section with the reception of the Wars in Roman literature – noting the complexity when the reception is already mediated through Hellenistic sources. This supplements

Antony Spawforth on the Persian Wars in Roman imperial propaganda, a volume mentioned in the Introduction as an encouragement to the enterprise.<sup>1</sup>

Edith Hall begins the third section, 'Renaissance and Enlightenment Rediscovery', with an exciting account of the history of the reception of Aeschylus' *Persians*, from the original ancient production on to the staging of the play in modern Iraq and in modern translation into Iranian; the play now illuminates the conflict between the Western powers and Iraq. The other papers in this section by David Kimbell and by Ian Macgregor Morris cover the developing reception of the Wars in early music, through a focus on the figure of Xerxes, and in travel literature.

The fourth section, 'Nationhood and Identity', starts with Tim Rood's analysis of the 19th century's obsession with connections between Waterloo and Marathon, as displayed in Haydon's paintings, the doomed Parthenon on Primrose Hill, and Byron's Mountains that look on Marathon. He shows that Marathon is far from being a simple paradigm, but part of a complex debate. Further papers treat politics and literature (Gonda van Steen on the *Compte de Marcellus*' memoirs of the student reading of Aeschylus' *Persians* under the direction of Konstantinos Oikonomikos in the Greek War of Independence, Alexandra Lanieri on Grote's *History of Greece* in the context of British democratic reform as well as German Idealism), politics and painting (Cormon's painting of the Athenians returning to their women after Salamis). The level of the discussion and interpretation is high throughout.

The fifth section covers reception in 20th-century literature and films. David Levene brings out the challenges that script-writers and directors set themselves when they infuse the defeat of the Spartans at Thermopylae with the ideals of modern democracy and the American Alamo. He includes a study of the accents actors use to mark the good from the bad and the ugly. Emma Bridges gives an account of the Wars in the modern historical novel, making a central focus of Pressfield's *Gates of Fire*, which transforms the battle of Thermopylae with a combination of graphic violence and insight into human nature.

This book is a feast for general reader and specialist. It addresses the reception of the Wars by the original cultures in conflict as well as later cultures that claim to have evolved from them or to continue to represent their ideals. The authors of the essays are to be congratulated and the editors for seeing what was originally a conference through to a completion worthy of hard covers.

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Vivienne Gray

G. Camporeale (ed.), *The Etruscans Outside Etruria*, translated by T.M. Hartmann, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles 2004, 314 pp., 240 colour illustrations. Cased. ISBN 0-89236-767-9

Edited by Giovannangelo Camporeale, this beautifully illustrated book was first published in Italian in 2001 by Arsenale-EBS as *Gli Etruschi fuori d'Etruria*. Seventeen articles, written by 15 leading Italian Etruscologists, spread over 314 pages; some 250 colour illustrations; 19 maps; and the imprimatur of the J. Paul Getty Museum, would suggest something special.

<sup>1</sup> A.J.S. Spawforth, 'Symbol of Unity? The Persian-Wars Tradition in the Roman Empire'. In S. Hornblower (ed.), *Greek Historiography* (Oxford 1994), 233–47.

It comes as something of a shock, therefore, to find that expectations fall well short of reality. Despite its undoubted scholarly merits (on which see the detailed *BMCR* review by Vincent Jolivet at <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/bmcr/2005/2005-09-14.html>), the book is let down by poor production and a fundamental flaw in its concept.

In his Preface, C. states that the aim of the volume is 'to provide a survey of the movement of Etruscan culture into the various regions of ancient Italy, the Mediterranean and continental Europe; to follow – as its title states – the Etruscans outside Etruria' (p. 8). What follows, in the main, is a chronological discussion of the impact of Etruscan culture on the various regions of 'modern' Italy, on areas determined by modern boundaries: the Etruscans in Liguria, the Etruscans in Lazio, the Etruscans in Umbria (outside Etruria?) and so on. What is missing is any real sense of Etruscan interaction with other local peoples of ancient Italy and with the immigrants of the South. And while there is discussion of Etruscan interaction with continental Europe and southern France there is no mention at all of Carthage.

Far and away the most annoying aspect of this book, however, is its frustrating misuse of what are, in the main, excellent images, through duplication, inappropriate use and, worst of all, through a failure to relate pictures to text. Given the quality of the pictures, the out-of-focus full-page bronze head on p. 217 is emblematic of a lack of editorial thoroughness that should have made this book the excellent and useful addition to Etruscan scholarship that its authors deserve it to be.

On pp. 184, 188 and 191, for example, there is an almost identical image of the necropolis at Marzabotto; on p. 259, there is a full-page aerial view of Serra di Vaglio, but no mention of the site in the text; in C.'s chapter on 'The Etruscans in Europe', only nine of the 20 images used illustrate objects actually found in Europe. Most critically, however, the pictures have no numbers and cannot therefore be cross-referenced to the text. Ordinarily this might not be a problem if the pictures appeared alongside the text that discusses them; in many cases, they do not.

The format of the maps is good – frustratingly so. In a book on *The Etruscans Outside Etruria*, one would assume that there would be maps of the 'Outside' areas to accompany each chapter, or at the very least an overall map, especially of Italy, highlighting the main sites mentioned in the text. There is not, apart from Europe, northern Italy, Campania and Sicily. Even these have their problems. On the first page of 'The Etruscans in Campania' for example, Capua and Pontecagnano are mentioned as 'the two most important settlements'; Capua is on the accompanying map, Pontecagnano is not.

Together with this lack of maps to help the reader identify the sites, there is further confusion for the English reader that should have been foreseen in the translation. Where a place name appears in a picture caption, it is followed, as is Italian practice, by its Province; thus Caere (Rome), Gubbio (Perugia), Pontecagnano (Salerno). For the non-specialist reader unfamiliar with Italian topography, or even for non-Italian archaeological colleagues to whom I have shown this, this unexplained transliteration would suggest that Caere is perhaps an Etruscan name for Rome, etc.

There is a feeling that the text has been translated from its original Italian by a non-specialist literalist, and that it has not been properly checked by its editor. Some of the translations are unfortunate to say the least, for example 'attraverso il canale della Mancia, della Cornovaglia', 'across the English Channel to Cornwall' becomes, 'through the channel

at Manche, Cornwall' (p. 91). Further errors, of which there are many, are listed by Jolivet (above).

Finally, there are no footnotes and more crucially no index. Throughout the book, there are references to ancient sources: 'the sources seem justified' (p. 158), 'as the sources noted' (p. 161), but no notes to indicate which sources. This might suggest that the intended audience for this book was the general public, if it were not for the scholarly nature and high quality of many of the articles. On the other hand, the unforgivable lack of an index in a book such as this might suggest something else. When taken together with the lack of references, the lack of maps in the second half of the book and the fact that the final chapter, 'The Etruscans in Sicily', seems to end mid-chapter, there is a lingering feeling that this book quite simply ran out of space; there is certainly evidence of a lack of editorial control. It would be a great shame if this were the case, especially given the unnecessarily over-long introductory chapter on 'Etruscan Civilization' (pp. 12–77), which could have been called 'The Etruscans Inside Etruria'. One would have expected a book called *The Etruscans Outside Etruria* to concentrate on just that.

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Michael Turner

I. Claerhout and J. Devreker, *Pessinous: Sacred City of the Anatolian Mother Goddess*, Homer Kitabevi ve Yayincilik, Istanbul 2008, 204 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-9944-483-20-9

The publication of *Pessinous: An Archaeological Guide* marks the conclusion of charge of Ghent University's excavations at Pessinus (Latinised), a site boasting Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine archaeological remains in central Anatolia. Inge Claerhout and John Devreker fulfil the aim of providing a guide in giving a thorough, general overview of the archaeology and history of Pessinus.

Indeed, some of the discussion – such as that pertaining to the temple area and Agora (sectors B and H respectively) (pp. 70–107), and the northern necropolis/Byzantine habitation compound (sector I) (pp. 114–30) – is quite detailed in the description of artefacts, features and stratigraphy. The discussion of sector I would have further benefited from a section that compares it with the south-eastern necropolis (sector A). The comparison would have been useful in terms of the conclusions that could be drawn regarding funerary practices at Pessinus, given the body of data that exists for both.

The guide contains an elaborate historical overview, spanning the 1st millennium BC and AD, in which Pessinus is discursively situated. One drawback, however, is the degree to which the 'archaeological' guide is dependent on ancient textual evidence that discusses Pessinus (directly or indirectly) in the context of socio-political machinations of the Hellenistic kingdoms and Roman and Byzantine imperialism. It would have been useful to point out how archaeological evidence from Pessinus has provided information that tells a story alternative to that of the 'official' sources.

Perhaps the most intriguing archaeological feature that has been excavated at Pessinus is the so-called 'canalisation system' (pp. 66–69). Seemingly lacking a precedent amongst the engineering works of Roman cities throughout the empire, this feature remains little understood. In spite of numerous attempts at excavation, the feature is prone to extensive annual

sedimentation, making *post hoc* evaluation impossible, published material notwithstanding. Accordingly, making a definitive conclusion as to the feature's function ought to be stated more tentatively in the light of the technical problems and lack of precedent examples.

In the section detailing survey work of the wider Pessinus environs, C. and D. discuss the aqueduct that supplied water to Pessinus in the Roman period (pp. 147–48); the site at Tekören (p. 148–51), which boasts Phrygian monuments and is rich in Bronze–Iron Age ceramic scatter; and Hamamtepe (pp. 152–55), a building complex (perhaps a fort) on top of a mountain. The assertion that the high levels of ceramic scatter at Tekören indicate a potters' quarter offers no justification, and the lack of intensive surveying or publication of prospection prior to the guide's publication makes the claim difficult to sustain. The overall presentation of Tekören, Hamamtepe and the aqueduct merits their importance in the Pessinus region. This is augmented by the section detailing the sites to visit in the Afyon–Eskişehir–Sivrihisar triangle (pp. 184–99).

The section concerning the Phrygian language (pp. 188–89) contains an error of fact. It is stated that Phrygian belonged to the Anatolian stratum of Indo-European languages. However, Claude Brixhe, an authority on the Phrygian language, has shown that Phrygian has closest affinity with Greek, citing numerous examples which are unlikely to constitute borrowing.<sup>1</sup>

The quality of the images is generally good, given the size of the format (thus necessitating highly compressed images), yet a number display an undue blue tone to the shadows (pp. 66, 68, 102, 107, 118, 121, 123), blurriness (pp. 87, 94), and pixilation (pp. 100, 156, 168, map inside front cover, plan of the Pessinus excavations inside rear cover).

On the whole, C. and D. provide an effective general introduction to the archaeology and history of Pessinus for a wide audience. The inclusion of links to the Pessinus web-page in the select bibliography is thoughtful (p. 204), as the web-site contains further information about and images of the project. The citation of Wikipedia for information on Cybele and the Galatians is of dubious merit. In reference to the former, the page is detailed and well referenced from legitimate sources; while that of the latter is quite superficial (the English page is more comprehensive).

Wikipedia as a whole cannot be considered a legitimate scholarly source – one would have expected a citation of a printed source that gives a general overview of the relevant material, such as the *Cambridge Ancient History* and/or works on Graeco-Roman religion. Yet a layman is more likely to have access to Wikipedia, irrespective of the caveats involved.

*Pessinus: An Archaeological Guide* straddles a liminal position between a tourist guide and an archaeological publication. It reaches considerably further than a tourist guide in the detail devoted to discussing parts of the excavation, yet it lacks the sufficient detail that is to be expected for a source aiming to be reference material for studies of Pessinus. It is hoped that a final publication of the 1986–2008 campaigns will be undertaken to provide the necessary detail for those studying the Graeco-Roman period in Anatolia and interested in incorporating Pessinus in their work.

University of Melbourne

Damjan Krsmanovic

<sup>1</sup> C. Brixhe, 'Phrygian'. In R.D. Woodard (ed.), *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of the World's Ancient Languages* (Cambridge 2004).

D.B. Counts and A.S. Tuck (eds.), *Koine: Mediterranean Studies in Honor of R. Ross Holloway*, Joukowski Institute Publication 1, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Oakville, CT 2009, xxiv+223 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-84217-379-4

During his long and eventful career (1964–2006) at Brown University in Providence, RI, R. Ross Holloway undertook an extraordinary variety of teaching and research relating to the material cultures (and cultural materials) of the Classical and ancient Mediterranean worlds. His range is matched by the 30 contributors to his *Festschrift*, 25 of whom (many with Brown connections) are currently attached to American universities. The 22 papers presented are divided into four sections: I, 'A view of Classical Art: iconography in context', introduced by S.H. Allen (papers by C. Marconi, M. Bell III, H.A. Shapiro, P.E. Nulton, J. Magness, N.J. Norman and J. Kenfield); II, 'Crossroads of the Mediterranean: cultural entanglements across the connecting sea', introduced by R.H. Sinos (papers by O.P. Doonan, A.M. Hussein, C. Maggidis, L. Bonfante, B.E. McConnell and B. Tsakirgis); III, 'Coins as culture: art and coinage from Sicily', introduced by C. Arnold-Biucchi (papers by K. Rutter, S. Pope and M.B.B. Florenzano); IV, 'Discovery and discourse: archaeology and interpretation', introduced by the editors (papers by S.S. Lukesh, B.A. Barletta, M.S. Joukowsky, F. Van Keuren with L.P. Gromet, N.B. Kampen and S.L. Dyson). These sections are preceded by the appropriate acknowledgments, notes on the editors and contributors, an account of the making of archaeology at Brown by R.M. Winkes, the honorand's *curriculum vitae* and bibliography (not including his book reviews), and a perceptive 'archaeology of a career' by the editors. The absence of a *tabula gratulatoria* is odd; and an index of toponyms would have been useful as well as impressive.

Space and frailty do not permit me to offer a detailed critical assessment of a set of impressive major and intriguing minor contributions that begins with Marconi's diagnosis of early Greek architectural decoration in function and ends with Dyson's reflections on archaeology and urban ideology in modern Rome. In between, we are treated to Kenfield's observations on early Byzantine archangels and Doonan's thoughts toward a regional history of the Black Sea; Bonfante introduces us to an Etruscan demon in Pompeii; McConnell draws an unexpected (but interesting) historical parallel between the Sikels of the 5th century BC and the Cherokee of the 19th century AD; Lukesh presents us with a slice of Sicily in the 3rd and 2nd millennia BC; and Joukowsky reviews the highlights of the 1993–2006 Brown excavations at the Petra Great Temple. And more besides: every *AWE* reader will surely find something of interest here. For my own part, I note that Hussein identifies a painted oinochoe from a well-stocked Late Geometric II infant's grave at Pithekoussai<sup>1</sup> as an import from Etruria. She may be right, but it remains true that the definition of this piece by the late Giorgio Buchner and myself as 'Euboean?' was based on the appearance of the clay rather than on our 'disbelief that imitations of Greek pottery could show up in a predominantly Greek setting' (p. 76). Stranger things have been seen at Pithekoussai, and at some of the other sites treated in this deceptively slim volume.

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David Ridgway

<sup>1</sup> G. Buchner and D. Ridgway, *Pithekoussai I* (Rome 1993), grave 652-1.

J. Cuno, *Who Owns Antiquity?: Museums and the Battle over our Ancient Heritage*, Princeton University Press, Princeton/Oxford 2008, xxxvii+228 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-0-691-13712-4

Purpose not place is Cuno's *cri de coeur* in defence of encyclopaedic museums, everywhere – do not confuse their purpose with where most of them are currently located: 'The First World' – and against nationalist retentionist cultural property laws, which, *inter alia*, 'fail to protect our ancient heritage, ... conspire against a greater understanding and appreciation of the world's many, diverse cultures ... depend on the myth of pure, static, distinct, national cultures, ... promote a sectarian view of culture and encourage the politics of identity...' (pp. xxxv–xxxvi). That he has an interest, as Director of the Art Institute of Chicago, in no way diminishes the argument, here vigorously presented and expressed: 'Antiquity cannot be owned' (p. 20); 'Nations are made, not born' (p. 17) – forged is often a better word; 'Cultural property is a political construct' (p. 9). And faced with the preening, posturing, populist politicking of the governments of various 19th–20th-century political constructs (Italy, for example), and their self-important, self-advertising (and self-serving) cultural tsars, the targets, usually American museums (here the British Museum is left to rest on its marbles), wracked by post-something guilt, roll over, victims of their own 'political correctness', assisted by their federal government, keen to burnish its image abroad (or use artefacts to buy acquiescence or support for some external adventure or strategic goal), through the actions of its politically appointed Cultural Property Advisory Committee (notes on pp. 176–78). Whatever the high-sounding terms in which protectionist-retentionist policies are cast, in practice 'it's all politics': cultural politics, the politics of modern nation-building, etc.

An Introduction ('The Crux of the Matter') and an Epilogue bookcase five chapters: 'Political Matters', 'More Political Matters', 'The Turkish Question', 'The Chinese Question' and 'Identity Matters'.

The crux: antiquities do have meaning outside their specific archaeological context; cultural property may have special meaning to peoples and powers. But what about antiquities from extinct cultures (in Egypt or Iraq or...) where, apart from geographical happenstance, ancient and modern have very little in common? 'Just as national claims on identity are political claims, so are national claims in antiquities. They serve the purpose of the modern, claiming nation. When regimes change, the parameters of the claims change as well' (pp. 12–13): the claims of the Ottoman state differed from those of present-day Turkey; those of Pahlavi Iran from its post-1979 successor.

'The Turkish Question' shows the culturally impoverishing effect of the creation of Kemalist Turkey, not least through the purifying but clumsy population exchanges, a sort of co-operative ethnic cleansing, with Venizelist Greece (impoverishing in almost every way to the countries, cultures and participants alike), with an aside on Graeco-Turkish mayhem in Cyprus. 'All of the rough and tumble untidiness of the streets of Istanbul, once filled with Greeks, Jews, and Christians from throughout Europe is tidied up and left to Turks ... and mostly Sunni Muslim Turks at that' (p. 87). (I could not agree more, except to substitute 'Constantinople'.) Such is nation building, which 'subjects the past and present to the rigors of identity control... Archaeology and national museums [the antithesis of encyclopaedic museums?] are used as a means of enforc[ement]' (p. 87).



Moving on and eastward, '... it all depends what you mean by Chinese. And any simple answer only cheapens our understanding of China and Chinese culture...' (p. 120). In the core of China there is a cultural and ethnic continuity lacking in many other places, and regimes over the centuries have practised a closed-door policy and mentality; but China has waxed and waned, so what of the modern Chinese state claiming as 'its cultural property, even materials whose cultural heritage may not even be Chinese but Tibetan or ethnic minority' or which may have arisen from what is Chinese territory now but not then? (The Han element of the population of Sinkiang, alias East Turkestan, under Chinese control since the 18th century, with several gaps, was a mere 5% some 60 years ago – p. 108; there are 56 ethnic-minority cultures in China – p. 120). This chapter also looks at the double standards of the Chinese authorities and of the United States archaeological community in respect to China.

Written with vim and verve; copiously and thoughtfully annotated. It is not necessary to agree with everything said, but there is much food for thought. Remember: 'Nationalist retentionist cultural property laws are not archaeological sites protection laws' (p. 117).

Leeds, UK

James Hargrave

S.M.R. Darbandi and A. Zournatzi (eds.), *Ancient Greece and Ancient Iran: Cross Cultural Encounters*, 1st International Conference, Athens, 11–13 November 2006, National Hellenic Research Foundation/Hellenic National Commission for UNESCO/Cultural Center of the Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Athens 2008, xxviii+ 377 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-960-930955-4

Closer association of Greek and Iranian studies in a comparative mode is a relatively new phenomenon and has been the reason for new societies, conferences and publications. This can only be a good thing for scholarship. It forces scholars and students to think beyond their immediate subjects, and despite the apparently disparate character of the ancient communities their interaction was crucial to the development of civilisation in the Mediterranean world and the Near East, and even beyond. They could, after all, hardly be more disparate: Greece never a real nation until forced to be by Rome – Persia an imperial power ranging from the Mediterranean to Central Asia: the Persian empire short-lived but long influential and in different ways to those of the classical world.

The essays from this conference in Athens range very widely, and all cannot be mentioned here. Magi in Athens and the Derveni papyrus are the subject for Tsantsanoglou. The sense in which the Seleucids were inheritors of the Achaemenid tradition of empire is argued for, and against, by G. Aspergis and C. Tuplin. The date and presence of Cyrus at Sardis and the date of the fall of Sardis are debated by D. Stronach in the light of the early architectural forms at Pasargadae. M. Cool Root imagines an Athenian inspecting Persepolis, then decides that he would have got it all wrong – a novel scholarly approach of uncertain benefit. O. Palagia identifies the Persepolis Penelope as probably a Thasian gift. Some of the most important and either new or barely accessible information presented here concerns the effect of Persian presence in Anatolia. Y. Lintz presents initial work on a Corpus of the arts of Persian Anatolia, and L. Summerer discusses and illustrates the remarkable paintings on wood from the Tabarli tumulus. There is the material here for a fascinating study on the effect of what is virtually an Orientalising revolution in reverse, and we are

challenged to decide what in much of the style and iconography is truly of Greek origin, what local or only possibly Orientally inspired, and to be inspirational long after and farther to the east. Thus too for peripheral metalwork (Sideris). S. Paspalas chases the iconography of the Persian lion-griffin.

Woodstock, UK

John Boardman

S. Deger-Jalkotzy and N. Schindel (eds.), *Gold*, Tagung anlässlich der Gründung des Zentrums Archäologie und Altertumswissenschaften an der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 19. –20. April 2007, Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Denkschriften 377, Schriften des Zentrums Archäologie und Altertumswissenschaften 1, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna 2009, 142 pp., 64 tabs. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-7001-6547-7

These are papers delivered at a one-day meeting in Vienna. Gold is a good subject and by no means narrow since it was admired and used worldwide, and the papers here range from the European Early Bronze Age, through the classical, especially Roman world and to a late date, and Egypt (the Abydos hoard, by Müller). Most are as much or more linguistic in content, as material. Many scholars will be engaged by individual papers; few by more than one, given the range. Particularly attractive are Dalfen on gold epithets in Greek, Ramming on gold metaphors in Latin, and the related essay on Rome's Golden Age by Rehrenböck, Pillinger on early Christian gold, Mitthof on a wedding contract of the 6th century AD. Of more material relevance are Zavadič on Mycenaean gold, Scheibelreiter on gold and glass in Ephesus mosaics, Neugebauer-Maresch in Early Bronze Age Austria (Franzhausen). Only secondarily golden is Woytek's study of coin iconography under Trajan. The illustration, as it should be for such a work, is full and clear.

Woodstock, UK

John Boardman

E. Dench, *Romulus' Asylum: Roman Identities from the Age of Alexander to the Age of Hadrian*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2005, x+442 pp. Cased. ISBN 10: 0-19-815051-2 / ISBN 13: 978-0-19-815051-0

In the past 20 years there has been a steady growth of scholarly interest in ancient ethnic and communal identities. The complex polyethnic landscape of the Roman empire in particular has encouraged work that has radically modified, and in some cases completely abandoned, older frameworks for viewing the effects of Roman imperialism on subject identities. But the majority of this work has approached the issue from the perspective of conquered or allied groups within the Roman empire. The interpretive focus has been predominantly on the interaction between the pre-existing, 'local' identities of these groups and an imposed or adopted 'Roman' identity.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Examples of this work in the last 15 years includes: T. Cornell and K. Lomas (eds.), *Gender and Ethnicity in Ancient Italy* (London 1997); J. Huskinson (ed.), *Experiencing Rome: Culture, Identity and Power in the Roman Empire* (London/New York 1999); D.J. Mattingly (ed.), *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, Discourse, and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire* (Portsmouth, RI 1997);

Emma Dench's substantial study turns its attention to Roman self-perceptions. Imperialism and Roman/subject interactions are shown to impinge strongly on the Romans' perceptions of themselves and on the Roman identities adopted or aspired to by those absorbed within the empire, as does specific interaction with the Greek world and 'Greekness' (another traditional interest of scholarship on Roman identity). But it is with the identities of the conquerors as conveyed through their myths, literature and iconography that the chief interest of this book lies.

As D. points out, the existence of an identifiable Roman identity has often been dismissed, or reduced to a purely legal equation (being Roman equals having Roman citizenship), in contrast to the rich work in recent on the cultural complexities of 'Hellenicity'.<sup>2</sup> (The effect of the citizenship on Roman ways of thinking about themselves is addressed directly by D. in Chapter 2, 'Romulus' Asylum: the Character of the Roman Citizenship'.) In contrast, D. charts a dynamic, plural, permeable and contested field of Roman socio-cultural identity that takes the statement *Romanus sum* as potentially far more than a straightforward assertion of judicial rights.

The overall arguments of the book are summed up clearly and concisely in the opening pages (p. 4):

...that Roman identity is a particular kind of plurality, based on both the incorporation and transformation of other peoples and cultures; that local and Roman identities may be asserted simultaneously, but the tension between them may be very obvious; that the plural nature of Roman identity is itself traditional and based on blood descent;...and not least that the ethnic, social, and political nature of Rome were sites of intense debate.

Two episodes from the cycle of Roman origin myths are taken as the (appropriately) foundational metaphors of pluralism and its sometimes problematic, transformative effects upon Roman self-perception: Romulus' opening of an asylum for fugitives as a means of augmenting Rome's population; and the rape of the Sabine women and consequent amalgamation of Sabines within the Roman community. This theoretically open, fluid and hybrid model of identity, and the role of conflict and conquest in transforming that identity, are pursued through the bulk of the book in the contexts that demonstrate or generate the plural dynamic most clearly.

The relationships of Italian identities with Roman, which the myths of asylum and Sabine rape/integration foreground, is examined in detail as the earliest and most immediate context for Roman ways of thinking about themselves and their growing hegemony (Chapter 3, 'The Idea of Italy'). The articulation of Roman-ness in terms of Italian-ness also demonstrates the transformation of Roman identities over time in the face of changing imperial and cultural circumstances. D. examines the changing relationship of Rome and Italy from the *Italia* of Cato and Ennius through the conflicts and apparent contradictions of the Social War, to Cicero's model of dual *patriae* and the Virgilian/Augustan *tota Italia*

and, perhaps most influentially, G. Woolf, *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (Cambridge 1998). See also the discussion of work on Greek ethnicities in AWE 4.2 (2005).

<sup>2</sup> The term is used by Jonathan Hall as the title of one significant study of Greek identities: J. Hall, *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture* (Chicago 2002).

as 'alternative way(s) of thinking about *Roman* ideals' (p. 185). Roman and Italian become both potentially distinguishable and potentially co-extensive. This Roman/Italian dynamic, D. argues, forms a deep-seated paradigm for Roman self-perception within the broader empire: 'The use of Italy as a site within which Roman identity and above all plurality is so actively worked out suggests its use as a model for the provinces, and the increasing integration of the provinces in turn narrows their distance from Italy' (p. 217).

D. goes on (in the chapter 'Languages and Literatures') to trace the articulation and contestation of the plurality of Roman identities in a number of close case studies of Roman literature and language. This includes a wide range of authors and genres, such as Cicero's histories of Roman rhetoric, the narratives of Tacitus and Josephus and the poems of Catullus. In the course of the same chapter, D. locates within Varro's work on the Latin language a permeable and open model of Latin that parallels and supports the more general plurality of Roman identities. The vexed issue of race and descent is addressed directly in the chapter 'Flesh and Blood', which also discusses in a limited fashion the effects which 'our own sensitivity to any discourse of race in the modern western world' have had on assessments of race and ethnicity in the classical context (p. 225). While apparently in conflict with the open and permeable model of identity asserted by the myth of Romulus' asylum and examined elsewhere in this study, D. demonstrates convincingly that ideas of blood descent could be active components of Roman self-perception:

No matter how contradictory and awkward it might be for us, it is hard to deny that blood and an uncomplicatedly linear idea of descent were *one* available way of thinking about being Roman. It is, indeed, certainly possible that the imagery of blood could have been perceived in antiquity to be problematic given the future potential for crossing boundaries into the citizen-body (p. 258).

As all this suggests, one of the great strengths of D.'s work is that it does not attempt to resolve the contradictions and untidy complexities of Roman perceptions of who they were. There is no attempt to present a unified, monolithic model of 'Roman-ness' to fit all Romans even at any one specific moment in time. Instead, the book elucidates a subtle, sometimes contradictory, and often hotly contested picture of potential Roman identities that takes seriously the full variety of possible meanings and tensions within the statement *Romanus sum*.

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Parshia Lee-Stecum

O.T.P.K. Dickinson, *The Aegean from Bronze Age to Iron Age. Continuity and Change between the Twelfth and Eighth Centuries BC*, Routledge, London 2006, xvi+298 pp., illustrations Paperback. ISBN 10: 0-415-13590-7 / ISBN 13: 978-0-415-13590-0

Approximately 30 years since the first publication of the pioneering works of R.V.d'A. Desborough, A.M. Snodgrass and J.N. Coldstream, Oliver Dickinson returns to a similar approach in his latest book, aiming to offer an up-to-date synthesis of the transitional period from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age, to present all major issues that have been at the centre of discussions since the 1970s, and to address questions raised more recently. Overall, this can be characterised as a very ambitious and difficult project, given the multiplicity, complexity and variability of the evidence nowadays available, as well as

the purposefully limited length of the book. Being himself aware of the difficulties involved in such a project, D. clearly states in the Preface that 'this book cannot be expected to do more than give an introduction to the period and its problems' (p. xi).

The overall outline and structure of the book are fitting to its purpose. After a general introduction to the 'Dark Age' and a first chapter on the relevant terminology and chronology issues, focus is placed on the palatial collapse and the Postpalatial period in the second and third chapters respectively. The fourth chapter focuses on the Early Iron Age communities, while the next four chapters are thematic and examine the evidence for crafts, burials, exchange and religion in the Postpalatial period and the Early Iron Age. The final chapter paints a very broad picture of the developments taking place in Greece throughout the whole period and concludes that the changes from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age were more striking than the signs of continuity.

In addition to offering very useful surveys of evidence and summaries of related theories, accompanied by fair and stimulating criticism – only rarely diverging to personal attacks on specific scholars, admittedly out of place in a book serving as an introduction for non-specialist readers – D. also makes certain very significant and pointed remarks about several issues throughout the book, which can serve as valuable guidance especially for young scholars. He points out, for example, the gradual pace of processes throughout the Postpalatial period leading in the end of the Late Bronze Age to the final decline, the difficulties in using evidence recovered in surveys for reconstructions relating to the Early Iron Age, the problems involved in estimating precise figures for Early Iron Age population sizes, the dependency of each site's economy on its individual location, the overall mixed character of the Early Iron Age economy, and the gradual breakdown of previous traditions and development of new ones as regards burial customs.

On the other hand, discussion of major issues such as the Dorians or the Homeric epics is of inadequately limited extent, while the surveys of evidence on Early Iron Age settlement patterns, settlement arrangement and architecture, social structure and burial customs are perhaps too brief and compact even for a non-specialist reader. It is of course possible that such short discussions might prove stimulating instead of discouraging for a 'beginner', but it is rather unfortunate that due to its practical limitations this particular book can offer only very general impressions. This approach does not allow for the examination of any case in detail or in its precise geographical and chronological context, thus leaving major questions unanswered – such as the reasons for the introduction of single burials, for the regional differences in settlement organisation, social and economic development, etc., or for the choice of new ritual sites in the Early Iron Age on the mainland. Another problem caused by the book's limited length is that major developments taking place in the 9th and especially 8th centuries BC are discussed only briefly. Although D. explains in the Introduction that this is done deliberately so as not to unbalance the book, he should also acknowledge at the same time that it is very difficult to discuss satisfactorily questions of continuity between the Late Bronze Age and the 8th century BC without further analysis of the evidence.

Another feature of the book is a certain negative preconception running throughout most discussions and determining D.'s viewpoint, as most evidently revealed in the last chapter. In the author's own words, 'with the exception of the Lefkandi "Heroön", there is virtually no sign of the investment of exceptional effort and resources in *anything* (*sic*), whether monumental buildings, tombs, communal ritual sites, or works of craftsmanship,

in the centuries upon which this book focuses' (p. 238). D. apparently compares the evidence that is available for the so-called Dark Age with what followed and especially what preceded them, instead of examining it in its own context. Only by overlooking the impact of the palatial destructions can one fail to recognise the great effort put into serious attempts at recovery that have been recorded at several sites in the Postpalatial period. Signs of exceptional effort also deserve to be credited to the seafaring enterprises of both Postpalatial and Early Iron Age communities in the general atmosphere of insecurity and instability prevailing in the period and to the richest burials of all phases – not to mention the many examples of excellence in the 8th century.

In general, *The Aegean from Bronze Age to Iron Age* will prove to be a useful introductory book to the period; and although it adopts the traditional view of the Dark Age as very dark indeed, and retains an overall pessimistic attitude towards the limitations of the available archaeological evidence, this book can still function as a valuable starting point for any alert reader who decides to look into the evidence in more detail and to investigate major issues in depth.

Athens, Greece

Antonia Livieratou

A. Dihle, *Hellas und der Orient: Phasen wechselseitiger Rezeption*, Julius-Wellhausen-Vorlesung 2, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/New York 2009, 60 pp. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-11-021956-2 / ISSN 1867-2213

Albrecht Dihle, now in his late eighties, is among the most distinguished German scholars of classical literature, but his range is wide, and this lengthy lecture is a sober, detailed and quite well documented account (emphasis rather on literature and German sources, but not exclusively) of Greek culture and the East, from the Bronze Age to Christianity. It could serve students with a general interest well, and inspire them.

Woodstock, UK

John Boardman

D. Burcu Erciyas, *Wealth, Aristocracy and Royal Propaganda under the Hellenistic Kingdom of the Mithradatids in the Central Black Sea Region in Turkey*, *Colloquia Pontica* 12, Brill, Leiden/Boston 2006, xxiv+210 pp., 86 figs., 3 pls. Cased. ISBN 90-04-14609-1 / ISSN 1389-8477

As Gocha Tsetskhladze, the series editor of *Colloquia Pontica*, mentions in his Preface to this volume, publications about Greek colonisation on the southern Black Sea coast are extremely rare, thus many publications in the bibliography of this volume are between 50 and 100 years old or more, and few have been published in a Western language. So any publication of some standard about this subject will always enrich our knowledge. And this publication is really an enrichment as the book offers much more than the title promises. Instead of describing just the internal politics of the Hellenistic kingdom of the Mithradatids, the whole history of the Greek colonisation on the southern Black Sea coast is given.

The book is adapted from the doctoral dissertation presented by Deniz Burcu Erciyas at the University of Cincinnati in 2001. In a short first chapter, E. accounts for the methods

and analysis she has applied during the writing of her dissertation. In the second, E. gives a brief history of the Mithradatid dynasty from its beginning until the death of Mithradates VI Eupator (120–63 BC), stressing the Graeco-Persian background of Mithradatic family. This background was used more than once by Mithradates VI to rally his former Greek and Persian subjects and allies against the Romans. In Chapter 3 E. deals with the Greek colonisation on the southern Black Sea coast and the emergence of the Greek cities and their mints from the 5th century BC to the reign of Mithradates VI. She claims that there is no proof of pre-Greek occupation of the sites of the later Greek colonies on the southern Black Sea coast (p. 29), ignoring, however, the literary evidence of the Pseudo-Skymnos regarding Sinope (Ps-Skymnos 949–950), who clearly states that Sinope was a Leuco-Syrian city before the Greeks arrived. Extremely interesting in this chapter is the description of a large tomb with a great amount of jewellery and other grave-goods from the early Hellenistic period at Amisus, not published before in a foreign language. This tomb and its contents can only be compared with the large Thracian and Scythian royal tombs in Thrace and on the northern Black Sea coast. It seems unlikely, as E. states (p. 113) that it is just a tomb of Greek aristocrats. No comparison with other graves in Greek colonial necropoleis during this period can be found on the western, northern or eastern Black Sea coasts. So, unless the population of Amisus was totally different from that of other Greek Black Sea colonies, it is much more likely that it is the tomb of an Anatolian king from the Pontus area, preceding Mithradates VI by two centuries.

Chapter 4 gives an overview of the sculptures and portraits on coins of the Mithradatic family in the Aegean, while Chapter 5 presents the conclusions, in which E. rightly stresses that Mithradates VI was the first ruler, before the Romans and Ottomans, to rule the whole Black Sea area (p. 181). Chersonesos asked Mithradates for help against the Scythians and after some time the whole Black Sea coast belonged to his dominion as most Greek Black Sea cities joined him in his fight against Rome, probably for economic reasons (only Callatis, according to an inscription, probably allied itself with Rome). Dedications to Mithradates VI are found all around the Black Sea coast. But it is not clear whether the Greek Black Sea colonies joined the cities in the Near East in the massacre of Romans during the so-called Ephesian Vespers. However, the total destruction of Apollonia Pontica, Mithradates' first and most loyal ally on the western Black Sea coast, by the Roman army under M. Terentius Varro in 72 BC could be an indication for this. The remark by E. that Mithradates overplayed his own hand (p. 176) is a typical example of knowledge after the events. It is true that the politics of expansion by Mithradates VI in the Black Sea and the Near East automatically brought him in conflict with Rome. But regarding the events, history could have taken another turn – as with Rome's failure to subjugate the Parthians. E.'s comment about the importance of *unstamped* amphorae as an indication of much closer contacts between Pontus and the northern Black Sea coast compared with those of the southern Black Sea coast and the Aegean, even in the period predating to the reign of Mithradates VI, is very interesting.

In conclusion, one may say that E.'s book is a new and very important contribution to our knowledge of the history of southern Black Sea coast in the last millennium BC and can be recommended to all scholars and students working on the Greek colonisation period in the Black Sea region.



P. Erdkamp (ed.), *A Companion to the Roman Army*, Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford 2007, xxvi+574 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 10: 1-4051-2153-X / ISBN 13: 978-1-4051-2153-8

‘Companions’ erfreuen sich in der Hochschulpraxis der angelsächsischen Welt großer Beliebtheit – einer Beliebtheit, die allenfalls überboten wird von der Popularität all jener Werke, die von den Themen Krieg, Militär und Armee handeln und in Buchläden von San Francisco bis St Andrews etliche Regalmeter füllen. Beides hat auf den deutschen Althistoriker im nordenglischen Exil bis vor kurzem befremdlich gewirkt – hat aber im akademischen Alltag vor Studierenden, die sich nicht auf Grund von klassischer Vorbildung, sondern meist aus entschieden anderen Gründen zur Alten Geschichte hingezogen fühlen, seine unabweisbaren Vorzüge. Schließlich ist es Sinn und Zweck eines Companion, den Leser bei der Hand zu nehmen und nichts unerklärt zu lassen. Und schließlich ist die Militärgeschichte der antiken Welt ein Thema, dem auch eingefleischte Mentalitäts- und Sozialhistoriker, wenn sie bei Sinn und Verstand sind, seine Relevanz – geschweige denn seine Faszinationskraft – nicht absprechen können.

Herausgeber des jüngsten Bandes aus der Serie der Blackwell Companions ist Paul Erdkamp, in Brüssel lehrender, einschlägig ausgewiesener Fachmann in Sachen römischer Armee. Entstanden ist unter seiner sorgfältigen editorischen Arbeit und unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Experten von internationaler Statur ein Handbuch, das durchweg auf dem neuesten Stand ist und nicht nur in der akademischen Lehre, sondern auch und gerade in der Forschung Maßstäbe setzen wird. Das Spektrum der Beiträge schlägt breite Bögen – chronologisch: vom archaischen italischen Stadtstaat bis zur Zeit Justinians; geographisch: von den Wäldern Germaniens und Britanniens bis zu den Wüsten Nordafrikas, den Gebirgen Kleinasiens und den Steppen des Nahen Ostens; thematisch: von Ausrüstung, Bewaffnung und Taktik bis hin zur sozialen und politischen Rolle der Armee in den komplexen Systemen von Römischer Republik und Prinzipat.

Zu interessieren haben in einer Rezension für diese Zeitschrift mit ihrem universalhistorischen Profil vor allem die großen übergreifenden Themen, die deutlich machen, daß jede Geschichte Roms ohne die Geschichte seiner Armee unvollständig bliebe. Ein solches Thema ist das Zusammenspiel der Armee mit den übrigen Institutionen der römischen Gesellschaft, das in der Tat leitmotivische Funktion im Companion hat. Der Herausgeber selbst untersucht in seinem Beitrag ‘War and State Formation in the Roman Republic’ (S. 96–113) in all seinen Facetten das Beziehungsgeflecht zwischen Kriegführung (die er zu Recht als wichtigste Aufgabe des prämodernen Staates ansieht) und staatlichen Institutionen (wobei er sich nicht den analytischen Problemen verschließt, die sich im Zusammenhang mit der Anwendung des Begriffs ‘Staat’ auf antike Gesellschaften auftürmen). Daß auch im Fall Rom der Krieg der Vater aller Dinge war, überrascht nicht wirklich, wird aber von E. sehr schön an Beispielen illustriert.

Chronologisch noch weiter zurück geht der mit Daten und Fakten glänzende Beitrag von Gary Forsythe zum Thema ‘The Army and Centuriate Organization in Early Rome’ (S. 24–42), der die militärischen Wurzeln vieler römischer Institutionen offenlegt. In den Kapiteln zur Kaiserzeit dominiert selbstverständlich das Verhältnis zwischen Armee und Princeps: So gilt Anthony R. Birleys Beitrag der Armee und ihrer Funktion als Kaisermacher (S. 379–94). Freilich bleibt die Studie unterhalb der Möglichkeiten, die diese wichtige und

seit längerem auch theoretisch durchdrungene Materie bietet, vor allem, da es Birley offensichtlich an einer klaren Konzeption der römischen Usurpation (zum Beispiel entlang der von Egon Flaig gezeichneten Linien) gebricht. Ein kleiner Geniestreich ist hingegen die methodisch reflektierte Studie aus der Feder von Clifford Ando ('The Army and the Urban Elite: A Competition for Power': S. 359–78), die auf nicht weniger als eine völlige Neukonzeption des Verhältnisses zwischen Kaiser, Heer und grundbesitzender Elite hinausläuft. Kaum je ist die Rolle der Armee als soziale Pressure-group im Prinzipat prägnanter und zugleich differenzierender umrissen worden. Der Frage nach den Wandlungen im Verhältnis zwischen Armee und Gesellschaft seit der Spätantike gehen schließlich Wolf Liebeschuetz und Michael Whitby in ihren Beiträgen nach (S. 477–94, 515–31): Beide stellen übereinstimmend fest, daß – wie das Beispiel des Ostens zeigt – die Rückverwandlung des Prinzipats in eine zivile Institution im 5. Jh. nicht unbedingt den Verfall gewachsener Loyalitäten nach sich ziehen mußte.

Ein zweiter Roter Faden verbindet sich mit der noch immer schwelenden Kontroverse, ob es in der römischen Kaiserzeit etwas gab, das mit dem großen Wort 'Grand Strategy' angemessen umschrieben ist. Während das Luttwaksche Paradigma seit vielen Jahren in Fachkreisen meist abgelehnt wird, machen sich zwei Autoren des Companion für seine Rehabilitierung stark: Nüchtern-abwägend James Thorne in seiner mit Gewinn zu lesenden Studie zu 'Battle, Tactics, and the Emergence of the limites in the West' (S. 218–34), in gewohnt polemisch-pointierter Manier dagegen Everett L. Wheeler in seinem 'The Army and the Limes in the East' (S. 235–66) betitelten Aufsatz. Wheeler rechnet auf knapp 30 Seiten wortgewaltig ab mit einer 'anti strategy school' (S. 238), die sich bevorzugt anthropologischer und soziologischer Methoden befleißigt und sich in 'postkolonialistisch'-anti-imperialistischer Attitüde hinter der allen sachlichen Argumenten trotzensen Barrikade politisch korrekten Gutmenschentums verschanzt. Wiewohl Wheeler damit Widerspruch sicher sein dürfte, ist es doch angebracht, sich mit seinem Plädoyer für eine Erneuerung der Strategie-Debatte ohne ideologische Scheuklappen auseinanderzusetzen.

Mit diesen wenigen Beispielen wird man dem von E.s Band abgeschrittenen Panorama nicht annähernd gerecht. Vor allem zu den Praktikalitäten des militärischen Alltags und zum Beziehungsgeflecht zwischen Wirtschaft und Militär enthält das Buch eine Fülle von Wissenswertem. Jeder Leser, selbst der militärhistorisch versierte Fachmann, wird nach seiner Lektüre viel dazugelernt haben.

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M. Sommer

V.R. Erlikh, *Severo-Zapadnyi Kavkaz v nachale zhelezkogo veka: protomeotskaya gruppa pamyatnikov* (North-west Caucasus at the beginning of the Iron Age: The Protomaeotian Group of Monuments), Institute of Archaeology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, State Museum of Oriental Art, Nauka, Moscow 2007, 430 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-5-02-035536-1

For many years various Russo-Soviet archaeologists successfully conducted extensive investigations of Protomaeotian sites. Nobody, however, except for V.R. Erlikh, has yet ventured to undertake a monograph incorporating a complex interpretation of the large body of material representing the Protomaeotian phenomenon that characterised the culture of the people of the Kuban basin at the beginning of the Early Iron Age.

In the Introduction and Chapter 1, E. sets out the aims of the work and the problems to be addressed, gives a history of the study of these problems, and describes the nature of the archaeological evidence: about 500 funeral complexes from 30 burial grounds and also materials from more than ten settlements. He puts forward the working hypothesis of his research, which links the occurrence of the Protomaeotian sites with the migration of the steppe population to the left bank of the River Kuban at the beginning of the 1st millennium BC in the wake of an ecological crisis.

E. points to the two approaches to the interpretation of Maeotian sites: in the first, the Maeotians are a single *ethnos*; in the second, the term is an umbrella, referring to peoples of both Iranian and Caucasian origin. He adheres to the second approach, though he does not emphasise this sufficiently or consistently enough in this monograph. In analysing the problems of the chronology of Maeotian culture, he identifies a transitional period in the Early Iron Age and gives his own periodisation, in which a Protomaeotian period is dated from the end of the 9th/8th to the middle of the 7th century BC.

Chapter 2, on the mastering of iron and the transition to the Early Iron Age in the Mediterranean and the Circumpontic area, is the cornerstone of the book. E.'s most important conclusion, of significant scholarly value, is that transition to the Iron Age in the northern Caucasus occurred under the influence of two traditions of ferrous metal processing: East European and Transcaucasian.

The sites of the end of the Bronze Age in the north-western Caucasus are considered in Chapter 3. E. is right in identifying the occurrence of Protomaeotian burial grounds as an innovation of the period of transition to the Early Iron Age. Indeed, the continuity of historical and cultural processes in central and north-eastern Ciscaucasia is noticeable at this time. In the region under investigation, E. observes a 'step change', even an 'explosion', connected with the appearance of the Protomaeotian phenomenon, which is a challenge to scholars in identifying the genesis of local sites of the Early Iron Age, especially in defining their lower boundary.

Chapter 4 is devoted to a review of Protomaeotian funerary and domestic features. E. rejects the term 'Protomaeotian culture' and offers the notion of a 'Protomaeotian group' of sites. He subdivides the Protomaeotian group into variants on the basis of a careful analysis of funeral rites and of all other elements of material culture. A scrupulous analysis is given in the following chapter of Protomaeotian funeral traditions.

A short Chapter 6 considers the domestic and cult monuments belonging to the Protomaeotian period. The chapter contains material of undoubted interest, especially regarding the study of prototypes of Protomaeotian sanctuaries. Chapter 7, on the material culture of Protomaeotian sites, arouses our greatest interest. It is central to the monograph. The chapter is notable for its fundamental character and broad and systemic analysis. E. presents various aspects of local material culture of the Early Iron Age (pottery, bronze vessels, weaponry, tools, etc.). Chemical analysis of bronze from the north-western Caucasus is the subject of Chapter 8. Data from spectral analysis enable E. to trace links between the Protomaeotian group and the Colchian and Koban cultures, which are characterised by more developed non-ferrous metallurgy.

Chapter 9, which considers problems of the relative and absolute chronology of Protomaeotian sites, is very important. Despite some major divergences, in many respects the chronological scheme put forward by E. does not contradict my own chronology of North

Caucasian sites of the Pre-Scythian period.<sup>1</sup> The study conducted by E. once again proves an inconsistency in the revision of some important chronology of the Pre-Scythian and Early Scythian period made by A. Ivanchik.<sup>2</sup> E. gives a clear picture of external links within the Protomaeotian group of sites in Chapter 10, showing the impossibility of merging the Protomaeotian and Early Maeotian phases and, finally, seeking to differentiate the concepts 'Maeotian archaeological culture' and 'Early Scythian culture'. He replaces the second with the term 'Early Scythian cultural complex'.

In the Conclusion, E. summarises his study and points out that these complex cultural-historical and other processes in the north-western Caucasus at the beginning of Early Iron Age reflect the migration of an agricultural-cum-cattle-breeding population from the steppes. According to S.V. Makhortikh's recent investigation,<sup>3</sup> this migration served as the powerful factor in cultural developments on the northern Black Sea coast and in the northern Caucasus.

Here, the author has presented a large-scale, basically objective, historically reliable picture of the formation of the Protomaeotian community: fundamental and original research, which makes a significant contribution to the study of the problems of the archaeology and ancient history of the north-west Caucasus in the Early Iron Age.

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S.L. Dudarev

K. Ferla (ed.), *Priene*, 2nd edition, Hellenic Studies 5, Foundation of the Hellenic World, Athens/Center for Hellenic Studies, Harvard University, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA/London 2005, 231 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 0-674-01272-0

This book contains a compilation and summary of archaeological information on the Classical city of Priene, located on the west coast of Turkey. Drawing evidence from excavations carried out by the German Archaeological Institute in the late 19th century, as well as more recent field work, the city's main buildings are discussed and reconstructed using current architectural interpretation and computer graphics. The book opens with a series of short essays on Priene's history, before the city's principal monuments are each presented with a description of their location and discussion of architecture, illustrated with plans, side elevations, photographs and drawings. The final chapter contains a discussion of pottery and sculpture and the book concludes with a bibliography of writings on Priene.

Perched on the side of a steep bluff (Mount Mycale), Priene overlooks the Maeander valley, and was once near the shoreline, but now stands several kilometres inland. Compared with its powerful Ionian neighbours, the port cities of Miletus and Ephesus, Priene was a small place with limited influence; it is said that Alexander's offer to sponsor a temple

<sup>1</sup> S.L. Dudarev, *Vzaimootnosheniya plemen Severnogo Kavkaza s kochevniki Yugo-Vostochnoi Evropy v predskifskuyu epokhu* (Armavir 1999).

<sup>2</sup> A.I. Ivanchik, *Kimmeriitsy i skify. Kul'turno-istoricheskie i khronologicheskie problemy arkhologii vostochnoevropaiskikh stepei i Kavkaza pred – i ranneskifskogo vremeni* (Moscow 2001).

<sup>3</sup> S.V. Makhortikh, *Kul'tura ta istoriya kimmeriitsiv Pivnichnogo Prichornomor'ya* (avtoferat doktorskoi disertatsii) (Kiev 2008).

was turned down by Ephesus but accepted by Priene. However, the city could boast considerable antiquity and had all the architectural components of the Classical *polis*. The Roman author Vitruvius even compared its temple of Athena Polias favourably with the Parthenon at Athens. Despite the city's fine state of preservation, its compactness and the fact that it has been altered little since its original construction, Priene has not captured the popular or scholarly imagination in the way that comparably intact ancient cities have. This book attempts to redress that situation by presenting information on the city in an accessible format.

Priene was constructed in the Late Classical period, however the city existed at a different location long before the 4th century BC. Written evidence for the early history of Priene is patchy: it was probably founded as a colony of Thebes, and in the 6th century was a member of the Panionion. It was involved in the 7th-century conflicts between the Lydians, Cimmerians and Hellenes, and Priene's inhabitants were enslaved under the Lydians and Persians, who defeated the Ionians at the naval battle of Lade in 494 BC. Little is known about Priene during and after the Persian Wars until, in the middle of the 4th century, the city was re-founded and its location transferred, apparently from a hitherto unidentified site on a peninsula called Naulochus. It was under Alexander, who is credited with founding new Priene, and to whom the temple was dedicated in 323 BC, that the city we know today was built.

Priene is planned according to the Hippodamian system, and appears to have been built mainly in a single phase, with the Temple of Athena integrated into the network of building plots. Vitruvius credited the sculptor and architect Pythius with designing the temple; however, this was just one element in the city's overall layout. This seems to have followed a Classical model, including its proportions and the regular size of housing plots. The central architectural unit is the Agora, which includes a long Stoa, at one end of which is the Ekklesiasterion and Prytaneion, and with the Temple of Asclepius to the south. Another major element of the city is its well-preserved theatre.

This monograph is a useful site guide and synthesis of disparate scholarly sources. Its oblong, landscape format, presumably to accommodate the architectural drawings, is a little cumbersome, but the elevations and reconstructions of buildings are impressive. As for the contents, there is enough detail to make it a useful point of reference for academic purposes but also accessible for the non-specialist. The main emphasis is on architecture, on which there is plenty of interesting detail; however, there could perhaps have been more in-depth comparative and theoretical discussion. Despite its unusual format, lavish illustrations and glossy production values, this site guide is not simply a coffee-table book, and the plans, side elevations and reconstructions will be particularly useful for students of Classical–Hellenistic architecture.

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William Anderson

I.L. Finkel and M.J. Seymour (eds.), *Babylon: Myth and Reality*, The British Museum Press, London 2008, 238 pp., 217 figs. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-7141-1170-4

Between March 2008 and March 2009 three iterations of a major exhibition on Babylon were presented at the Louvre, the Pergamon Museum and the British Museum. In addition,

three very different catalogues were published. I had the pleasure of seeing the Berlin exhibition, and I own the Paris catalogue. I was unable to see the Paris and London exhibitions, but judging by the London catalogue, and by remarks made at the Berlin opening by Neil MacGregor, Director of the British Museum, and Hermann Parzinger, President of the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, London's approach to Babylon was much more selective, in the presentation of both the ancient and the modern realia of Babylon, and in its spatial configuration as an exhibition.

The catalogue is such a staple of modern life that it hardly needs any justification, and yet when one compares, for example, the French, German and English versions of the Babylon catalogue, it is immediately obvious that there are many ways to approach the genre. As this is not a review of an exhibition, but a book, let me say straight away that the scholarly contributions to each of the Babylon museum catalogues, whether French, German or English, leave absolutely nothing to be desired. As one would expect, the world's leading cuneiform scholars, with a sprinkling of archaeologists, have contributed to each. The London catalogue, however, while in no way lacking in authority, is certainly aimed more at the layman than the specialist, whereas the Paris and Berlin catalogues, at least the parts dealing with the ancient material, are aimed squarely at an academic reader. Almost exactly twice as long as the British Museum volume, the Paris volume is replete with essays on specialist, archaeological and Assyriological topics, not covered in the London tome. Moreover, the authorship of the Paris volume is international, whereas that of the London one is decidedly British (with the exception of a section on 'Koldewey's Babylon' by the Berlin Sumerologist Joachim Marzahn). There were undoubtedly financial considerations at play, but certainly, for scholars (and these constitute, one assumes, the bulk of the readership of *AWE*), the Paris volume, and its 648-page big brother, *Babylon, Band I. 'Wahrheit'*, well and truly trump the London one.

Having said that, *Babylon. Myth and Reality* includes contributions by a number of outstanding English ancient Near Eastern scholars, including J. Curtis, I.L. Finkel, A. George, J.E. Reade and J. Taylor. Almost the entirety of the book's modern content – those chapters and entries that examine Babylon's reflection in later European artistic tradition – are by M.J. Seymour.

The conception of the exhibition, focusing on the myth of Babylon in European consciousness (and to a lesser extent in the Bible, and via the Bible, in European art and literature) as well as the reality of the city as revealed by archaeological excavations and Assyriological studies, was certainly provocative, but it also made for an extraordinarily broad brief. The telling of the story of Babylon – from Hammurabi to the modern cinema – required an amazing array of specialists and covered an enormous amount of ground (quite literally, in the Berlin case, but *ca.* 66% less floor space in London). What to make of the catalogue, then? As I indicated above, readers who are ancient Near Eastern specialists will find much more on offer in the Paris and Berlin volumes, notwithstanding the quality of the ancient contributions in the London volume. But the stories of Daniel, or of Babylon in Western art, cinema and music are told with far greater economy in the British Museum catalogue than in the massive two volumes produced by the Pergamon Museum. For the modern museum-goer, the British Museum catalogue probably strikes a better balance. Assyriologists and archaeologists may prefer the Parisian and Berlin models, but these can scarcely be digested by the average visitor to an exhibition. The volumes are inevitably selective, but the London volume efficiently pushes all the necessary buttons when it comes to a clear elucidation of topics such

as the history of excavations in Babylon, the 'tower of Babel', the Hanging Gardens, Babylon and the Jewish Exile, Nebuchadnezzar in myth and reality, and why Babylonian culture is important at all to 21st-century world citizens. More cannot be asked of a museum catalogue.

University of Sydney

D.T. Potts

T. Fischer-Hansen and B. Poulsen (eds.), *From Artemis to Diana: The Goddess of Man and Beast*, Acta Hyperborea 12, Danish Studies in Classical Archaeology, Museum Tusculanum Press, Copenhagen 2009, 585 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-87-635-0788-2 / ISSN 0904-2067

The volume presents papers delivered at a conference in Copenhagen in March 2005. The subject is a good one since the goddess is most important in terms other than those of her popular mythology and iconography as a virgin huntress.

Bronze Age (M.L. Nosch) and Near Eastern (R. Hjerrild) associations are explored, as well as, predictably, Homer (M.S. Jensen) and the special place of Athens (J. Mejer). Her complexity is the result of her antiquity and non-Greek associations. This is clear from the most important studies, devoted to a reassessment of her cults as revealed by archaeology rather than or as much as text: at Brauron (I. Nielsen, B. Lundgreen) and as Artemis Orthia at Sparta (D.Z.K. Falb, S.D. Bouvrie). Other authors pursue her through the West, Cyprus and the Black Sea. The later period is covered by consideration of her role at Nemi (M. Moltesen) and Gerasa (R. Raja), and more conventionally as huntress. The possibilities are limitless. I had wondered about the sickles at Sparta being strigils (*JHS* 91 [1971], 136–37), but the versatility of such a basic, even primaeva goddess, is limitless. The volume is well illustrated, and, unusually for such collections, well indexed.

Woodstock, UK

John Boardman

H.I. Flower, *The Art of Forgetting. Disgrace and Oblivion in Roman Political Culture*, Studies in the History of Greece and Rome, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill 2006, xxiv+400 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 10: 0-8078-3063-1 / ISBN 13: 978-0-8078-3063-5

Über Erinnerung und Gedächtnis und ihren Ort in der Politik ist in jüngerer Zeit – auch und gerade mit Blick auf die Antike – viel geschrieben worden.<sup>1</sup> Die dunkle Seite des Erinnerns ist das Vergessen, und so war das bewußte Verdrängen von Menschen und ihren Taten aus dem Gedächtnis im alten Rom ein Politikum ersten Ranges. Senatoren und Kaiser fielen ihm in so dichter Folge anheim, daß schon die schiere Masse historischer

<sup>1</sup> J. Assmann und J. Czaplika 'Collective memory and cultural identity'. *New German Critique* 65, *Cultural History / Cultural Studies* (1995), 125–33; J. Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*, 2. Auflage (München 1997); H.-J. Gehrke und A. Möller (Hg.), *Vergangenheit und Lebenswelt. Soziale Kommunikation, Traditionsbildung und historisches Bewusstsein* (Tübingen 1996); U. Walter, 'Memoria' und 'res publica': *Zur Geschichtskultur im republikanischen Rom* (Frankfurt 2004).



Belegstellen das Thema zu einem lohnenden Forschungsgebiet macht. Harriet Flower, einschlägig ausgewiesen als Kennerin der republikanisch-aristokratischen Erinnerungskultur, hat sich der Materie jetzt auf breiter Basis angenommen und das – soviel sei vorausgeschickt – mit profunder Quellenkenntnis und viel Gespür dafür, was man Lesern zumuten kann.

Sie beginnt ihre Reise durch die Welt des Vergessens mit einem modernen Beispiel: dem ‘Verschwinden’ des 1950 in Ungnade gefallenem tschechoslowakischen Außenministers Vladimír Clementis von einem Foto, das ihn mit dem Präsidenten Klement Gottwald in trauter Eintracht zeigte. So wie von Clementis nur sein Hut sichtbar blieb, bewahrten im antiken Schreibmaterial für die Ewigkeit, im Stein, allein die getilgten Stellen das Andenken an einen zum Vergessenwerden Verurteilten.

Die Forschung hat für derartigen Vorgänge im römischen Kaiserreich den Begriff der *damnatio memoriae* geprägt, der suggeriert, daß es eine standardisierte Prozedur gab, mit der die Erinnerung an Individuen ausgelöscht wurde. Daß dem nicht so war, daß den politisch Verantwortlichen in Rom vielmehr ein ganzes Arsenal an unterschiedlichen ‘memory sanctions’ zu Gebote stand, ist die Grundthese von F.s Buch. Um sie zu untermauern, holt sie weit aus und beginnt mit der Frage, ob bereits die Griechen das offizielle Erinnern manipulierten – eine Frage, die sie mit einem qualifizierten Ja beantwortet (Kapitel II). In den hellenistischen Monarchien war gewissermaßen die Karriere schon angelegt, die dem Vergessen auf Befehl später in Rom beschieden sein sollte.

Sodann wendet sich F. den entsprechenden Instrumentarien der klassischen Römischen Republik zu (Kapitel III), die mit den Gracchen – sowie dem Nachspiel zu ihrem Wirken – (Kapitel IV) und dann wieder in der Spätphase der Republik seit Sulla (Kapitel V) erst im Kontext einer auf die Gefolgschaft breiter Massen hin ausgerichteten Politik wirksam wurden. Gaius Gracchus und Caesar – die beide von ihren Anhängern vergöttlicht und von ihren Gegnern dem Vergessen anheimgegeben wurden – markieren gleichsam das gesamte Spektrum der Möglichkeiten.

Die Entscheidung über Divinisierung versus Tilgung des Gedächtnisses stand dann regelmäßig nach dem Tod römischer Kaiser an. Sie präsentierte sich keineswegs immer als geradlinige Alternative, wie ganz zum Schluß des Beispiel Hadrians deutlich macht, dessen Andenken nur der tatkräftige Einsatz seines Nachfolgers Antoninus Pius vor der Verdammung bewahren konnte. Die Formen, die das Austilgen der Erinnerung bei einem Kaiser annehmen konnte, diskutiert F. ausführlich am Fall Nero (Kapitel VIII). Gerade dieses Beispiel illustriert sinnfällig, wie komplex, unvollständig und in sich widersprüchlich die Muster sein konnten, nach denen ‘memory sanctions’ erfolgten. Vielfältig gebrochen durch das Chaos des Vierkaiserjahres 69 und die dadurch in der römischen Aristokratie ausgelösten Verwerfungen, setzte sich die *hostis*-Erklärung des Senats keinesfalls überall ‘top to bottom’ durch. In der Sphäre privater Inschriften blieb Neros Name fast überall unversehrt erhalten, was nicht weiter verwunderlich ist. Aber selbst im offiziellen Rahmen war die Tilgung selektiv und erratisch, ohne daß klare Muster erkennbar wären. Von der ehernen Wucht dessen, was gemeinhin als *damnatio memoriae* verstanden wird, sind wir hier meilenweit entfernt.

Im direkten Vergleich erweckt der Umgang mit Domitians Andenken nach 96 den Eindruck eines routinierteren Zusammenspiels der Institutionen (Kapitel IX). Nicht nur waren durch die Präzedenzfälle Caligula und Nero bereits Modelle geschaffen – vor allem waren viele Senatoren selbst so tief in sein Herrschaftssystem verstrickt gewesen, daß sie

jetzt von raschem, gleichsam offiziell sanktioniertem Vergessen die Tilgung ihres eigenen Sündenregisters erwarteten.

Betroffen von der Tilgung des eigenen Namens waren aber mitnichten nur Kaiser. Auch all jene, die im Prinzipat mißliebig wurden, vor allem, wenn sie mit Verschwörungen gegen die Person des Kaisers in Verbindung standen, starben oft einen zweimaligen Tod: durch den Henker und durch die Senatsorder, die ihr Andenken aus der Öffentlichkeit verbannte. Aber auch hier ergibt sich kein einheitliches Bild: Wie F. am Beispiel Agrippinas deutlich macht, konnte die Halbherzigkeit der 'memory sanctions' durchaus die Halbherzigkeit reflektieren, mit der der kaiserzliche Mörder zu Werke gegangen war (Kapitel VII).

All dies entfaltet F. schlüssig und mit minutiösem Blick für die Wichtigkeit von Details. Freilich kommt hierbei der Blick für das große Ganz bisweilen etwas zu kurz. Die Bedeutung der von ihr so plastisch herausgearbeiteten 'memory sanctions' steht und fällt mit dem Bild, das wir uns vom Prinzipat als dem System machen, in dem Attacken auf das Andenken von Menschen zum politischen Tagesgeschäft gehörten. An diesem Punkt gebricht es F. aber an einem geeigneten begrifflichen und analytischen Instrumentarium. Ihre Zuflucht zu Stereotypen wie 'imperial propaganda', dem hypostasierten 'dynastic principle' und der bewußten, vom ersten Princeps veranlaßten Konstruktion von Erinnerung 'in every public sphere of Roman life' (S. 131) wirkt hilflos angesichts der konzeptionellen Herausforderung, die Komplexität des Prinzipats intellektuell auf eine Formel zu bringen. Nicht zuletzt deshalb schießt F. mit ihrer These, die 'Kunst des Vergessens' habe ein kapriziöses Eigenleben im politischen System des römischen Kaiserreichs geführt, womöglich über das Ziel hinaus. Fällen wie dem Hadrians, der am Ende doch noch in den Genuß der eigenen, postumen Vergöttlichung kam, dürften nicht die Eskapaden römischer Erinnerungskultur zugrundegelegt haben, sondern die schlicht-realhistorische Tatsache, daß der von ihm bestimmte Nachfolger die Nachfolge auch antreten konnte.

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M. George (ed.), *The Roman Family in the Empire: Rome, Italy, and Beyond*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2005, xx+358 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 10: 0-19-926841-X / ISBN 13: 978-0-19-926841-2

This book represents work by a number of significant scholars of Roman social and legal history, as well as specialists on several Roman provinces. Its subtitle is therefore particularly apt, as six of the ten chapters deal with manifestations of the family in non-Italian regions of the empire. Here the book responds to critics of many studies of Roman social life, which concentrate on the centre or implicitly homogenise the experience of the family throughout the Roman empire.<sup>1</sup> One of the strengths of this collection is that it not only points out the difference which must have occurred in family life according to period and region, but that it also follows this up with detailed studies on areas as diverse as Spain and Judaea.

There is a vast body of scholarship on the Roman family, ranging from attempts to define its legal standing (a notoriously difficult task) to studies of the bonds which existed

<sup>1</sup> For example K. Bradley, 'Fictive Families: Family and Household in the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius'. *Phoenix* 54.3/4 (2000), 283–86.

within it, concentrating on individual members of that group,<sup>2</sup> but as this work shows, there is still plenty of room for further analysis. Instead of taking the global or the narrowly focused approach, this book shows how studying such a central social institution can also lend insights into important aspects of identity and ethnic makeup: variations in the regions explored here show the degree of engagement with the 'Roman' part of the Roman family, and, in turn, help to define what the 'family' could represent to its members in Italy. So, for example, one of the central issues of family studies in ancient Rome – the existence and nature of the 'nuclear' family<sup>3</sup> – is thrown into relief by commemorations to the extended family in areas of Lusitania in Jonathan Edmonson's study. And this study further cautions against generalisation as wide as even a province: in Lusitania it is only among the Igaeditani that this difference is extensively found, and here it seems that commemoration by women is also more prominent, and that indigenous family structures were more resilient, while the remainder of the province mirrors more closely Roman norms. Several of these chapters provide interesting case studies (Richard Alston on endogamy in Egypt, Margaret Williams on the maintenance of customary family tradition in Judaea, Mireille Corbier on their gradual erosion in Africa), but Mary Boatwright's analysis of tombstones depicting children and parents in Pannonia is a stand-out example of how a small group of images and inscriptions, carefully contextualised, can provide a viable set of claims on self-presentation, family structure and ethnic identity: interaction with children features heavily, in contrast with Roman tombstones, and this applies across ethnic designations (including Roman), implying that cultural values were a two-way system.

The first four chapters are issue-based and demonstrate a variety of approaches from the literary to the technical and the artistic: so there is close textual analysis of Cicero's speeches in Susan Treggiari's chapter, alongside the study of material evidence in Michele George's, along with the mainly medical texts dealt with by Keith Bradley on children's health, and the law codes (particularly Justinian's *Code*) demonstrating family disputes in Judith Evans Grubbs's chapter. Of these, Treggiari's work stands out as the only piece heavily reliant on literary evidence, and therefore the most concerned with elite conceptions of family and emotional ties. Her concentration on the law-court speeches means that this chapter does as much to reveal the affective value of evoking the family as it does to show how familial bonds might have operated: 'Constant play is made with family affection in appeals to jurors in speeches for the defence. The roll-call of family members...can be exploited in this way' (p. 13). Thus Treggiari deals most directly with the elite ideal of the Late Republic – in effect the public face of the family in Rome – showing the significance of obligation and duty in parent-child relationships in particular. This contrasts with all the other pieces here, which utilise more overtly 'practical' texts, yet in some cases come to similar conclusions: Bradley's chapter points strongly to distinct concerns about the illnesses of children, and a strong appreciation of their vulnerability, as well as desperate recourse to a variety of overlapping remedies, including prayer, spells and amulets, as well as medicines. And while George deals with private, tombstone imagery, largely belonging to the freedmen, rather than elite iconography, she does identify the social and political aspirations of the freed

<sup>2</sup> S. Dixon, *The Roman Mother* (Norman, OK 1988); J.P. Hallett, *Fathers and Daughters in Roman Society: Women and the Elite Family* (Princeton 1984).

<sup>3</sup> Notably R.P. Saller, 'Familia, domus, and the Roman Conception of the Family'. *Classical Philology* 82 (1984), 20–35.

class, who depict their togate families in conservative Roman fashion, at least before the mid-1st century AD, when a new confidence seems to emerge. George interprets this change as one which brings new meaning to Roman-ness – not a fixed identity, but a process in which freedmen are now actively engaged.

Of course, there are gaps, as the editor herself acknowledges. Most of the Greek world is missing here – although it could be argued that the situation in Roman Greece is so layered as to demand a study of its own. And the sparse evidence will always mean that analysis is skewed (usually towards epigraphy) and limited, as commented by Greg Woolf, who discusses the effect a lack of such evidence has on his study of the Roman North-West. He also warns that not all cultural change equals Romanisation: indigenous peoples were also open to change before and alongside the arrival of Rome. But this in itself hints towards what is most valuable about this collection: the study of small-scale groups and their nuanced configurations of the family.

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Rhiannon Evans

M. Gleba and H. Becker (eds.), *Votives, Places and Rituals in Etruscan Religion. Studies in Honor of Jean MacIntosh Turfa*, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 166, Brill, Leiden/Boston 2009, xlv+291 pp., 53 figs. Cased. ISBN 978-90-04-17045-2 / ISSN 0927-7633.

Publication of the 14 papers in this rich, richly deserved and appropriately thematic *Festschrift* coincides not only with the current interest in cult and ritual throughout the classical world but also with an extraordinary resurgence in the constructive international attention paid to all aspects of Etruscan religion.<sup>1</sup> In the latter connection, the work under review is not simply ‘more of the same’; it rather opens up several promising new fields of enquiry. Following an impressive *Tabula gratulatoria*, an affectionate and well-informed appreciation of the honorand, a useful bibliography of her writings (not least her many prompt and perceptive reactions in *BMCR* to mainstream Italian items since 1991) and an efficient introduction to what follows, three authors treat specific categories of votive material (pp. 15–84), five report on relevant places (some of them still being excavated; pp. 87–155) and six discuss ritual activities (pp. 159–248). All the contributions break new ground to a greater or lesser extent: there is nothing here to validate the world-weary reference to ‘the drawer which we all keep against such contingencies’ made by the reviewer of the studies offered long ago to another illustrious *Etruscologa*.<sup>2</sup>

The immensely varied nature of the evidence for Etruscan religious belief and ritual practice is well illustrated by the substantial papers in the first section: J. Gran-Aymerich reviews the wide range of Etruscan material, notably from Caere, Tarquinia and Vulci, encountered all over the western Mediterranean and western Europe in circumstances that indicate *une utilisation non fonctionnelle* between the 8th and 4th centuries; D. Briquel reviews the onomastic and wider significance of 20 legible names (clearly emanating from

<sup>1</sup> See the four books on Etruscan myth and religion that I reviewed on an earlier occasion in these pages, *AWE* 7 (2008), 334–38. Note too that the five volumes of the *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum* (Los Angeles 2004–06) are well supplied with Etruscan material.

<sup>2</sup> J.B. Ward Perkins, reviewing *Studi in onore di Luisa Banti* (Rome 1965). *AJA* 71 (1967), 111.

various parts of Etruria) mentioned in the votive inscriptions from the Portonaccio temple at Veii; and Gleba offers the first survey of textile-making equipment in sanctuary workshops and votive and foundation deposits all over Italy between the Early Iron Age and the 1st century BC.<sup>3</sup> The second section begins with Becker's examination of the economic agency of the Etruscan temple, where ritual behaviour offered opportunities both for the display of wealth and status and for the redistribution of their indicators; I. Edlund-Berry searches for Etruscan parallels for the steps involved in creating a Roman temple – like her, I wonder if Tarquinius Priscus was thinking as an Etruscan general or a Roman king when he vowed the Capitoline temple in return for success against the Sabines (Livy 1. 38. 7); P.G. Warden adds much of interest to previous discussions of the rich evidence for votive religion at the Etruscan rural sanctuary (7th–2nd centuries BC) that he and his American colleagues have been excavating since 1995 at Poggio Colla, in the Mugello valley near Florence; S. Steingraber finds good reasons to align the hitherto largely unpublished Late Orientalising Cima tumulus at San Giuliano (in the South Etruscan rock-cut tomb area) with architectural monuments in Etruscan cemeteries that were used for an ancestor cult; and other Etruscan Orientalising and Archaic funerary contexts are examined by I. van Kampen, with particular reference to the limited number of precisely known find contexts of their associated stone sculptures<sup>4</sup> – a welcome foretaste of what we will (soon, I hope) be learning about the religious interpretation of space from the forthcoming publication of her 2002 doctoral dissertation. And so to ritual, the subject of the third section: G. Bartoloni examines the evidence for early (8th–early 7th centuries) ritual drinking that has emerged from her excavation at Populonia, where a deposit of around 100 cups appears to be related to the abandonment of an important building ('the king's house'); N.T. de Grummond probes the nature of the beliefs that may have caused mirrors to be 'cancelled', or mutilated (by writing, folding, gouging and hammering) – an activity akin to the 'killing' of weapons prior to funerary deposition; L. Bonfante reconstructs a number of items of Etruscan male and female priestly dress, and notes the transmission of some elements into similar Roman contexts (including those of the Salii and the Vestal Virgins); F. Glinister questions, to good effect, the assumption<sup>5</sup> that the presence of veiled-head votives in Hellenistic Italy indicates Roman influence, often exercised in the context of Roman colonisation; L.B. van der Meer discusses the enigmatic underworld god Lur, featured in the *Liber linteus zagrabiensis*; and M.J. Becker ends the proceedings with a set of remarkable insights, derived from cremated bone, into the funerary practices that characterised low-status burials during the cultural transformation of Tarquinia in the 5th–4th centuries BC.

I have learnt a lot from the archaeological, textual, epigraphic and iconographic evidence examined in this book; and I confidently predict that others will, too. It goes without

<sup>3</sup> On the wider issues raised by this kind of evidence, see M. Gleba, *Textile Production in pre-Roman Italy* (Oxford 2008); A.M. Bietti Sestieri, 'Domi mansit, lanam fecit. Was that all? Women's social status and roles in the early Latial communities (11th–9th centuries BC)'. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 21 (2008), 133–59.

<sup>4</sup> There is more to say regarding the Tomba delle Statue at Ceri: F.R. Serra Ridgway, 'Oriental(izing) motifs in Etruscan art'. *Opuscula Romana* 27 (2002), 109–22, especially 110–15 (with 111, fig. 1); C. Riva, 'The Orientalizing period in Etruria: sophisticated communities'. In C. Riva and N.C. Vella (eds.), *Debating Orientalization* (London 2006), 110–34, especially 117–18 ('perhaps the most misunderstood funerary context of all').

<sup>5</sup> For example, by P. Pensabene, *Le terrecotte del Museo Nazionale Romano II* (Rome 2001), 75.

saying that the editors deserve our warmest thanks and congratulations, but so too does Jean MacIntosh Turfa: her inspiring research, teaching and generosity of spirit, exercised in many directions over many years, have contributed much to the contents of this thoughtful and thought-provoking collection.

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David Ridgway

A.C. Gunter, *Greek Art and the Orient*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2009, xiv+257pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-521-83257-1

All the major civilisations that 'emerged' in Greece took their inspiration and often population from the east rather than west, south or north. The Classical Greek, following a restart after the Bronze Age, was to prove the most innovative, home-grown, but it depended no little on a heavily Orientalising recent past. This has certainly not been ignored by scholars. Ann Gunter's book is novel in that it focuses on the major source, the neo-Assyrian empire, rather than starting from the effects in Greece itself. This is most valuable. The earliest manifestations and main stream, as it were, came straight from Assyria, across the Amuq plain and down the Orontes valley where visiting Greeks were ready enough to help it on its way, probably from as early as the 9th century BC. The Cypriot and Phoenician contributions, although from within the empire, need to be distinguished, however, since they include a strong native and to a degree already Hellenised element, as also of course the Egyptian and Anatolian, from outside it. 'North Syrian' can perhaps also claim a certain measure of independence from Mesopotamian standards. What does seem clear is that there was no clear expansionist aim from the Eastern powers to affect Greece; a Hellenised Cyprus was far enough away, and even the Phoenicians, who had good reason to want to 'expand', did not set their sights seriously on Greece rather than along the North African coast. The quality of the Greeks' eclecticism remains undiminished and they seem never to have been wholly mesmerised by the East.

The author is an Orientalist with a good grasp of all the Greek evidence. It is refreshing to find a scholar who will cross frontiers in an expert and thoroughgoing rather than superficial manner, and who gives precedence to the evidence not the theory. Gunter assembles the evidence skilfully and completely, and we have also a far better account than usual of what is relevant from Eastern texts. Otherwise all the expected evidence is rehearsed and sources well condensed. One misses perhaps more on early Crete and the very earliest Greek Orientalising goldwork and its sources, while modern attitudes and prejudices more than dispel the Graeco-centricity of 100 years ago. My essay of 2002 on 'Greece and Syria'<sup>1</sup> might have provoked more record and speculation on these lines.

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John Boardman

<sup>1</sup> J. Boardman, 'Greeks and Syria: Pots and People'. In G.R. Tsatskheladze and A.M. Snodgrass (eds.), *Greek Settlements in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea* (Oxford 2002), 1–16.



E. Haerinck and B. Overlaet, *Luristan Excavation Documents Vol. 6: Bani Surmah. An Early Bronze Age Graveyard in Pusht-i Kuh, Luristan*, Belgian Archaeological Mission in Iran: The Excavations in Luristan, Pusht-i Kuh (1965–1979), The Ghent University and the Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels, Joint Expedition directed by L. Vanden Berghe (.), Textes et mémoires XXVIII, Acta Iranica 43, Peeters, Leuven 2006, 182 pp., 34 figs., 88 pls. Cased. ISBN 90-429-1664-8

The sixth published volume of the Luristan Excavation Documents series<sup>1</sup> continues the series on the archaeology of Luristan carried out by the Belgian Archaeological Mission in Iran from 1965 to 1975. Under the direction of Louis Vanden Berghe a number of sites located in the Pusht-i Kuh region of the central Zagros Mountains of western Iran were investigated by survey and excavation, of which this volume represents the final excavation report on the Early Bronze Age cemetery complex of Bani Surmah. The Pusht-i Kuh is linked to the Diyala and other river valleys leading west into northern Mesopotamia, and to settled regions of the Iranian highlands, including the Deh Luran and Susiana plains further south-east, via a network of interconnected mountain valleys. This geographical nexus make the area of relevance to those with an interest in either Mesopotamian or Iranian archaeology.

Vanden Berghe conducted a preliminary investigation of the burials at Bani Surmah at the end of his 1966 excavation season, uncovering evidence for an Early Bronze Age complex, a period which until then had not been documented in the Pusht-i Kuh. He returned to undertake a more thorough excavation the following year. Some degree of disturbance in the tombs through re-use and looting, meant burial assemblages were often incomplete, a shortcoming which meant questions regarding social or hierarchical relationships of its inhabitants could not be answered, a problem clearly acknowledged by the present authors. Much contextual and stratigraphic data had been lost and, given the limitations of time and the continued threat from looting, compromises were made with regard to how much of the site could be properly documented, a problem that confronts many field projects. While not all tombs were fully planned nor all finds documented, this is made up for by the attention paid to the better preserved tomb constructions.

Bani Surmah offers an insight into individual and collective burial practices starting in the early Bronze Age of the Pusht-i Kuh, contemporary with the Djemdet Nasr/Early Dynastic I phases in Mesopotamia. It also provides what little Bronze Age material there is from an area where no settlements of the period have been identified.<sup>2</sup> Information from the site is well organised, starting first with the tombs themselves, their condition and the records available for each of the 37 burials excavated. This section within the main body of text is accompanied by photographs and plans of one of the better preserved tomb structures thus reducing the need to refer back and forth between this section and the plates at

<sup>1</sup> This volume is followed by the latest in the series, published in 2008, which documents the excavation and finds from Kalleh Nissar, a similar cemetery site about 20 km north-west of Bani Surmah, which remained in use into the later Bronze Age, and like Bani Surmah was disturbed though later re-use and looting which continued long after the main periods of use – see next review.

<sup>2</sup> R.C. Henrickson, 'Ceramics VII: The Bronze Age in Northwestern, Western, and Southwestern Persia'. In *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 5 (Costa Mesa, CA 1992), 291.



the back of the volume. All plans made however are included along with sections, elevations and plans showing location of grave-goods, at the rear of the volume.

A section on the grave-goods follows, organised generally by class of material, internally subdivided on the basis of attributes specific to each. Once more figures and data tables were kept within the text reducing the need for cross-referencing with other sections of the book. The most common grave-goods were ceramic vessels, and being a tomb assemblage many were complete. The original field records, however, lacked standardised colour or fabric descriptions, but the authors' great familiarity with Pusht-i Kuh ceramics and the preservation of some Bani Surmah vessels in museum collections in Tehran and Brussels, have helped overcome this problem. The inclusion of colour photographs showing a sample of each pottery type is also useful, and allows those with no chance of consulting the original materials a clearer understanding of different textures, slip and paint colours that make up the collection.

The largest group of wares found in the burials was plain coarse or 'cooking' wares, often not well preserved in domestic assemblages, nor given as much attention as fine or decorated wares. They were dated on the basis of Mesopotamian parallels and their inclusion in the burials represents a 3rd-millennium phenomenon, as similar vessels were not seen in the earlier Chalcolithic tombs of Parchinah and Hakalan (p. 15),<sup>3</sup> nor were they included in later Bronze Age burials. They provide a valuable insight into otherwise unknown domestic ceramic assemblages, as many of the vessels show signs that they were used prior to deposition. Common wares, the next most numerous type, comprised more widely known forms, also with Mesopotamian parallels and included some unusual vessels decorated with small dentate dots and cylindrical pierced lugs, and a unique four-wheeled animal shaped object, again with Mesopotamian parallels in Early Dynastic III or Akkadian contexts (see Figs. 7–8).

Red-slipped and monochrome painted wares were rare (only three examples overall) but polychrome painted wares which closely resemble Hamrin- and Diyala-type Scarlet wares were found in almost all of the burials. The authors note that the Pusht-i Kuh examples belong to a regionally specific group, differentiated from Diyala and Deh Luran types by the absence of certain morphological features and, more importantly, by the actual composition of the clays used in each area. This suggests regional production of these goods, rather than distribution arising out of importation, a point which illustrates the authors' use of more recent research to help interpret the artefacts and their cultural context.

Metal objects were less numerous and unfortunately provide only a very small sample of copper/bronze weapons, tools, small utilitarian items and jewellery, but again all are clearly presented, with parallels, line-drawings and photographs included with the main text. The metal finds are organised by means of functional and morphological criteria making it easy to target a specific group of finds, or systematically work through the assemblage as a whole. This thorough treatment is repeated for the remaining items including beads, lithic materials and cylinder seals. The reasons behind the presence of this last group of artefacts in the cemetery remain unknown but in terms of parallels they too represent close ties with

<sup>3</sup> With reference to Vol. 1 of the same series: E. Haerinck and B. Overlaet, *The Chalcolithic Period: Parchinah and Hakalan* (Brussels 1996).

Mesopotamian types (pp. 51–55). Colour photographs of beads and cylinder seals are also provided, and the seals were available in the respective museum collections permitting more thorough descriptions than the original field notes would have allowed.

Two problems found with the graveyard assemblage were clearly identified by the authors at the outset. As stated, their main aim was to produce a thorough final report of the site in its entirety, including a simplification of the chronology and an interpretation of the site. One of the main hindrances to this was the high incidence of disturbance through re-use and looting resulting in loss of context. The authors have been able to overcome this to some degree by their collected expertise, providing a succinct and thorough summary of each main period of use and an interpretation of Bani Surmah in its regional context. The other obvious problem, again duly acknowledged, was the lack of any skeletal material available that could have provided the most direct evidence for the occupants of the tombs and their social or familial connections. Excavation records noted the presence of some bones within the graves, which occasionally were represented on the plans of individual tombs, but none were retained for further study. Virtually no information regarding the age, sex or overall health of the tomb population could be determined. It can only be hoped that any further tombs uncovered at this or other sites will be able to remedy this situation.

Overall, the volume is significant on a number of levels. As a practical aid to students and researchers alike the clear plans and well-organised treatment of original and revised information provide a useful guide for presenting excavation data. In doing so the authors have clearly succeeded in their aims to bring together all of the available information from previous multi-lingual preliminary reports, catalogues, excavation records and field notes to produce a thorough final report in English. The volume also provides much information for those interested in tomb architecture and associated artefact classes found within, adding much to the very limited evidence for burial practices known from Iranian contexts. In doing so it carries on the high reporting standards developed in previous volumes of the Luristan Excavation Documents.

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Bernadette McCall

E. Haerinck and B. Overlaet, *Luristan Excavation Documents Vol. 7: The Kalleh Nisar Bronze Age Graveyard in Pusht-i Kuh, Luristan*, Acta Iranica 46, Belgian Archaeological Mission in Iran, The Excavations in Luristan, Pusht-i Kuh (1965–1979), The Ghent University and the Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels, Joint Expedition Directed by Louis Vanden Berghe (†), Peeters, Leuven 2008, 223 pp., 36 figs., 84 black-and-white pls., 34 colour pls. Cased. ISBN 978-90-429-1995-2

Edited by Ernie Haerinck, the Luristan Excavation Documents series continues to present to the scholarly world the important results achieved by the Belgian Archaeological Mission in Iran between 1965 and 1979. The present volume, co-authored by H. and his long-term collaborator Bruno Overlaet, focuses on the Bronze Age cemetery at Kalleh Nisar in the Ilam district, excavated during the course of two campaigns in 1967 and 1968. Both individual and collective tombs were encountered and although some had been looted, the Belgian Mission was rewarded with a considerable quantity of important material.

This volume is particularly significant for the material it presents from the late Jamdat Nasr to the Akkadian period, a time in which written sources relating to Susa and the Zagros are sparse and interesting developments are documented in the East Tigridian corridor, for example in the Diyala and Jabal Hamrin regions. Even a cursory look at the Kalleh Nisar finds confirms that clear connections in glyptic, ceramics and metal weaponry clearly link the Pusht-i Kuh with both the East Tigridian area and with Deh Luran and Susiana. The first half of the 3rd millennium BC, therefore, emerges as an exciting era, notwithstanding the mystery surrounding the evaporation of the Proto-Elamite phenomenon around 3000/2900 BC. Much would change with the ascendancy of Sargon of Akkad, but we are faced with a good 700 years in which Kalleh Nisar helps provide some detail about life and cultural interactions in the western Zagros. In addition, a lesser amount of material dates to the late 3rd and early 2nd millennium BC, which is also of great interest.

As with all of the Luristan volumes published by H. and his colleagues, this one is lavishly illustrated with both line-drawings and photographs of the highest standard, including 34 colour plates. Scholars with an interest in Scarlet ware; the typology of daggers, socketed spearheads and shaft-hole axes; metal vessels; pins; beads; and cylinder seals, will welcome the addition of so much well-documented, excavated material. The metal finds can now be studied alongside the contemporary Mesopotamian corpus which has become so much easier of access thanks to the 2004 publication of Hauptmann and Pernicka.<sup>1</sup> Although only two copper-bronze vessels were recorded, one of these is a sheet metal tankard (Pl. XXV.C4–43) which, though shorter and less concave, reminds one of a piece acquired by the British Museum in 1966 that bears a hybrid Sumerian/Akkadian inscription identifying the vessel as a bronze *gunagi* given to the Susian ruler Atta-Hušu by the scribe Ibni-Adad.<sup>2</sup> The presence of a typically Mesopotamian ‘frog stone’ (Pl. XXVIII.D2–40) is also interesting. Twenty-five years ago the term for ‘frog stone’ appeared in a cuneiform inventory of ‘jewels and precious possessions of Adad of Me-Turan’ during the Iraqi excavations at Tell Haddad in the nearby Hamrin basin.<sup>3</sup>

One of the great features of this volume is the fact that the finds are presented both typologically and as assemblages, grave by grave, so that one can see what finds were associated with each other. The plans detailing the position of individual finds within a specific grave (for example Pls. 13–16) are particularly useful.

It remains only to thank the authors once more for producing such an outstanding volume. All students of Iranian archaeology, and many of Mesopotamian archaeology, owe them a sincere vote of thanks for bringing this important material out in such a professional fashion.

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D.T. Potts

<sup>1</sup> H. Hauptmann and E. Pernicka (eds.), *Die Metallindustrie Mesopotamiens von den Anfängen bis zum 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Rahden 2004).

<sup>2</sup> E. Sollberger, ‘A tankard for Atta-Hušu’. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 22 (1968), 30–33.

<sup>3</sup> F.N.H. Al-Rawi and J.A. Black, ‘The jewels of Adad’. *Sumer* 39 (1983), 137–43.

G. Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376–568*, Cambridge Medieval Textbooks, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007, xviii+594 pp., 28 maps. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-521-43543-7

Guy Halsall ranks among the most prolific early mediaevalists of our time, with a penchant for, as well as deep understanding of archaeology. It all began, more than ten years ago, with the publication of *Settlement and Social Organization: The Merovingian Region of Metz* (Cambridge 1995). His latest book, part of a longstanding Cambridge University Press series of 'introductions to important topics in medieval history', provides readers with an especially well-developed set of timely perspectives on the circumstances of the Roman West from the Gothic crisis (AD 376) to the Lombard invasion of Italy (AD 568).

In a series of 15 chapters the author guides readers through a succession of skilfully constructed explorations, with the middle section ('A world renegotiated: Western Europe, 376–550') organised in chronological progression. H. stakes his claim by noting that if pressure increased on the 3rd- and early 4th-century frontiers of the empire, then that was not a novel development, but the result of the symbiosis between empire and barbarians. The 4th-century developments in the West created a vacuum of power allowing the 'rulers on the frontiers' (p. 411) to move into fringes of the Roman territory. What H. regards, most aptly, as 'vital changes' (p. 497) entails transformations having to do with categories of sex and ethnic identity that would have defied description – and even less explanation – if used to describe the process as one of Fall (of the Roman empire) and Rise (of the barbarians).

A hallmark of H.'s scholarship is his renown as an historian capable of understanding and using the archaeological evidence. There can be no doubt that his latest book is no exception. H. delves into a succession of historical issues either ignored or completely misunderstood by his peers. Chapter 2, 'Defining identities', provides one example. One of the topics that H. plumbs in this chapter is ethnicity. He is not the first historian to assay ethnicity, but it remains rather uncommon to see that topic so effectively integrated in considerable detail (as in the discussion of ethnogenesis and ethnic change) within a broader synthesis. Readers will find refreshing H.'s emphasis on the performative nature of ethnic identities, away from both radically agnostic and extremely instrumentalist approaches to ethnicity. Chapter 12, 'Beyond the old frontier', explores the transformations spurred in considerable part by the dramatic changes taking place within the empire during the late 3rd and 4th centuries. This chapter too studies the topic in depth. H.'s inclusion of Ireland, Scandinavia and the Elbe region (the latter in connection with the 'ethnogenesis' of the Thuringians) is a case in point: the creation of the Thuringian kingdom and the emergence of the Bavarians are explained as by-products of the turmoil that the crisis in the empire had produced 'in the middle band of barbarian territories' (p. 399). H. arrives at such a conclusion by means of a nuanced interpretation of the archaeological data, primarily from cemeteries.

There are some lapses in this book worth identifying. The geography of the 'West' surely merited some elaboration. This reader cannot decide where H.'s East ends and his West begins. On the other hand, the Lombards are given special attention in Chapter 12, but only for the pre-Pannonian phase of their history. Does that mean, therefore, that the West stops at the Danube, either on its middle or on its lower course? The Sântana de Mureș-Chernyakhov culture is said to have spread 'from Romania through Moldavia to the Ukraine as far as Kharkov' (p. 132). In fact, the 'spread' took place in the opposite direction (given

that the latest assemblages of the Sântana de Mureş-Chernyakhov culture are those of Romania, and not those of 'the Ukraine as far as Kharkov'). Moreover, while Moldavia is a part of present-day Romania, the country between Romania and Ukraine is called Moldova, not Moldavia. There is no evidence of a Sarmatian take-over after the abandonment of the province of Dacia in the AD 270s (p. 139). The first intruders seem to have been Carpi, not Sarmatians. The Przeworsk culture never expanded to the Carpathian basin, for the simple reason that that 'culture' never reached the course of the Middle Danube, a region which at that time was still occupied by the Romans. Similarly, it is simply not true that 'the 381 Council of Constantinople... recognized the Pope's superiority over the patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch and Alexandria' (p. 100). In fact, far from recognising 'the Pope's superiority' over the patriarch of Constantinople, canon 3 of the 381 Council made the position of the patriarch equal to that of the pope within the church hierarchy. Sometimes, H.'s passionate plea for the use of archaeology goes a bit too far. This reader was left wondering what, after all, is the archaeological evidence for the existence of religious kingship within the 'pre-migration society' east of the Rhine (p. 124). There is a somewhat annoying practice of employing German words in lieu of, or along with, their English translations. Sometimes the translations are simply wrong. For example, a *Herrenhof* is definitely not a 'large long-house' (p. 126).

Setting aside the issues raised in the preceding paragraph, this book combines H.'s own scholarship with a synthesis of a massive amount of literature. H. writes with clarity and verve; the book's organisation is crystal clear. He has constructed an argument that enables readers to comprehend better the circumstances surrounding the end of the Western empire, and the ever-so-popular 'barbarian migrations'. Students and scholars whose interests take them well beyond the blurry chronological boundary separating late antiquity from the early Middle Ages will find much to reflect on in this work.

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Florin Curta

W.V. Harris (ed.), *The Spread of Christianity in the First Four Centuries: Essays in Explanation*, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 27, Brill, Leiden/Boston 2005, xiv+176 pp. Cased. ISBN 90-04-14717-9 / ISSN 0166-1302

Edward Gibbon's *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776–88), is a compelling account, written closely from primary sources, of the fall of Rome in the west, in which replacement of the martial spirit of the Romans by Christianity and attack by barbarian invaders are advanced as central explanations for historical change: 'the triumph of barbarism and religion'. Gibbon has long had his critics, ranging from clergy uneasy with his celebration of the pagan world, which cast the Christian world in a negative light, to an Academy sceptical of Enlightenment *philosophes* and their grand narratives, which holds 'decline and fall' to be one among a number of competing claims. Nevertheless, Gibbon continues to be read for his historical and literary value, and he is available in the excellent 1994 edition, edited by David Womersley.

Eight essays, collected in the present volume, address the spread of Christianity in the first four centuries. Early Christianity is a large topic. From its emergence in Jewish Palestine

and spread throughout the Graeco-Roman world, its course has been plotted by a large literature in history, philosophy, theology and the social sciences. Theology is omitted here; doctrinal verity is not a disinterested party, and the essays aim for freshness of explanation, rather than comprehensiveness of treatment. J.B. Rives, 'Christian Expansion and Christian Ideology', shows how Christianity emerged as a 'new ideology of religion' whose characteristics were its exclusivity, homogeneity and 'totalizing world-view' of good and evil, truth and falsehood, which had the power to reduce paganism to a demonic opposite and transform the Graeco-Roman world. J.A. North, 'Pagans, Polytheists and the Pendulum', assesses the current study of religious history, and he replaces evolutionary ideas of religious history, from a lower stage (polytheism) to a higher stage (monotheism), and its in-built assumptions, with David Hume's metaphor of the pendulum, swinging back and forth. Of pagans, he writes (p. 137), from the 1st century they created 'a self-consciousness about their own position and a need to define and justify themselves, which had simply not existed before ... It is in this context that they themselves have to produce a doctrine and an identity and it is their response that justifies the use of the word "pagan-ism".' If so, and there is more than a little of the structuralist definition of Self against the Other, the stage was set for the clash of ideas with the Christian 'new ideology', as identified by Rives. Accusations of barbarism levelled at Christians by pagans was one strategy employed, as S.E. Antonova shows in 'Barbarians and the Empire-Wide Spread of Christianity', her assessment of five Christian apologists.

'Pagans versus Christians' is a Gibbon theme, and it is reductive to paint the book only in this light. It is 'an exceptionally nuanced group of papers' (W.V. Harris, p. x). H.A. Drake discusses various 'Models of Christian Expansion' and he explains the characteristics of Christianity as a mass movement, with a low threshold for membership and a coercive element. Concluding remarks are made by Seth Schwartz, 'Roman Historians and the Rise of Christianity: the School of Edward Gibbon'. Other titles are 'Thinking with Women: the Uses of the Appeal to "Woman" in Pre-Nicene Christian Propaganda Literature'; 'The Significance of Leadership and Organisation in the Spread of Christianity'; and 'Outlawing "Magic" or Outlawing "Religion"? Libanius and the Theodosian Code as Evidence for Legislation against "Pagan" Practices'. There is a bibliography of scholarly works referred to, and an index.

The editor, Harris, organised the 2003 symposium, where seven of the essays were presented. There has been progress in scholarship and solutions advanced since Gibbon, as well as developments in social history in the late 20th century, 'but [as Harris writes in his Preface] Gibbon's clarity of mind always brings him back into consideration, along with the question of how we should connect or hierarchize his five "secondary causes" [for Christian success]' (p. x). These causes are Christian zeal, the promise of salvation, belief in miracles, morality and organisation. The *Spread of Christianity* is not the last word, nor is it intended to be. But as I read about the search for new beginnings, I found also the return of some of the old (historical) verities.

M. Henig and T.J. Smith (eds.), *Collectanea Antiqua: Essays in Memory of Sonia Chadwick Hawkes*, BAR International Series 1673, Archaeopress, Oxford 2007, iv+166 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-0108-2

Sonia Chadwick Hawkes (1933–99) was a leading authority on Anglo-Saxon archaeology and a prominent figure in the Oxford Institute of Archaeology, where she worked from 1959 to 1994. She made important contributions to the interpretation of early mediaeval decorative metalwork and conducted excavations at the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries at Fingle-sham in Kent and Worthy Park in Hampshire, as well as the Iron Age settlement of Long-bridge Deverill in Wiltshire. She was a researcher, lecturer and much-admired supervisor at the Institute of Archaeology, and was involved in founding British Archaeological Reports, the prolific series of which this publication is part.

After an introductory essay, the volume opens with a section on the history of archaeology and collecting. T.J. Smith describes the acquisition of Greek vases by Sir John Soane in the early 19th century; M. Henig gives an account of historical archaeology in Britain from the founding of the British Archaeological Association in 1843; and A. MacGregor charts the career and research of Edward Thurlow Leeds (1877–1955). Leeds was Assistant Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum and a pioneer of Anglo-Saxon archaeology, who employed progressive excavation and survey methods and had a skill for synthesising textual and material evidence. The opening section concludes with a description of Hawkes's archive of grave-goods from Kent, part of an ambitious but uncompleted project to publish a nationwide *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave-Goods*.

The bulk of essays in this volume address the history and material culture of Anglo-Saxon England, with a particular emphasis on social themes. There is some analysis of textual sources, including M. Biddle's note on a lost charter of King Edgar, but most evidence is physical, and gleaned from excavated cemeteries. This reflects both the focus of field work at Anglo-Saxon sites and also contemporary research agendas, often directed at questions concerning social status. S. Crawford's fine article, 'Growing Old in Anglo-Saxon England', reviews written sources that suggest the elderly were, on the whole, respected in early mediaeval England: in the ecclesiastical context people often attained high office in later life, but in military and other spheres, old age could be seen as a liability and trigger a decline in status. This paradox is explored with reference to mortuary practices, which show that 'old age did not bring with it a dramatic decline in the presence of grave-goods with age, but the "value" of artefacts, when measured by the presence of precious metals and stones, decreased'.

Several contributors touch on issues of identity, cross-regional contact and ethnic differentiation. L. Carr addresses the interaction between conquerors and conquered, describing how the make-up of cemeteries suggests that local people in Britain were, to some degree, integrated into Saxon household structures. Burial evidence is also the subject of W. Filmer-Sankey's paper, which describes evolving interpretations of Sutton Hoo. Following the excavation of the great ship burial in Mound 1 in 1939, native British and Scandinavian elements of the assemblage were emphasised over the continental, Germanic features. This is seen as reflecting unwillingness to link England and Germany in a shared archaeological heritage at a time of conflict between the two nations. After the Second World War, the Scandinavian, particularly Swedish aspects of the ship burial were stressed, but further excavations in the 1960s, and a growing interest among German scholars, caused more



emphasis to be placed on the wider, continental context of Sutton Hoo, seemingly reflecting the pan-European politics of the time.

The iconography of Anglo-Saxon metalwork was a major focus of Hawkes's research, and this subject is covered in several of the papers. In K. Parfitt and T.M. Dickinson's article, the cemetery at Old Park near Dover is discussed, with particular reference to the interpretation of artefacts discovered there. And G. Speake offers 'thoughts and observations' on interlace, the decorative pattern of inter-crossed and interwoven lines characteristic of European ornament in the early mediaeval period, but also prevalent in numerous other cultural contexts.

Two other themes – military and religious – are well represented. J. Campbell considers religion in early England, referring to the notoriously scant literary record to hypothesise about the transition from paganism to Christianity. Rejecting the minimalist view of pagan religion to which the silence of the sources has given rise, he argues for a powerful and well-organised pagan priesthood, whose dissolution in the course of the 7th century is most apparent in the transfer of juridical and punitive powers to secular elites. Changing religious practices are also described in S. McGowan's examination of the iconography of the altar of Sulis Minerva at Bath. Two articles on military themes offer new insights into the material culture of Anglo-Saxon England: B. Gilmour provides detailed analysis of swords to assess the development of weapon technology from the 5th to the 11th century, and in K. Leahy's article on 'soldiers and settlers', late Roman belt fittings are examined to investigate the origins of warrior burials in Britain.

The final part of this volume includes works about, inspired by, and written by Hawkes. C. Finn's 'What We Call Home' is a highly personal account of Deal on the Kent coast, near to Finglesham, where Hawkes carried out excavations in the early 1960s. There is a re-published obituary of Hawkes by M. Welch. And the last item is 'an informal retrospect' of the Oxford Institute of Archaeology from the 1960s to the 1980s, in which Hawkes tells some interesting and amusing anecdotes about the Institute's history.

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G. Herman, *Morality and Behaviour in Democratic Athens: A Social History*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2006, xxii+472 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 10: 0-521-85021-5 / ISBN 13: 978-0-521-85021-6

This ambitious volume is designed to revolutionise scholarly approaches to morality and, along the way, rescue democratic Athens from the clutches of modern 'pessimists'. Gabriel Herman, building on a series of articles appearing between 1993 and 2000, delivers an avowedly interdisciplinary study whose conclusions, though more contentious than convincing, ought to be examined by students of Athens and morality alike. Here, writing as an ancient historian, I briefly summarise his methodology and his reinvention of Athens.

The concept at the heart of H.'s analysis remains the 'code of behaviour'. Previous assessments of ancient Greek morality, he argues, have been undermined by a variety of obstacles: beyond those unavoidable constraints that result from the fragmentary nature of our surviving evidence, scholars have been misled by the notion that ancient morality was 'essentially unsystematic', by the vagaries of the 'lexical approach', and by the subsequent

imposition – whether conscious or unconscious – of modern categories and concerns on ancient thoughts and behaviour. Such subjectivity inevitably leads to ‘the fusion of moral norms’ and misguided conclusions about antiquity (pp. 85–107). Thus H., encouraging historians to engage more actively with advances in the natural, social and behavioural sciences, suggests an objective approach centred upon the analytic ‘code’ (pp. 15–23). Each society contains its own unique ‘code’, a distinctive set of unwritten precepts, derived from ‘both nurture and nature’, that ultimately underlies every (inter)action within the community. Since individuals are terribly inconsistent when describing their own morality (hence the ‘attitude/behaviour controversy’), the most reliable means of reconstructing the ‘code’ is an examination of these actions (p. xix). Such analysis avoids evolving vocabularies and enables an ‘entirely detached viewpoint’ from which a ‘single accurate interpretation is discernible’ (pp. 98–100). Because the ‘code’ is reducible, beneath its myriad corollaries, to a few core precepts manifest within every action, scrutiny of certain, selected events is enough to discern the ‘code’. Two guidelines govern H.’s selection: first, at the individual level, interactions involving co-operation or conflict are most useful; second, at the societal level, interactions involving violence and its control are most useful. These selections are most effective because the ‘most significant components of the code of behaviour’ are those which are intended to avert ‘de-individuation’ and societal collapse, as exemplified by Thucydides’ *stasis*-ridden Corcyra (pp. 26–30). Thus, H.’s methodology emerges from the beliefs that an objective examination of actions is achievable; that such an examination will accurately reveal the moral precepts most cherished by a society; and that on the basis of these precepts the morality of the society, relative to other historical societies, may be objectively assessed.

H.’s case study is the society of democratic Athens, between 508 and 322 BC. His boundaries are carefully drawn, in two respects: first, the emphasis on Athens breaks with the tradition of a broader, shared ‘Greek’ morality; second, the activities occurring under the oligarchic regimes of 411 and 403 BC represent a decidedly different ‘code’. The evidence mustered for Athenian actions is mostly literary. H. continues to draw heavily on forensic oratory, with occasional citations from the dramatists and philosophers, and more regular use of the historians. Two supposed revelations mark his discussion: the first is that modern scholars, as demonstrated by their often contradictory readings of the evidence, have constantly misrepresented the nature of democratic Athenian society; the second is that democratic Athenian society was and remains truly unique within the Western world. Earlier authors – whether evaluating Achilles alongside Aristotle or drawing on recent anthropological research – have, with their assumptions of a Periclean golden age marred by rampant anti-social behaviour, been unduly pessimistic about the Athenians. If we examine the evidence again, H. argues, we discover that Athens emerges neither as a ‘head-for-an-eye’ society (where retribution for the smallest slight might be deadly) nor an ‘eye-for-an-eye’ society, as suggested by those trumpeting the proverb to ‘help friends and harm enemies’ (pp. 270–81). Rather, democratic Athens was a society, unlike any other in Western history, in which under- (or even non-) retaliation was not merely conceptualised but was turned ‘into a governing idea and an effective social force’ (p. 414).

The concluding chapters re-examine key aspects of Athenian society – including its economy, religion and myths, military, empire, penal system, festivals, competitions and pastimes – in light of these conclusions. H.’s description of a kinder, gentler Athens is

accompanied by 55 illustrations, some of which helpfully explain sociological concepts, and most of which acquaint the reader, through fragments of material evidence and extensive captions, with other characteristic features of the Athenian experience. The introductory nature of these excursions (which are 'an integral part of the book's argument' [p. xxi]) evidences the unevenness that results here from H.'s diverse objectives and diverse scholarly audiences. A second, more critical, reservation with this study concerns the relation between ideals and actions on which H.'s methodology and interpretations are based. While forensic oratory reveals much about Athenian corporate values, values for which other scattered evidence may be readily assembled, I remain unpersuaded that these idealised values ought to be granted such a strong determinative impact, whether on individual Athenians' actions or on our interpretations. Nonetheless, there are numerous intriguing passages within this well-produced volume, not least those drawing on the sciences, and H.'s discussions – especially in the first, third and fifth chapters – serve as a valuable impetus for further reflection.

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Benjamin Keim

E. Hofstetter, *Die Vasensammlung Lichtenhahn: Glauben, Denken und Feiern in antiken Griechenland: Einblicke*, Verlag Franz Philipp Rutzen, Ruhpolding/ Winckelmann-Gesellschaft, Stendal/Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2009, 111 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-938646-43-4 (Rutzen/Winckelmann)/978-3-447-06065-3 (Harrassowitz)

Lichtenhahn is a distinguished Swiss actor. With his wife he has endowed a Stiftung with the Winckelmann Foundation, and this celebrates the event with a *de luxe* publication of their modest collection of Greek vases. There are 12 Corinthian and Attic vases, very expertly explained by the author for both the general reader and scholar, with no great surprises.

Woodstock, UK

John Boardman

K.-P. Johne, *Die Römer an der Elbe: Das Stromgebiet der Elbe im geographischen Weltbild und im politischen Bewusstsein der griechisch-römischen Antike*, Akademie Verlag, Berlin 2006, 348 pp., 15 figs. Cased. ISBN 10: 3-05-003445-9 / ISBN 13: 978-3-05-003445-4

The title arouses curiosity as to how it is possible to write an over 300-page monograph on the little we know of Romans venturing to this central European river.<sup>1</sup> Delving into the book, one soon discovers that its thematic focus is somewhat broader than the title implies. The few instances of Roman armies reaching the Elbe are indeed discussed in depth – as well as all other references to the river in ancient literature. Yet numerous Roman encounters with Germanic tribes settling nowhere near the catchment basin of the Elbe also feature prominently. Perhaps a title such as 'Rome and the Germans in Central Europe' would have described more accurately the geographical and thematic scope of the book, covering contact and conflict between the Roman empire and the Germans in central Europe and adjacent territories from the earliest encounters to late antiquity. It ought to be conceded,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* 7, 2nd ed. (1989), 94–107.

however, that it would not have been possible to deal with the almost 150,000 km<sup>2</sup> of the Elbe basin (p. 7) in isolation, and that Klaus-Peter Johne, as far as possible, discusses events in adjacent territories with a focus on what light they shed on the Elbe and the tribes settling near the river or originating from the area. While there is little more than a decade between the earliest and the latest recorded episodes of Romans reaching this river (9 BC and AD 5), the Elbe's role in ancient literature was less ephemeral. It marked the eastern limit of Roman military penetration of northern Germany, as much as the Indus that of Alexander the Great in Asia. Naturally, J. places particular emphasis on the period when Rome conquered the territories between the Rhine and the Elbe. While these conquests were mostly lost in AD 9, and the coastal strip on the North Sea in AD 28, J. is able to show that the Elbe still featured as a symbolic limit of Roman military hegemony in late antique literature centuries later (a time when geographical knowledge of central Europe, boosted through intermittent major military campaigns from Augustus to the 3rd century and through goods exchange, had become shady again).

One is impressed by J.'s systematic survey of the relevant sources and the vast amount of modern scholarly work. On the whole his judgment tends to be sound. I would agree that the systematic abandonment of all military installations east of the Rhine around 8/7 BC indicates that Rome did not envisage direct government for the Germans east of the Rhine at the time (p. 119). While he is undoubtedly right that the Roman army concentrated its efforts predominantly on the territories between the Rhine and the Weser (pp. 167–68), I am not sure I would necessarily follow his argument that the absence of permanent garrisons east of the Weser made the Elbe a postulated rather than a real boundary of Roman territory. Four decades passed between Caesar's conquest of Gaul and the establishment of a chain of permanent garrisons on the Rhine – and yet the Rhine then, like the Elbe between AD 5 and 9, marked the limit of communities recognising Roman rule. Sound strategic and logistical reasons led Rome to concentrate its forces on the key western access routes to Germany, rather than to disperse them too widely or to station them in the outermost fringes of newly conquered lands. J., while leaning towards the earlier dating, seems to sit on the fence as to whether or not Kalkriese is the site of the Varus battle in AD 9, or whether it might be as late as AD 15, as some have proposed (pp. 169–71, 186–87). The speed at which military sites in this period were supplied with the latest coins, as powerfully demonstrated by David Wigg<sup>2</sup> and the absence of late Augustan and early Tiberian issues, provides, in my view, conclusive proof that Kalkriese is earlier than the Germanicus campaigns and is, most probably, indeed the site of the battle.<sup>3</sup> His hypothesis that Augustus planned the reconquest of the lost territories (pp. 180–83) is thought-provoking.

While the author employs literary as well as archaeological sources, the latter are mainly used to reconstruct political developments. Commendably this includes, for example, Roman-style pottery production at Haarhausen, over 200 km beyond the Roman frontier,

<sup>2</sup> For example D. Wigg, 'Coin Supply and the Roman Army'. In W. Groenman-van Waateringe et al. (eds.), *Roman Frontier Studies 1995* (Oxford 1997), 281–88.

<sup>3</sup> See E. Sauer, *Coins, Cult and Cultural Identity: Coins, Hot Springs and the Early Roman Baths at Bourbonne-les-Bains* (Leicester 2005), 148–52 – published, of course, after the submission of J.'s work.

in the later 3rd century (pp. 270–72). J. may well be right in suggesting that Roman prisoners of war operated these kilns. Yet one gains little sense of what life was like in the villages near the Elbe and its tributaries and to what extent ordinary people would have had access to Roman export goods, booty or subsidies. A survey of Roman products, such as glass beads, reaching settlements in the area and their archaeological contexts would have allowed J. to gain insights as to how Roman culture influenced daily life in his study region. On the whole this is a rather conventional ancient historical study, exemplified also by the choice of illustrations, which feature maps and works of art, notably portraits of key historical figures. While archaeology could have been given more prominence, the book provides an immensely useful up-to-date evaluation of the vast amount of publications on Romano-German relations and the extent of knowledge of central European geography in antiquity.

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Eberhard Sauer

H. Jones (ed.), *Samnium Settlement and Cultural Change*, The Proceedings of the Third E. Togo Salmon Conference on Roman Studies, *Archaeologia Transatlantica* 22, Center for Old World Archaeology and Art, Brown University, Providence RI 2004, 133 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 0-97552-490-9

This impressive collection of conference papers encompasses a wide range of approaches to Samnium. The emphasis is on presenting new evidence and new interpretations, which illustrate the transformative effect that archaeology and epigraphy have had on the history of Samnium in the decades since E. Togo Salmon's *Samnium and the Samnites* (Cambridge 1967).

Several papers survey the historiography of Samnium after Salmon. Emma Dench's chapter considers the peculiar Anglophone fascination with Samnite studies. She provides a perceptive critique of Barker's work in the Biferno valley, noting the surprising influence of Carlo Levi's *Christ Stopped at Eboli*; there are also brilliant analyses of the 'ventriloquism' imposed on non-Roman societies by a dogmatic post-colonial approach and the dangers of an overly benign picture of Romanisation. The lack of dialogue between British archaeology and classical subjects is rightly lamented, although the end result is a somewhat pessimistic view of Anglophone studies of ancient Italy.

In a broad consideration of the nature of Samnite and Lucanian settlement archaeology Maurizio Gualtieri convincingly argues that Salmon and La Regina's non-urban model of settlement, and emphasis on spectacular rural sanctuaries such as Pietrabbondante, has downplayed the more elusive but increasingly significant evidence for an 'urbanisation in progress'. He reviews the cemetery evidence for nucleation from the 5th century in the territory of the Hirpini and Caudini, and the traces of monumental buildings from the 4th century in Monte Pallano, Monte Vairano, Larinum and Aufidena. Roccagloriosa in Lucania, with its fortifications, public buildings and, critically, epigraphically attested political organisation, offers a key example of the way movements towards complexity were progressing in Oscan-speaking areas.

Tim Cornell's chapter is a stimulating re-examination of the so-called 'Samnite Wars', which he shows to be a modern rather than an ancient concept. Furthermore, while the sources (with hindsight) portray the struggle as one for supremacy in Italy, their actual

reports show a series of mostly aggressive Roman actions against diverse and generally disunited opponents in the Samnite area. Rome was not a systematic conqueror, but rather intervened in a piecemeal fashion at the initiative of individual generals. This in effect is a searching reappraisal of Samnite identity, or rather its lack. It accords with the evidence Gualtieri identifies for many individual communities across Samnium, each its own separate *touta*. But it contrasts with Eckstein's recently expressed view that the non-Roman peoples of Italy had equally aggressive intent towards Rome.<sup>1</sup> There is room for admitting that the Samnite initiative in the Sentinum campaign, where they were the prime movers in an unprecedented anti-Roman alliance of (some rather than all) Samnites, Gauls, Etruscans and Umbrians, indicates a greater Samnite propensity towards, and capacity for, co-operation in the latter stages of the wars with Rome than at the start.<sup>2</sup>

The analysis of new archaeological and epigraphic evidence is central to several papers.

Gianfranco De Benedittis summarises recent archaeological work on Aesernia, Bovianum and Monte Vairano, although the detailed discussion of walling phases would have benefited from maps and it is a shame that only a brief outline of this useful article was translated for non-Italian readers. He argues for a new interpretation of Samnite settlement fortifications, which he sees as less crucial to urbanising developments than previously thought. Settlement nuclei began early (typically from the 5th or 4th centuries BC), and were often in the plains, linked to communication and transhumance routes. During the 2nd century urbanistic projects in old fortified centres like Monte Vairano were generally executed without regard for the walling, which was either ignored or enclosed in new structures. Romanisation after the Social War and veteran colonisation led to the obliteration and only partial restoration of some settlements.

John Patterson's chapter follows on chronologically, focusing on urban centres, rural settlement and local elites in the Imperial period. He carefully considers the evidence of surveys to argue that a decline in the number of sites is real and reflects migration away from rural Samnite sites to regional towns. He also documents the fluctuating fortunes of urban centres, which first expanded under the early emperors but then declined in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. Large estates and transhumance developed, linked to the upward mobility of an elite increasingly divorced from the local area, a trend which also weakened the urban centres. He follows Salmon (and Strabo 6. 1. 2) in thinking that Samnium was no longer meaningfully Samnite after Sulla, but this issue needs to be as delicately handled as the survey evidence. Salmon's view neglects, for instance, the considerable archaeological and epigraphic evidence for continuities as well as ruptures in the transition to Empire, along with the continued use of the term Samnite by geographical sources in the Imperial period.<sup>3</sup>

Helena Fracchia's detailed picture of Roccagloriosa complements Gualtieri's chapter. She argues that this important Lucanian centre, on the periphery of Greek coastal districts,

<sup>1</sup> A.M. Eckstein, *Mediterranean Anarchy, Interstate War, and the Rise of Rome* (Berkeley 2006).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus 17–18. 2. 3: 'the Samnites... voted to make the necessary preparations for war both jointly and each city for itself'.

<sup>3</sup> For example Pliny *NH* 3. 107, Ptolemy *Geography* 3. 1; on this general tendency, see R. Oniga, 'La sopravvivenza di lingue diverse dal latino'. *Lexis* 21 (2003), 39–41.

was typical of 'Italic' as opposed to Graeco-Roman settlement. It developed from the 5th century with a central cult site and surrounding tombs into a fortified central place by ca. 350 BC, with the addition of separate habitation nuclei, houses and a semi-public courtyarded building with a shrine, prefiguring later regional sanctuaries like Rossano di Vaglio. She interprets the distinct habitation areas as evidence for the clan groups typical of Italic settlement, comparable with the earliest phases of settlement orientated around the gates and fortifications at Rome.<sup>4</sup> These groups nevertheless existed in tension with public institutions, which are clearly attested by a law inscribed on bronze (dated to the late 4th-first half of the 3rd century BC)<sup>5</sup> and by a public building containing weaponry marked as belonging to the *demos*. Survey around the site shows a corresponding intensification of rural settlement in the 4th century BC, and its consolidation in the 3rd.

Gianluca Tagliamonte examines the self-representation of the Samnite elite from the 4th century BC as horsemen in funerary and sanctuary contexts. Considering a range of evidence, some unpublished, he argues that the imagery of cavalrymen relates to the tradition of equestrianism amongst the Campanian elite. To this can be compared the evident enthusiasm for the cult of the Dioscuri in the same period, which conversely stems from links with Tarentum.

Alexander McKay considers the fate of the Greek city of Cumae after its reputed capture by Samnites in 421 BC. He argues for considerable cultural continuity through the Samnite era and even Roman municipalisation after 90 BC, noting for instance the traditional Cumaean legends on coinage 420–380 BC and the reverential treatment of Samnite temple terracottas carefully detached and deposited under its successor temple (on the site of the Capitolium). In addition, Oscan inscriptions are preserved in the later Capitolium and the *palestra*. In general, a vivid picture is created of the Hellenistic structures of this city in its Samnite period.

Whilst much of the evidence is reported in more detail elsewhere,<sup>6</sup> this book provides an inspiring 'state of play' for studies on Samnium. The Samnites emerge as closely linked to wider developments in Magna Graecia and (particularly) neighbouring Campania, but also preserving a distinctively 'Italic' quality in their settlement, religion and culture. However, questions about Samnite identity, such as the extent of their wider ethnic links (doubted by Cornell), or their lack of a real individuality under the empire (according to Patterson), remain open. The absence of an index is disappointing, but misprints are relatively few and unlikely to mislead (except Livy 38. 6. 12 for 10. 38. 6–12 on the Linen Legion on pp. 76 and 77). All in all this is a book greatly to be welcomed.

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Guy Bradley

<sup>4</sup> But the existence of pre-urban clans has now been questioned by C.J. Smith, *The Roman Clan* (Cambridge 2006).

<sup>5</sup> This corrects the entry in the *Studi sull'Italia dei Sanniti* exhibition catalogue (Milan 2000).

<sup>6</sup> For example, the archaeological reports on Roccagloriosa: M. Gualtieri and H. Fracchia, *Roccagloriosa I and II* (Naples 1990, 2001).



A.R. Kantorovich and V.R. Erlikh, *Bronzolitinoe iskusstvo iz kurganov Adygei VIII–III veka do n.e. Iz fondov Gosudarstvennogo Muzeia Vostoka i Natsional'nogo Muzeia Respubliki Adygeya* (Bronze Moulding Art from Adygeian Kurgans 8th–3rd Centuries BC. State Museum of Oriental Art and Adygeian National Museum Collections), State Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow/Adygeia National Museum, Maikop/Lomonosov Moscow State University, State Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow 2006, 232 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 5-9900336-9-9

Ancient Caucasian art arouses keen interest among scholars. Proof positive is this monograph-catalogue by the Moscow archaeologists A. Kantorovich (Lomonosov Moscow State University) and V. Erlikh (the State Museum of Oriental Art). An Introduction defines the aim of the work: to draw attention to the arts and crafts of the ancient tribes of the Kuban basin (Prikubane), the Maeotians.

Chapter 1 covers the definition and main features of Maeotian culture, distinguishing two basic approaches towards the interpretation of Maeotian sites, the first of which regards the Maeotians as a single *ethnos* while the second considers the Maeotian tribes to be of various origins, Iranian and Caucasian. K. and E. define four periods of Maeotian cultural development: Protomaeotian (end of the 9th–middle of the 7th century BC), Maeoto-Scythian (second half of the 7th–end of the 4th century BC), Maeotian (3rd–1st centuries BC) and Maeoto-Sarmatian (1st century BC–3rd/4th centuries AD), paying special attention to the characteristics of the first two periods.

Items of Maeotian bronze-casting of the 8th–3rd centuries BC are considered in Chapter 2, with attention first paid to the particular techniques and technology of artistic castings from bronze. Then the authors turn to emphasise the ‘Cimmerian’ geometric style, which occurred in the latest pre-Scythian sites of the Novocherkassk period in the northern Black Sea region, having originated in the northern Caucasus including the left bank of the River Kuban. Although the geometric style predominates here, zoomorphic images are present in Protomaeotian art. They are represented by a bird of prey’s head and equine images on items from the Fars and Psekups burial grounds. The influence of Koban art on the Protomaeotians is traced in the pre-Scythian period, but then the influence of Scythian elements releases Maeotian art from that of the Koban tribes. The final stylistic transition – from the geometric to the zoomorphic, personified by Scythian Animal Style – is linked to the time of the Scythian campaigns to the Near East, which concluded in the middle of the 7th century BC (though I disagree with such an early date for the end of the campaign). K. and E. believe this shift to be connected with those in the ideology of ancient society.

K. and E. move on to analyse bronze castings of Scythian times. First, they define the Scythian Animal Style as a whole, examine the conditions of its formation, describe its distinctive stylistic features, and seek to determine how its components formed an ideological embodiment of a nomadic society.

K. and E. consider the Prikubane zoomorphic art of the 7th–3rd centuries BC to be an integral part of the Scytho-Siberian Animal Style. The following periodisation has been professed: 7th–6th centuries BC, archaic stage; 5th–4th centuries BC, classical stage. Following E. Perevodchikova, the latter they subdivide into two periods: 5th–beginning of the 4th century BC, Scytho-Maeotian Animal Style (early group of the Semibratnoe barrows); 4th century proper, Animal Style as exhibited by images on items from the Elizavetinskaya barrows.

K. and E. then conduct a detailed analysis of both individual images from the Prikubane bestiary and subject compositions. The former are represented by such ungulates as a red deer, an elk, a mountain goat, a mountain ram, a bull, a wild boar, a horse, and also by such syncretic characters as the 'elk-goat' and 'deer-goat'. Images of predatory animals and birds form a special group. Hybrid creatures – ram-birds, graffin-rams, griffins, elk-birds, fish – are collected within the group of syncretic characters. Also found in the bestiary are hares, hyppocamps, fish, etc. During the classical stage bi- and multi-figured zoomorphic compositions (swastika, heraldic, so-called attack themes, etc.) are widespread. K. and E. pay attention to anthropomorphic images, which are uncommon in local Maeotian antiquities. These images correspond to Scythian and Scytho-Maeotian art of the 4th century BC.

The important conclusions drawn by K. and E. can be reduced to the following: in the 7th–6th centuries BC Prikubane Animal Style differs slightly from other areas of its distribution, but at the beginning of the 5th century BC Prikubane zoomorphic art starts to differ strongly from other variants (northern Black Sea, Forest-Steppe, the Don, Volga-Ural), and this is traced especially in local bronze art. The Prikubane variant of Animal Style, like its other variants, disappears at the end of the 4th–beginning of the 3rd century BC. The reasons for this may be transformation to Savromatian style, degradation under the Greek influence and Sarmatian expansion. But Maeotian culture was not lost with disappearance of local Animal Style. It underwent Sarmatisation and existed until the 4th century AD.

The catalogue published by K. and E. is furnished with excellent colour illustrations of examples of Prikubane Animal Style and their detailed descriptions. Undoubtedly, this valuable and highly informative work will be useful for all specialists in the Early Iron Age art of the Black Sea area and the Caucasus.

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S.L. Dudarev

D. Kennedy, *Gerasa and the Decapolis: A 'Virtual Island' in Northwest Jordan*, Duckworth Debates in Archaeology, Duckworth, London 2007, 216 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 10: 0-7156-3567-0 / ISBN 13: 978-0-7156-3567-4

The Decapolis, described in Pliny's *Natural History* and the New Testament gospels, in fact consisted of more than ten cities, most clustered in the highlands of Ajlun west of the River Jordan, and centring on the city of Gerasa. During the 'Long Classical Millennium', from the 4th century BC through the centuries of Roman rule and into the Umayyad period, this region experienced remarkable settlement growth and population spread, unparalleled until modern times. Borrowing the term from Horden and Purcell's influential book *The Corrupting Sea*,<sup>1</sup> David Kennedy defines the Decapolis region as a 'virtual island', connected to and integrated with the wider Mediterranean and Arabian worlds, yet isolated from surrounding regions by its peculiar geography and environment.

<sup>1</sup> P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford 2000).

The book opens with a review of the evidence available, considering the textual and archaeological record, its survival into the modern day, and how these data may be understood. Monumental remains are abundant and well preserved in north-west Jordan, but even with a great number of sites and structures, the information they offer remains patchy and often ambiguous. The limitations of surviving evidence are illustrated with the examples of theatres, military sites and inscriptions. Even where material is intact and documented, inferences must often be drawn from secondary or circumstantial sources, taking into account evidence from outside the time and place under investigation, and considering cross-regional and chronological issues.

These issues, regarding the impact of imperial rule on colonised territory, the strategies of nomadic and settled people, and the cause of settlement boom in the Roman-Byzantine period, are set in a regional context with a chapter on the natural and human landscape of north-west Jordan. The region's status as a 'discrete unit', or 'virtual island' is explored with reference to the key geographical and environmental determinants – topography, climate, soil and water. Bordered on the west by the Jordan valley, the region's northern and southern boundaries are formed by deep wadis that feed into the River Jordan and the Dead Sea, with the steppe and desert constituting the region's eastern limits. Contained within this area are several 'micro regions', with varying topography, rainfall and soil quality. The Ajlun Highlands, which enjoys good rainfall and rich soils, is the most heavily settled region, with the plains to the south and the Basalt Desert to the east showing extensive signs of nomadic activity, while the barren Chert Desert to the south-east features little evidence of human presence.

In reviewing the geographical and environmental conditions, emphasis is placed on the extent to which people harnessed and exploited natural resources, particularly water, by constructing cisterns and damming wadis to create reservoirs. There is also an awareness that climate change, in particular variable precipitation during the Roman period as evidenced in pollen remains, tree rings and annually laminated sediments, strongly influenced the location and character of settlements. In a later chapter, research on environmental conditions is highlighted as an area that requires further work.

A variety of information can be drawn from settlement remains and used to explore different lines of research. K. focuses particularly on population size and structure and how these can be gauged. This has long been problematic for ancient historians, with widely varying estimates calculated for settlements and provinces; even less is known about demographics. Figures are proposed by considering the limited textual information alongside material evidence for settlement sizes as seen in circuit walls, house numbers and cemeteries, but calculations are only approximate, even for areas where archaeological remains are well preserved. Although the importance of gaining an impression of population size should not be downplayed, this preoccupation with quantitative calculations, always heavily qualified, seems a little excessive.

Writing was a method of communicating and recording information, but also a tool of order and control, an expression of identity and a mark of status. In the chapter titled 'A World of Writing', K. highlights the significance of the written word, outlining the diversity of contexts in which writing appeared, and then creatively illustrating this with a passage that envisages a traveller of the 3rd century traversing the landscape, encountering Safaitic graffiti, Latin milestones, Greek inscriptions on urban buildings and monuments, coins,

gravestones and written prayers. The survival of writing into the modern day is, of course, dependent on the durability of the medium, and therefore skewed in favour of high-status and institutional forms of expression. However, rare survivals of 'everyday' writing from near the region, such as documents from Dura Europos, and the administrative paperwork of the Babatha Archive, provide a window on to the role of writing in people's lives.

This book touches on a great number of issues and debates concerning the principles and practice of archaeology, the nature of material evidence, and ways in which that evidence can be amassed, integrated and synthesised. The data is presented in an engaging way, well illustrated with maps, tables and photographs. The variety of evidence and numerous references give the book an academic grounding, while its concise format also make it accessible. Although the subject matter is primarily empirical, methodological and theoretical issues run throughout the book, with the quality of evidence, the ways in which that evidence is approached, and which research strategies are most rewarding constantly being examined. K.'s book will therefore appeal not only to researchers specialising in this region and period, but also those seeking to formulate research questions that account for disparate forms and qualities of evidence.

University of Melbourne

William Anderson

H.J. Kim, *Ethnicity and Foreigners in Ancient Greece and China*, Duckworth, London 2009, vi+217 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-0-7156-3807-1

A book which combines Herodotus with Sima Qian (the Great Historian of China) must be a good thing. The object here is to compare and contrast attitudes to 'the foreigner' at either end of the Old World, and the book would be a good introduction for students to the problems of 'the other' and ethnicity which have tended to displace consideration of the primary evidence in recent years. The exercise is managed carefully and with full regard to all alternatives and can be recommended to any ancient historian of west or east. One problem is that the two historians were very different types of people working for very different ends. And in terms of the evidence the Chinese were far closer in terms of dress, speech and behaviour to their nomad rivals than Greeks were to Persians or even Lydians, let alone to nomads whom they could happily exploit. The Greeks were the remotest extension of Near Eastern civilisation: the Chinese were the core people of easternmost Asia. In the East it became a matter of carefully managed (through war and bribery) symbiosis rather than blind confrontation and mutual exploitation by totally different societies, although in the end arms determined the future. But even this is instructive in the broader historical terms that classical historians seldom have to face, and in some ways the separate Chinese states before the Qin and Han dynasties were as awkward with each other as were Greeks before they were 'unified' by the pressure of Macedon, then Rome. Both historians found much to admire in the barbarian; both Greeks and Chinese invented their own ancestry for their powerful neighbours. And those recent historians who have worried about Herodotus' accuracy over Scythian behaviour can find most of what he says vindicated by Sima Qian's account of the Xiongnu.

Woodstock, UK

John Boardman

R. Kurzmann, *Roman Military Brick Stamps: A Comparison of Methodology*, BAR International Series 1543, Archaeopress, Oxford 2006, viii+298 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 1-84171-975-7

This volume brings together essential bibliography on the subject collected from all areas of the Roman empire. The author also provides useful illustrations – line-drawings – showing various types of brick stamps in different areas, and she explains carefully how far the study of this class of item has advanced in different regions. The main focus, as should be expected, lies in the Roman *limes* provinces, where most of the military units were stationed and where they were much involved in building activity, too.

We were unable to find many new independent insights into hitherto unknown material, but the survey is certainly useful. Renate Kurzmann has collected much material and information otherwise barely accessible from all regions around the Roman frontiers in all parts of the world in which Roman frontier studies exist. She has reviewed a number of books and studies on this subject and made interesting and often useful comments. Her industry in collecting and discussing a bright spectrum of varied approaches to the subject by a large number of specialists working in particular areas deserves admiration.

But a specific feature of the book is K.'s criticism of many of her predecessors for not being ripe enough to follow the measuring stick of her methodology. Sometimes this may be deserved, but in other cases her arguments seem to be one-sided. She is now not alone: many young scholars have the feeling that they must be 'strictly scientific' against the previous generation and are anxious of not fulfilling the standards of prescribed forms. These people often believe that everything that was not, according to their point of view, 'formally scientific', must be considered as not the proper science, and K. in this sense also classifies the books reviewed. The tendency grows now that everything has to be explained according to some simplified and standardised methodical guidelines, put down in an uncomplicated way and explicable by ready-to-use simple arguments.

The reality is never simple; it always requires a less rigid approach than that exerted on the banal level. Simplification often prevents more sophisticated spiritual activity by the researcher. Certainly there is much in the world by way of unscientific and even pseudoscientific approaches, but the really scientific approach should not be understood as descending to the level of understanding of those members of our community to whom finer ways of argument are basically alien. If they do not understand or accept what is explained on a more sophisticated level, then that is rather their problem.

As a whole, the book is useful compendium for those working in this field in various parts of the world and certainly a result of extensive work in collecting sources and reading much that is not very appealing and rather marginal for the mainstream of archaeologists and epigraphists.

Charles University, Prague

Jan Bouzek and Jiří Musil

E. Laffi and M. Feugère, *Statues et statuettes en bronze de Cilicie avec deux annexes sur la main de Comana et les figurines en bronze du Musée de Hatay*, BAR International Series 1584, Archaeopress, Oxford 2006, 104 pp., 36 figs. Paperback. ISBN 1-84171-797-5

Vor über 20 Jahren schrieb Heinz Menzel im Rahmen seines grundlegenden Aufsatzes zum Stand der Erforschung römischer Bronzen zur Situation in Kleinasien und Griechenland: 'Für beide Gebiete stehen zusammenfassende Arbeiten aus, und es ist mühsam, aus Zeitschriften, Katalogen oder sonstigen Veröffentlichungen die eine oder andere Bronze herauszusuchen, ...'.<sup>1</sup> Da sich an dieser Situation im Wesentlichen bis heute nichts geändert hatte,<sup>2</sup> ist eine Veröffentlichung wie die hier angezeigte sehr zu begrüßen. In einer prinzipiell vorbildlichen türkisch-französischen Zusammenarbeit haben sich zwei in ihrem jeweiligen Bereich ausgewiesene Archäologen zusammengefunden, um die antiken Bronzestatuen und Bronzestatuetten aus Kilikien vorzulegen. Der eine ist bislang vor allem als Kenner des Landes, der andere als Autor zahlreicher Beiträge zu antiken Bronzen hervorgetreten. Die Notwendigkeit für ein derartiges Unternehmen könnte also kaum dringender und die Voraussetzung für ein Gelingen kaum günstiger sein. Dennoch enttäuscht das vorliegende Werk.

Nach einer kaum zweiseitigen historisch-topographischen und forschungsgeschichtlichen Einführung und einer knappen Seite zur Geschichte der Sammlungen enthält der schmale Band zwei Kapitel, von denen sich das erste mit den vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Bronzen im Museum von Mersin und das zweite mit den antiken Bronzen in Kilikien befaßt. Der sich an den allgemeinen Teil anschließende Katalog beinhaltet kaum mehr als äußerst kurzgefaßte ikonographische Beschreibungen der einzelnen Objekte. Technische Beobachtungen fehlen meist völlig, obwohl sich hierfür reichliche Gelegenheit gefunden hätte.<sup>3</sup> Auch die Nennung von Vergleichsstücken oder eine wissenschaftliche Auseinandersetzung finden sich nur in wenigen Fällen, und wenn doch, dann nur äußerst knapp. Als Beispiel für eine in ihrer Kürze völlig unzureichende Dokumentation mag die sehr qualitätsvolle Herculesstatuette in Alanya (Nr. 25) genügen, die in nur sieben Zeilen (!) abgehandelt wird.<sup>4</sup> Zudem wird sie trotz ihrer Höhe von lediglich 51,5 cm, wie auch einige andere große Statuetten, unpassenderweise unter den Großbronzen aufgeführt. Die Unterscheidung der Bronzen in 'statues publiques' und 'grandes statues privées' scheint ebenso ungeeignet.

Laut Bildnachweis (S. 60) haben die Autoren die meisten Fotos selbst aufgenommen, wobei sie nach eigenen Angaben (S. 9) in Alanya, Anamur, Silifke, Tarsus, Adana und

<sup>1</sup> H. Menzel, 'Römische Bronzestatuetten und verwandte Geräte: ein Beitrag zum Stand der Forschung'. In *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II,12,3 (Berlin/New York 1985), 148.

<sup>2</sup> Ein typisches Spektrum kleinasiatischer Bronzen zeigt eine jüngst veröffentlichte ehemalige Privatsammlung in den USA: P.G. Warden, *The Hilprecht collection of Greek, Italic and Roman bronzes in the University of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia 1997). Der Katalog von B. Gürler, *Tire müzesi bronz eserleri* / *Bronze Objects at Tire Museum* (Istanbul 2004) enthält kaum figürliche Bronzen.

<sup>3</sup> So findet sich z. B. kein Hinweis auf die separate Anstückung des Kopfes bei der großen Venusstatuette Nr. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Nachzutragen ist: M. Gürdal und S. Özenir, 'Der Herkules von Alanya'. *AntWelt* 17,3 (1986) 23–26.

Antakya (Hatay) nur die ausgestellten Werke, in Mersin auch Magazinbestände, berücksichtigen konnten. Für die Statuen griffen sie auf zum Teil vor mehr als 100 Jahren publizierte Fotos zurück.<sup>5</sup> Wertvoller als die erneute Veröffentlichung der Bronzestatuen scheint daher die Dokumentation der Kleinbronzen, unter denen sich einige unbekannte Stücke finden. Sprüche der Fotonachweis nicht dagegen, könnte man angesichts des nicht seltenen Fehlens von Inventarnummern, Maßangaben und genaueren Beschreibungen allerdings daran zweifeln, daß die Autoren die Objekte tatsächlich in Augenschein genommen haben. Auch wenn die Abbildungen allgemein etwas zu dunkel und einige wenige (wie z. B. Nr. 35, 41, 46, 48, 52 rechts, 62 rechts, 102) auch unscharf scheinen, sind die Objekte doch meist ausreichend erkennbar. Leider gilt dies nicht für die vielleicht interessanteste Statuette, den Attis Nr. 60, bei der von dem ungewöhnlichen Basisrelief durch eine ungünstige Beleuchtung von hinten kaum etwas zu erkennen ist.

Auch wenn die Autoren gelegentlich (z. B. bei Nr. 28) die Echtheitsfrage diskutieren, ist anhand der publizierten Tafeln nicht zu übersehen, daß eine kleinere Anzahl von falschen oder zumindest hochgradig fragwürdigen Kleinbronzen ihren Weg in den Katalog gefunden hat (Nr. 53). Besonders evident ist es dort, wo auch sonst häufig belegte Typen moderner Fälschungen vorliegen (z. B. Nr. 68, Hatay Nr. 6, Hatay Nr. 11). Darüber hinaus könnten sich durch Autopsie noch weitere Stücke als moderne Nachgüsse antiker Statuetten (Nr. 55, 64?) erweisen.

Ein Teil der hier angesprochenen Punkte dürfte vielleicht weniger den Autoren als vielmehr bürokratischen Hemmnissen und der bekannt schwierigen Situation vor Ort anzulasten sein. Um daher kein ungerechtes Fazit zu ziehen, möchte ich mit den Worten der Autoren (S. 10) sprechen: 'Des recherches plus approfondies seront nécessaires ...'.

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

Norbert Franken

A.M. Leskov, E.A. Beglova, I.V. Ksenofontova and V.R. Erlikh, *Meoty Zakuban'ya v seređine VI–nachale III veka do n.e. Nekropoli u ayla Ulyap. Pogrebal'nye komplekсы* (The Maeotians of the Kuban Region in the Mid-6th–Beginning of the 3rd Century BC. Necropoleis near Ulyap Village. Burial Complexes), Institute of Archaeology, Russian Academy of Sciences/State Museum of Oriental Art, Ministry of Culture and Mass Communications of the Russian Federation, Nauka, Moscow 2005, 192 pp., 148 figs. Cased. ISBN 5-02-010304-7

This book is devoted to the publication of Ulyap group of barrows (*kurgans*) investigated in 1982–83 by an archaeological expedition of the State Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow. The Introduction gives a brief sketch of archaeological research on Early Iron Age antiquities of north-western Ciscaucasia which led to the identification of the Maeotian culture, now interpreted from two points of view: the first regards the Maeotians as a single *ethnos* (N.V. Anfimov, V.P. Shilov, I.S. Kamenetskii, etc.); the second (L.A. Elnitskii, D. Gardiner-Garden, L.K. Galanina, A.Y. Alekseev), shared by the authors of this book, suggests that the concept does not carry a specific ethnic meaning and is not ethnicon. It

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. P. Devambez, *Grands bronzes du Musée du Stamboul* (Paris 1937).



is remarked in the Introduction that tribes and peoples of both Caucasian and Iranian origin came under the term 'Maeotians'. The authors define Maeotians as all carriers of the Maeotian archaeological culture. They point out that the publication of the material from Ulyap is important from the point of view of the characteristic of two stages development of Maeotian cultures in the Zakubane (the left bank of the River Kuban), where this culture was the 'purest' and least subjected to external influences.

The following section addresses the general characteristics of the burial ground, opening with a brief history of the excavation of the Ulyap barrows and elucidating the chronological structure and topography. It is also noted that some of the barrows were formed during the Bronze Age. The authors differentiate the Ulyap I burial ground (mid-6th–turn of the 5th/4th centuries BC) (eastern) and the physically separate Ulyap II burial ground (4th–beginning of the 3rd century BC) (western). There are detailed descriptions of the rites and grave-goods (229 human and 12 horse burials from eight barrows), though it is made clear that the ritual complexes from some of the barrows will be considered in a separate publication. In a final section the authors characterise the basic features of the funeral rites of the early and late burial grounds at Ulyap.

The authors consider that both burial grounds belonged to the same population. The early burial ground contains 169 human and six horse burials (barrows 12, 13, 15, 16). For an early burial ground the following features are characteristic: 1. The prevalence of single graves; 2. Combination in one burial ground of graves containing bodies stretched on their backs, crouched on one side and semi-crouched on their backs; 3. The head of the deceased is usually oriented in a southern/south-easterly direction; 4. The presence in warrior tombs of both whole carcasses and the skins of horses; 5. The prevalence of handmade pottery, with wheel-made examples represented mainly by Greek imports; 6. The commonest category of arms is the *akinakes*, with arrowheads and lances in second and third place, respectively.

The late burial ground, cut into the bases and surrounds of barrows 4, 6 and 7, is located 700 m to the west of the early burial ground. Sixty human and six horse burials were investigated here. The following features are common for this burial ground: 1. The deceased are predominantly in the extended position; 2. A southern or south-easterly orientation of the deceased predominates; 3. Single burials prevail, but there are also tombs containing two or three skeletons; 4. Horse carcasses are placed in tombs, sometimes on a low step, and warrior burials with a horse are the richest; 5. A large quantity of wheel-made pottery appears, which the authors believe is proof of local manufacture rather than import, and new categories of ceramics are present – jugs, cups, etc.; 6. The main category of arms is now a long Maeotian sword, completely superseding the *akinakes*, with spear-tips now in second place and (exclusively) iron arrowheads in third; 7. Among the ornaments are torques, unknown earlier.

The authors separately consider characteristic features of four complexes from barrow 11. First, the appearance of the so-called crypt burials is inherent for them; second, the appearance of a new type of vessel, the kantharos, made to imitate Greek samples; third, for the first time gorgoneia are found.

The chronology of the Ulyap necropolis is considered in the Conclusion. Overall, three chronological groups are identified, based on finds of Greek imports: Ionian and Attic tablewares; Protophasian, Mendean and Solokha I amphorae; gorgoneia, luteria, etc. The

first group is dated to the mid 6th–late 5th century BC; the second to the late 5th–third quarter of the 4th century BC; and the latest site of the Ulyap necropolis (barrow 11), the third group, to the last quarter of 4th–beginning of the 3rd century BC.

The book is furnished with tables that describe the complexes from the Ulyap burial grounds and also detailed drawings of all excavated material.

The present volume is a valuable work which expands our knowledge of the material culture of north-western Ciscaucasia and the ties of this barbarian periphery with the classical world and the steppes of the northern Black Sea hinterland in the middle of the 1st millennium BC.

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S.L. Dudarev

D.J. Mattingly, *Imperialism, Power, and Identity: Experiencing the Roman Empire*, Miriam S. Balmuth Lectures in Ancient History and Archaeology, Princeton 2010, Princeton University Press, Princeton/Oxford 2011, xxiv+342 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-691-14605-8

David Mattingly presents us with nine chapters, topped and tailed with a Preface and an Afterword 'Empire Experienced' – four based on his Balmuth lectures at Tufts in 2006 ('From *Imperium* to Imperialism: Writing the Roman Empire', 'Power, Sex, and Empire', 'Ruling Regions, Exploiting Resources' and 'Identity and Discrepancy'); three updated versions of articles published between 1996 and 2003 ('From One Colonialism to Another: Imperialism and the Maghreb', 'Landscapes of Imperialism. Africa: A Landscape of Opportunity?' and 'Family Values: Art and Power at Ghirza in the Libyan Pre-desert'); and a brace of hitherto unpublished conference papers ('Regime Change, Resistance, and Reconstruction: Imperialism Ancient and Modern', 'Metals and *Metalla*: A Roman Copper-Mining Landscape in the Wadi Faynan, Jordan') – grouped into sections 'Imperialisms and Colonialisms', 'Power', 'Resources' and 'Identity'.

M. has no dewy-eyed view of the Roman empire, its nature or any civilising mission. Rather, he seeks to formulate some realistic alternative to Romanisation, bringing 'together a series of new ideas about the character of Roman imperialism and colonialism... its economic impacts... the operation of power in colonial societies' (p. 269), with Britain and North Africa to the fore, to show how Roman power was experienced by those on its receiving end, not just by assimilated or assimilable local elites, and how they constructed complex and overlapping identities in response. – 'discrepant', borrowing the terminology of Edward Said (p. 29)

As Chapter 1 shows ('From *Imperium* to Imperialism...'), there is probably more mileage comparing ancient and modern empires than colonies/colonisation, though with many of the same complications and snares – the seduction of similar terminology leading to false analogy and the inappropriate or inexpert borrowing of modern theories; a complex system of self-referencing in which the modern self-consciously draws upon supposed ancient models and then uses its own practices as a tool for understanding those models: a veritable hall of mirrors. What do we mean by imperialism? Whilst the insights on ancient Rome of earlier scholars who had first-hand experience of or in a modern empire (as begetters, supporters, fellow travellers or recipients) are here viewed with scepticism, those gained from

post-colonial studies of modern empires are vaunted – for instance, so-called ‘subaltern studies’ or ‘native opposition and nationalism’ (pp. 59–60, 270 ), and reflections on ‘how recent developments in the study of imperialism ... could influence the future of Roman studies’ (p. xix). I would, however, have expected some reference(s) to and from the work of Keith Hancock and Roger Louis, the pre-eminent Anglophone historians of modern empire; but this is where the bibliography is a trifle thin. Moreover, it was Hancock who dismissed imperialism as ‘a pseudo-concept which sets out to make everything clear and ends by making everything muddled’<sup>1</sup> – made to mean so many things that the term itself loses its purpose. So *caveat emptor* any scholar using the term. M. accepts, sensibly, that there are divisions of opinion and ‘many differences between Roman imperialism and modern capitalist empires’ (p. 269), but to define modern empires as capitalist begs a sack-full of questions about their origins, rationale and organisation – mercantilism, autarky, ‘me-too-ism’, prestige, a sense of mission (national, racial, religious...) – that rather reinforce Hancock’s point.

The thrust of the arguments is reduced to a series of propositions in the Afterword (pp. 269–76): “Roman imperialism” is a valid construct within comparative debates on the nature of imperialism and colonialism; ‘The study of Roman imperialism is bound up with subsequent discourses on the nature of imperialism’, so we must ‘decolonize the discipline of classical studies’; ‘Roman imperialism and colonialism were dynamic processes that evolved and were transformed over time’, which is surely a commonplace and does apply to modern times; ‘We have much to learn from postcolonial and subaltern studies’ – see above; ‘The Romanization paradigm is no longer workable’ – probably, just like Hellenisation, with the same uncertainty over how far the penetration of material culture represented an intellectual assimilation; ‘Power is a particularly significant concept in the study of any empire’ – a proper sphere in which to examine power, rather than as some post-modernist abstraction leaching into everything; ‘There was an economic driver of Roman imperialism, though less overt than in some more recent manifestations of empire’ – the modern here usefully qualified by ‘some’; ‘The concept of “Identity” can be used as a key tool for studying diversity and hybridity’ – identity has layers and is, and always has been, complicated; ‘Traditional strengths of Roman archaeology/history are still core strengths’ – agreed; and ‘Taking a critical approach to the Roman empire is not a sign of prejudice’ – away with you, Pangloss!

‘Topical’ references to Iraq may well fit into lectures as delivered; in print their presence is sometimes grating and gratuitous (pp. 80, 88, 115–16, etc.). ‘A war of liberation against imperial overlords’ in relation to North American events of 1775–83 is pushing it: the next Anglo-French fixture after the Seven Years’ War is closer to the mark. Too many discourses and paradigms as well. A thoughtful, thus useful index is provided.

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<sup>1</sup> W.K. Hancock, *The Wealth of Colonies* (Cambridge 1950). And for a discussion of ancient and modern colonisations, colonialism, etc., see above in this issue.

G.S. Merker, with a contribution by C.K. Williams II, *The Greek Tile Works at Corinth. The Site and the Finds*, Hesperia Suppl. 35, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Princeton 2006, xiv+186 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 10: 0-87661-535-3 / ISBN 13: 978-0-87661-535-5

The volume is divided into four chapters. The first deals with the site of the workshops; it gives a general report on the objects excavated in the last pre-war season, of its features and the deposits revealed. The second is devoted to the products of the tile workshops; it brings a catalogue of items of various categories, moulded and turned. The third discusses other finds of Corinthian manufacture and also provides a catalogue of them, while the fourth chapter gives a catalogue of the imported clay objects found in the area of the Tile Works. The first of the two appendices gives information about the operation of the modern tile factory at Solomos. And the second contains a descriptive catalogue of the architectonic terracottas from the Tile Works at Corinth compiled by Charles K. Williams II; many of them are of superb quality. Though some of them have already been published elsewhere, the previously known corpus is hereby much enlarged, and this is an especially welcome supplement to previous books on Greek architectonic terracottas, particularly those written and edited by Nancy Winter.<sup>1</sup>

The Tile Works (ceramic workshops) were excavated in 1939. The artisans working there produced not only roof tiles but also other ceramic objects; however, the name given by the excavators has been kept, quite reasonably, even by the present author, who explains in her preface the long history of the project of publishing this sector. The publication of the Tile Works of Corinth should have been prepared by Mary Roebuck. She published two useful articles on the subject, but her manuscript did not reach the final stage at the time of her death. Architectonic terracottas from the site have been catalogued by Williams II, for many years the Director of the Corinth excavations, and the catalogue compiled by him is part of the book under review. It has to be regretted that this part brings no further detailed comparative study of this series of objects. Gladys Weinberg was also involved in the preparation of this volume, but the preparatory works of her predecessors do not at all diminish the role of Gloria Merker, who finished the exhaustive and exhausting task to bring together all the information available on the old digs of the Tile Works, and presents all categories of material identified from the old digs in good photographs, with good descriptions and brief but satisfying comments, also mentioning parallels. The kilns and other traces of workshops are described as far as possible from old notes and diaries. These works produced roof tiles, terracotta moulds and figurines, loom-weights, common and fine pottery, votive shields and small altars as well. The descriptions allow sufficiently further study of the objects. The quality of reproduction of the photographs is excellent, surpassing that of other books recently published by the American School at Athens. Though some of the most interesting tiles and other finds have already been published elsewhere, here they are put into their original context and discussed in detail according to individual categories.

<sup>1</sup> N. Winter, *Greek Architectural Terracottas from the Prehistoric to the End of the Archaic Period* (Oxford 1993); N. Winter (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Conference on Greek Architectural Terracottas of the Classical and Hellenistic Periods, December 1991* (Princeton 1994).

The main importance of the book lies in the excellent catalogue of 301 small finds and 71 decorative roof tiles in Appendix II, which offers exhaustive information on this class of object, in whose production Corinthian craftsmen were among the best in Archaic and Classical Greece. But the overall impression from the book is that other products in terracotta were first class of their kind. The fine Corinthian clay used by the workshops enabled excellent moulds and their exact impressions even with small details of the originals models. The fine moulds can compete with similar Attic products, known from the Agora and Kerameikos, but even mortars and louteria are of excellent quality, as are conical loom-weights, with a number of clear imprints of gems, probably representing their owners. Among the pottery, black-glazed and common vessels prevail, including trade amphorae and lamps. The set of terracotta figurines is not large, but of splendid style and execution, as are the published clay moulds for clay figurines and reliefs, or perhaps also for models of appliqués of bronze vessels and utensils, another field in which Corinthian masters had a leading position. Of imported pottery, Athens took first place during the 5th and 4th centuries in the field of fine pottery and lamps, while some other centres are also represented in this class, among them Argos and Laconia.

The work is important supplement to the Excavations at Corinth series, and though it does not include objects equal to those of some other volumes in this series, even the more modest items published here confirm the mastery of those who produced items in the Corinthian workshops.

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Jan Bouzek

F. Millar, *A Greek Roman Empire. Power and Belief under Theodosius II (408-450)*, Sather Classical Lectures 64, The Joan Pelevsky Imprint in Classical Literature, University of California Press, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 2006, xxvi+280 pp., 11 figs. Cased. ISBN 0-520-24703-5

This volume is based on the six lectures, to which its six chapters correspond, given by Fergus Millar at the University of California in Berkeley in early 2003, as the visiting Sather Professor of Classical Literature. The aim, as M. himself states, was 'in essence,... to treat all the material, whether addressed to the emperor or issued by him or his officials, as examples of the rhetoric of persuasion and self-justification... forming a bridge between the governmental and administrative history...and cultural history' (p. xiv). M. concentrates primarily on 'arguments and narratives produced by contemporaries, as incorporated in surviving documents, and as designed to express their point of view in what were often ... situation of profound debate and disagreement' (p. xv), on the balance between Greek and Latin which marked the 'Greek Roman empire'. The reign of Theodosius II makes an excellent example for the realisation of these aims: it is relatively neglected in the relevant studies but, on the other hand, the documentation is so rich, especially in *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, that Ronald Syme's phrase 'there is work to be done' is perfectly applicable to the subject taken up by M. What were the Roman-ness, Greekness and Latin-ness of the empire of Theodosius II? These are the most intriguing questions raised and answered by M.

Chapter 1, 'Roman and Greek: State and Subject' (pp. 1–38) is a starting point for further discussion. The administrative and for some time military structures of the empire of Theodosius II were directly inherited from the unified Roman empire. The imperial legal documentation, issued in both West and East, as well as the legends on the coins, was still in Latin, while the normal language of the majority of the population of the East, including the Church, was Greek. The Latin legislation was intended to symbolise the continuing unity of the Roman empire. However, in the time of Theodosius II there could be no united state: there were twin empires, closely connected, but 'distinct in administrative and military structure ...and, in every sphere except one, in language' (p. 5). So, there was, according to M., 'a separate "Greek Roman Empire", twinned with its western, Latin-speaking, counterpart – but separate all the same' (p. 7). Its Latin legislation, however, developed under the more visible influence of the dialogue with its Greek subjects than with the imperial court in the West: as soon as the administration stepped outside the bounds of internal communication and addressed its subjects, it shifted into Greek (p. 21). As M. shows, the dialogue in Greek with the Greek subjects who could not properly understand Latin, was a characteristic feature of the development of the 'Roman empire' of Theodosius II.

In the next two chapters – 'Security and Insecurity' (pp. 39–83) and 'Integration and Diversity' (p. 84–129) – M. analyses the level of coherence of the functioning of the state of Theodosius II in its border regions and inside its frontiers, in connection with different groups of 'dissidents'.

The 'frontier study' is especially interesting, since the frontiers were not simple lines drawn on the map, but rather zones of interaction of various ethnic, religious and political groups on both sides of the border. It is possibly engagement in border affairs that prevented Theodosius from fulfilling his idea of creating a common system of legislation for the Western and Eastern parts of the empire until 447. In spite of military pressure, the empire of Theodosius II demonstrated, according to M., a remarkable sensitivity to the conflicts in the border regions, great coherence (never achieved before) and, in the end, maintained its frontiers intact. 'True belief gives military success': this was the burden of the accounts of the reign of Theodosius II. And, as M. shows, the only groups that emerged as a significant source of conflict could be seen as religious deviants, especially Christian heresies.

In this respect the connections between the civil state and the Church are of great importance for a proper understanding of the empire of Theodosius II. These, besides the ascetic movement, the rhetoric of persuasion, self-justification and command, and the means of enforcement of the emperor's will, constitute this side of the empire's daily life and are thoroughly studied in the next chapter, 'State and Church. Civil administration, Ecclesiastical Hierarchy and Spiritual Power' (pp. 130–67). Remarkable is the intersection of the interests of the Church with the practical needs of the state, which involved even the emperor in person. Especially characteristic here is the example of Nestorius, whose activity led after all to divisions between the Catholic Church of the West and Orthodox Church of the East, and between the Greek- and Syriac-speaking Churches of the East themselves.

The figures of Nestorius and his ally Irenaeus are unique for demonstrating the great concern of the emperor for doctrinal conformity in the Church – this subject is taken up in a relevant chapter: 'State Power and moral Defiance. Nestosius and Irenaeus' (pp. 168–91). M. shows precisely how imperial laws were transmitted to the lower, Greek-speaking and Greek-thinking layers of the state structure of the 'Latin Roman empire'.

The last chapter, 'Persuasion, Influence and Power' (pp. 192–234), highlights the depth of understanding of the working of persuasion and communication, the ways and persons responsible for formulating and expressing imperial decisions, correspondence between the ideology of collective decision-making or law-giving and reality. Its complicated 'Greek Roman' mechanism, revealed by M., constituted the core of the Theodosian empire as political system.

The work by M. is not *stricto sensu* finished. The Appendix, which had been intended to register all the public documents of the reign of Theodosius II and all the communications addressed to the emperor, has not appeared as was planned. It exists as an advanced draft and possibly will be published separately. All the readers of *A Greek Roman Empire* will wait impatiently for its publication.

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J. Mühlenbrock, *Tetrapylon. Zur Geschichte des viertorigen Bogenmonumentes in der römischen Architektur*, Scriptorium, Münster 2003, 313 pp., 50 tabs. Cased. ISBN 3-942610-26-1

Our image of the classical city is much formed by the impressive physical remains of buildings erected during the Principate. Among the most imposing of such buildings are monumental four-way arches or *tetrapyla*, which have been prime candidates for visually striking anastylosis (for example at Aphrodisias and Gerasa). In this fine book, Mühlenbrock assembles the evidence for these structures and tries to clarify their typology and function. The book is divided into two parts. The first (pp. 12–125) is a series of analytical chapters discussing the important features of the arches: terminology ancient and modern (Chapter 1), urban position and function (Chapter 2), aspects of physical form and decoration (Chapters 3–8), builders and dedicatees (Chapter 9). These lead to a general chapter (10) on overall typology, followed by concluding remarks (pp. 121–25).

The second part is a catalogue of monuments (pp. 127–298). There are 69 entries in all, grouped by modern country, starting with Italy, then traversing the empire in an approximately counter-clockwise fashion from Great Britain to Austria. The nature of attestation is very variable, ranging from the substantially intact or restored to ambiguous archaeological traces. Also included are those known solely from literary evidence (Antioch, TR 1–5; Mytilene, GR 1), coins, or other forms of representation (Ostia, I 5; Pozzuoli, I 7). Most intriguing are perhaps the three statue bases in the form of mini-tetrapyla from Leptis Magna (LAR 5).

Each catalogue entry gives a full bibliography and discussion. Fifty pages of plates are assembled at the back, although it would sometimes have been useful to have a plan or reconstruction adjacent to and designed for the relevant entry. With the physical remains or other evidence often thin, M. gives the views and controversies of previous scholars, and does not draw overly dogmatic conclusions. This is important since the location, form or even existence of many monuments is open to doubt, as with the Flavian arches in Rome (I 9–10).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M.'s otherwise full bibliography omits the useful discussion of these in R. Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture: A Study of Flavian Rome* (Brussels 1996), 130–33 and 238–39.



The book is rounded off by a map, chronological list, bibliographical abbreviations (there is no general combined bibliography) and an index of places. I noted only two significant errors: Potaissa (RO 1) is wrongly identified as Gamzigrad (repeated from the previous entry) instead of Turda; and Justinian has slipped down a line in the third row of the chronological table (p. 300).

What catalogue and discussion reveal is both regional and chronological variation. The monuments are of three types:

1. The tetrapylon or four-way arch proper, as best illustrated by that of Janus Quadri-frons in Rome (I 14), which differs from one, two and three-way arches by having two directions of through-way;

2. The tetrakionia monument (pp. 109–13), where each of the four podia carries four columns (although contrast the single column form at Ptolemais, LAR 6), but where the through-ways are open to the sky (Palmyra, SYR 5). This is a later phenomenon typical of Syria and Arabia;

3. The groma monument (pp. 114–20), similar to the standard tetrapylon, but associated with legionary camps from the early second century onwards.

Function can be approached in two ways. There is the political or ideological motivation, for example honouring an emperor or celebrating a victory, although this requires fairly explicit evidence in the form of inscriptions (Leptis, LAR 2–3) or through sculpture (Thessalonica, GR 3). Private monuments are all early (for example the Gavii at Verona, I 16). Then there is the urban function. The earlier examples, mainly Italian, often serve as gateways at the corner of a forum or for building complexes, in which they are architecturally engaged. This is sometimes even extra-mural (late example at Corycus, TR 9). The great free-standing arches, however, preside over major interstices of the urban grid. The significance of such a locus can be highlighted from the case of the tetrapylon at Amida (Diyarbakır) in Mesopotamia (not in M.'s gazetteer), which was used for a high-profile execution in the reign of Justinian.<sup>2</sup> In the military context, the groma-monument is a starting place for measurement at the key point of the camp, where the *via praetoria* and *via principalis* meet in front of the praetorium. The paradigm is that at Lambaesis (DZ 2).<sup>3</sup> The great arch at Richborough (GB 2) was sometimes seen as this type, although it is perhaps better to consider it as the formal *accessus Britanniae*, triumphally marking the end of conquest. There is, however, a clearer British example, overlooked by M., from the legionary fortress at Caerleon, which may have been significantly intact until deliberately demolished in the 13th century.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> A Chalcedonian bishop burned a dissident Christian, which is known from various chronicles. See W. Witakowski, *Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, Chronicle Part III* (Liverpool 1996), 34–35 = A. Harrak, *The Chronicle of Zuqnin Parts III and IV, AD 488–775* (Toronto 1999), 62; G. Greatrex (ed.), *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor: Church and War in Late Antiquity* (Liverpool 2011), 397.

<sup>3</sup> For its two building phases, see now F. Rakob, 'Die Bauphasen des Groma-Gebäudes im Legionslager von Lambaesis'. *RömMitt* 108 (2001), 7–40.

<sup>4</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerarium Cambriae* I.5 (Rolls Series 21/6, 55): *turrim giganteam*; J.D. Zienkiewicz, 'Excavations in the scamnum tribunorum at Caerleon: the legionary Museum site 1983–5'. *Britannia* 24 (1993), 140; R. Howell, 'The demolition of the Roman tetrapylon in Caerleon: an erasure of memory'. *OJA* 19 (2000), 387–95.

Chronologically, the tetrapylon phenomenon spans the period from Augustus to Constantine (table, p. 300). There are a few later examples, even into the Umayyad period, which is marked by conspicuous continuity with late antique culture.<sup>5</sup> Geographically the form starts in Italy and the West, spreading after the early Principate to North Africa and then the East.

Although there is a marked resurgence in the format in the tetrarchic period, one idea which M. does not explore is whether four-fold monuments were used to project the four-fold government of the tetrarchs. Such a possibility has recently been suggested for tetra-kionia monuments, based on a study of the South Tetrapylon at Gerasa (JOR 3), so that the statue of one tetrarch would have nestled between the columns of each podium.<sup>6</sup> This integration of tetrarchy and architecture has been proposed for other analogous contexts.<sup>7</sup>

In conclusion, not only does this book helpfully provide a detailed gazetteer of sites and associated evidence, but M.'s clarification and classification of the monuments reveal geographical and chronological patterns, which, even if not entirely consistent, must be borne in mind in any future work on the urban fabric. Indeed, the virtue of a work concentrating on four-way arches in isolation is that their distinctiveness can afterwards be integrated into synthesising studies of arches, or monumental architecture in general, in a more nuanced fashion.

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Simon Corcoran

M. Munn, *The Mother of the Gods, Athens, and the Tyranny of Asia. Study of Sovereignty in Ancient Religion*, The Joan Pelevsky Imprint in Classical Literature, University of California Press, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 2006, xxii+452 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 0-520-24349-8

The Great Mother Goddess under her different names in Greece and Anatolia has been the subject of many a vast scholarly work. Attempts were made even to relate the worship of the prehistoric female deity from Çatal Höyük to that of the Phrygian Cybele, of the Greek Mother of the Gods and, finally, of the Virgin Mary.<sup>1</sup> In the last decade or so two substantial monographs appeared on the Mother of the Gods or Cybele.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Thus recently G. Fowden, *Qusayr 'Amra: Art and the Umayyad Elite in Late Antique Syria* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 2004).

<sup>6</sup> W. Wolfgang, 'Tetrakionia. Überlegungen zu einem Denkmaltypus tetrarchischer Zeit im Osten des römischen Reiches'. *Antiquité Tardive* 10 (2002), 299–326.

<sup>7</sup> W. Thiel, 'Die "Pompeius-Säule" in Alexandria und die Vier-Säulen-Monumente Ägyptens. Überlegungen zur tetrarchischen Repräsentationskultur in Nordafrika'. In D. Boschung and W. Eck (eds.), *Die Tetrarchie: ein neues Regierungssystem und seine mediale Präsentation* (Wiesbaden 2006), 249–322.

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, E.O. James, *The Cult of the Mother-Goddess: An Archaeological and Documentary Study* (London 1959); G. Showerman, *The Great Mother of the Gods* (Madison, WI 1901; Chicago 1969); H.H.J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea: The Sources and a Description of a Cult* (Leiden/New York/Copenhagen/Cologne 1989); F. Işık, *Doğa Ana Kubaba: Tanrıçaların Ege'de buluşması* (Antalya 1999).

<sup>2</sup> P. Borgeaud, *La mère des dieux: De Cybèle à la Vierge Marie* (Seoul 1996); L.E. Roller, *In the Search of God the Mother: The Cult of Anatolian Cybele* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1999).

One can hardly imagine an important new contribution on the topic after the exhaustive book by Lynn Roller. This is especially true of her comprehensive research on the monuments and cult of the Phrygian Mother Goddess. However, Mark Munn's book does offer a contribution in treating the subject. As M. himself states (p. 3), his book presents familiar elements but assembled in a new way that leads to a somewhat different interpretation.

Most of the studies devoted to the Phrygian goddess and her acceptance in Athens in the 5th century BC deal mainly with the religious and mythological aspects, and barely with proper historical issues. M. attempts to situate the cult of the goddess in the historical development of Classical Greece (Athens). The significance of this work is the challenge taken up of explaining how religion functions in society, and especially in Greek society of the Classical period. Religious ideology in Classical Athens is not just framed in a couple of important events, but tested on different levels and spheres, such as geography, cosmology and philosophy.

M. focuses on the Greek perspective of the cult. One of the important aspects of the study is the revealing of 'Orientalisms' in Greek culture and Hellenic syncretism during the Classical period. Considering the cult of the goddess in the context of the ideology of power is justified as the Phrygian ruler was intimately involved in the cult of the Phrygian Mother Goddess. As the study is centred on Classical Greece and Athens, the use of 'tyranny' and 'sovereignty' is quite appropriate.

The first chapter, 'Sovereignty and Divinity in Classical Greek Thought' (pp. 13–55), sets the background against which the research will further develop. M. examines the Greek perception of the divine, divine kingship, sovereignty as reflected in religious thought, as well as the concept of sovereignty embodied in Asiatic tyranny and monarchies, especially in Lydia. Indeed, Phrygian and Lydian kingship models were the nearest to be observed by the Eastern Greeks, the Ionians, and following the changes in Greek view and attitude towards these monarchies is essential for M.'s ideas. Maybe it would have been worth noting briefly that divine kingship as reflected in the theogony, or the so-called 'Succession Myth', had yet earlier Near Eastern mythological prototypes, already widely discussed.<sup>3</sup>

In the second chapter, 'The Mother of the Gods and the Sovereignty of Midas', M. studies the 'archetypal image of sovereignty' embodied by the Phrygian king in Greek tradition. First, the versions of the story about the Metragyrtes, or the begging priest of the Mother of the Gods in Athens, all of them of later date, are presented. The texts receive critical examination and some interpretations of the legend that have relied on an incorrect translation are discarded (the site of the Metroön was not the spot where the Metragyrtes' grave had been: p. 59, n. 11; p. 65, nn. 32–33).

Then he turns to King Midas, Phrygia and the cult of the Mother Goddess there. Throughout his book M. works very carefully with the ancient texts, attempting a critical analysis and chronological presentation. However, in the case of the different legends about Midas seizing the power in Gordion, all versions are treated to fit M.'s ideas without much discussion of the possible sources and dates of the texts.

<sup>3</sup> M.L. West, *The East Face of Helicon: West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth* (Oxford 1999).

M. rightly notes that the boundaries of ancient Phrygia were ill defined. However, Hellespontine Phrygia might have been inherited from the Persian satrapal divisions, but in fact the name appeared as late as the establishment of the Hellenistic and Roman administrative systems.<sup>4</sup> The Greeks of Archaic and Classical times had a rather obscure knowledge of the Anatolian plateau;<sup>5</sup> thus, the landmarks associated with Midas seem to be of later date and secondary. The Phrygian Mother Goddess was worshipped in mountainous and rocky surroundings. So, I would suggest that Midas' toponymy, if any, seems to have been shaped after the landmarks of Cybele rather than *vice versa*, as claimed by M.

The versions of the Gordion Knot story have previously been widely discussed. Yet there is no secure evidence that the account was Phrygian in origin. These are Greek literary accounts shaped most probably by Alexander the Great's historians.<sup>6</sup> Against the background of the domestic Phrygian evidence we can only suggest that they reflect the general idea of Phrygian kingship and the king's involvement in the cult of the Mother Goddess. It is very tempting but highly unlikely that the attributes of the goddess as depicted on the stone reliefs from Phrygia (7th–6th centuries BC) – a hawk/eagle and a water vessel – may be explained by Arrian's narrative about the Gordion knot.

With Chapter 3, 'The Mother of the Gods and the Ideals of Lydian Tyranny' (pp. 96–130), M. starts to present his debate-stimulating ideas and focuses on Lydian kingship. Lydian 'appropriation of Phrygian tradition' (p. 97) is beyond any doubt: Lydia was the intermediary through which Phrygian cultural heritage reached the Greeks. However, the statement that 'the Hellespontine lands ... were the ancestral home to the Mermnad tyrants of Lydia' (p. 129) is not a well-grounded hypothesis. The onomastic scheme drawn with Dardanus, Aeneas, Daskylos/Daskylitis and Gyges might seem neat at first glance but its Lydian 'beneficiary' is far from proven.<sup>7</sup> It is worth remembering that the inhabitants of the Hellespontine shores were the Thracians, according to *The Iliad* (2. 844–845).

The other questionable issue is the relationship, if any, between the Syrian goddess Kubaba and Phrygian Cybele. Recent scholarship tends to draw a line between the two deities, and linguists speak against the possibility of Kubaba being transformed into Cybele. M.'s trying to prove the opposite is very attractive but cannot be satisfactory without further evidence. The similarity between Kubaba and Cybele is rather arguable on the grounds of their capacity as king's protectors. It is not plausible that the mirror in Kubaba's hand was a sign of her famous beauty.

The fourth chapter, 'The Mother of the Gods and the Practices of Lydian Tyranny', approaches the image of Attis, or the sacred marriage and the death of the king/'shepherd' lamented by the goddess. Parallels between Mesopotamian and Lydian traditions are drawn

<sup>4</sup> M. Vassileva, 'Thracian-Phrygian cultural zone: The Daskyleion evidence'. *Orpheus* 5 (1995), 27–34.

<sup>5</sup> The name of the Phrygian capital Gordion appears as late as Xenophon's *Hellenica* (1. 4.1).

<sup>6</sup> M. Vassileva, 'King Midas and the Gordion knot'. *Thracia* 15: *In honorem annorum LXX Alexandri Fol* (Sofia 2003), 371–82.

<sup>7</sup> M. is obviously following the ideas of Beekes, which are far from being generally accepted: R. Beekes, 'The prehistory of the Lydians, the origin of the Etruscans, Troy and Aeneas'. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 59.3/4 (2002), 205–41; *The Origin of the Etruscans* (Amsterdam 2003).

to lead to the interpretation of the grief for Attis. M. compares Herodotus' story about Croesus' son, Atys, who could not escape his fate of dying in a boar hunt in Mysia, with ritual practices of Assyrian and Babylonian kings. His statement that 'there is every reason to believe that Atys son of Croesus was a historical figure' (p. 143) remains ungrounded. No serious evidence can be furnished for the suggestion that Croesus' son was an appropriate sponsor of 'the Midas Monument' where the dedicant's name is *Ates* (M-01a) (pp. 143–44). This same idea was independently proposed and even more vigorously defended by S. Berndt-Ersöz.<sup>8</sup>

M. examines numerous pieces of evidence about eunuchs holding high office or being priests (of Artemis at Ephesus) in the Near East. However, we do not have any indication of eunuchs-priests in Phrygia prior to the time of the Hellenistic sanctuary at Pessinus.

It seems appropriate to include a chapter on the early Ionian geographical maps here, as the name Asia was first applied to Lydian territory. Early Greek geography owed much to cosmology but also echoed contemporary political and ideological ideas. A Lydo-Ionian worldview is very likely as is the political use of the maps (the example of Aristagoras: pp. 216–18).

The grounds for comparison between the landscapes of creation at Sardis and at Delos remain hypothetical. However, these pages touch the problem of the worship of Apollo next to a mother-deity in Ionia (and not only there), which itself can be the subject of a specific study.

In the sixth chapter, 'The Mother of the Gods and Persian Sovereignty' (pp. 221–61), M. offers one of the main ideas of his book, namely that the murder of Darius' heralds in Athens on the eve of the Persian Wars was the historical event behind the fate of the Metragyrtes, the priest of the Mother of the Gods, put to death by the Athenians. This is a fresh and innovative insight into the Greek literary evidence. M. himself foresees much of the scepticism that such an interpretation may receive (pp. 258–81) against the mainstream of scholarship, which denies the historicity of Herodotus' story about the messengers. This is a resourceful thought, although one can hardly agree with all the details. It seems more plausible that the story of the Metragyrtes was shaped later, after the incident with the Persian envoys (notwithstanding the authenticity of the account). This would have followed the logic of the Greek (Athenian) perception of the Persians and Asia during and after the military conflict. There is no sufficient evidence that the Greeks identified Phrygians, Trojans, Asians and finally Persians with eunuchs until a later age. Persian adoption of the Phrygian and Lydian symbolism of power (religious included) is credible.

The seventh chapter, 'Persian Sovereignty and the Gods of the Athenians' (pp. 262–92), is devoted to the possible consequences of the murder of the Persian heralds. The turning to the cult of Artemis or Demeter is considered against the background of political events. An interesting view is that both Miltiades and Themistocles met their ill fate because of

<sup>8</sup> In a paper read in Bonn, May 2005 and published as S. Berndt-Ersöz, 'The Anatolian Origin of Attis'. In M. Hutter and S. Hutter-Braunsar (eds.), *Pluralismus und Wandel in den Religionen im vorhellenistischen Anatolien* (Münster 2006), 9–39; and then in her book *Phrygian Rock-Cut Shrines: Structure, Function and Cult Practice* (Leiden/Boston 2006).

their connection to the decision about the death of the heralds. The foundation of the Delian League changed the religious focus to Apollo and Eleusinian Demeter.

In the eighth chapter, 'Herodotus and the gods' (pp. 293–316), M considers the role of the gods in political history according to Herodotus. He makes use of the most recent scholarship on Herodotus.<sup>9</sup>

Chapter 9, 'The Mother of the Gods at Athens' (pp. 317–49), rounds up the question about the acceptance of the Mother of the Gods in Athens. According to M., it was also connected with a political occasion: the return of Alcibiades to Athens from exile in 408 BC. Alcibiades' attempts at arranging a new alliance between Athens and Persia, his stay at Sardis and his probable devotion to the rites of tyranny seem a likely background for the official acceptance of the cult of the Asiatic goddess by the Athenians upon his triumphant return.

M.'s book is not easy to read with its extensive footnotes. On numerous diverse topics (ranging from theology, philosophy and linguistics to political history and ancient cult) he offers critical interpretations and an extensive bibliography. A number of new ideas are suggested on the place of the Mother of the Gods in Greek political and religious thought and life, as well as on the relationship between Greece and the East. His main contribution lies in the demonstration of the interconnection between religion and politics in Classical Greece. Although one can disagree with some hypothetical interpretations, this is a valuable, resourceful and innovative book.

New Bulgarian University, Sofia

Maya Vassileva

R. Ostman, *The City and Complexity: Volterra, Italy. Pottery Production during the Hellenistic Etruscan Period and the Late Roman to Late Antique Period*, BAR International Series 1251, Archaeopress, Oxford 2004, VIII+266 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 1-84171-611-1

While much has been written about the development of increasing social complexity, Rae Ostman's book looks at society in a period of decline and the decreasing social complexity that followed the collapse of the Roman empire in Italy. The effect of global changes on an Italian city-state and how the transformation of the imperial economy was reflected in local production, distribution and consumption are studied. O. suggests that changes in settlement and economic patterns may have been deliberate responses to changing residential patterns, rather than being simply passive responses to societal collapse.

O. argues that if a specialised craft economy is essential to the development of increasing social complexity, then changes resulting from decreased social complexity will also be reflected in the craft sector. Pottery production in a period of decline was compared with production in a period of growth. The city of Volterra, in particular the Vallebuona quarter, and the pottery found there, provided the focus for the study. The Hellenistic Etruscan period dated from the 3rd through to the 1st century BC represents the period of urban expansion, while the late Roman to late antique period, the 2nd–6th centuries AD,

<sup>9</sup> Especially N. Luraghi (ed.), *The Historian's Craft in the Age of Herodotus* (Oxford 2001).

represents the city in a period of decline and decreasing social complexity, a time when the Roman empire was collapsing. The pottery from these two periods was compared to determine if there was a continuity of production or whether the changes in the structure of the Roman empire impacted on overall production, and whether there really was a decline in regional areas as the empire collapsed or an underlying continuity of cultural traditions.

The first three chapters provide an introduction to the history of the study of complexity, the environment of the Volterra region and the study collection. The pottery catalogue forms the largest section of the book (Chapter 4), where sherds from both periods are catalogued on the basis of ware and shape, with forms identified mainly by rim morphology. Chapter 5 is the formal analysis of the catalogue where continuity of form variants and wares are presented. The characterisation and comparison of the fabric of the various catalogued wares is presented in Chapter 6, with an economic and technological analysis of the two collections provided in Chapter 7. Chapter 8 discusses the material culture analysis of the collection to determine if patterns of pottery consumption might have reflected possible changes in Volterranean society and culture. To determine the region of production of the pottery in the collection, Chapters 9 and 11 present the results of clay and soil studies and Chapter 10 the results of test firing and fabric comparison with existing pieces from the region. Chapter 12 summarises the evidence for local production and the changes that occurred to the ceramic fabric over time. The final chapter is an overall conclusion and summarises the findings of the study.

The study has one essential flaw: the pottery sample while seemingly large is not really so when viewed over the length of the two time periods considered. Generalisations about continuity of form may be considered valid but, overall, the significance of any other findings would appear limited. The fragmentary nature of the collection, as noted by O., restricted the identification of forms, which were only tentatively assigned, thereby limiting any conclusions made. The site and its importance to the study are discussed, but there is no information about the original archaeological context of the pottery, whether it was from primary or secondary deposits. This again may impact on any conclusions made.

The text, probably due to the essential nature of the dissertation, is repetitive, which at times detracts from the arguments being presented. While not always the case, O.'s arguments were at times difficult to follow. For example, while the statistical analysis of the results was well presented, the discussion of technological matters and the economic analysis in Chapter 7 was confused by an unclear methodology.

Overall, the book is a mixed success. It is unfortunate that the fragmentary nature of the collection limits its use as a comparative tool. The chapters that deal with the scientific elements of the study (such as the fabric analysis) are the most successful, and there is much here for those interested in pottery production in Volterra and its surrounding regions. The basic thesis, looking at decline as opposed to growth to determine the impacts of declining social complexity, is engaging, and O.'s study points the way for future studies.



D. Peacock and D. Williams (eds.), *Food for the Gods: New Light on the Ancient Incense Trade*, Oxbow Books, Oxford 2007, xiv+152 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 10: 1-84217-225-5 / ISBN 13: 978-1-84217-225-4

Incense was a valuable and sought after commodity in the ancient world, featuring in the religious and funerary rituals of Egypt, Greece and Mesopotamia from the 2nd millennium BC. Egypt's incense came from the 'Land of Punt', probably on the north-east coast of Africa, but from the early 1st millennium, the kingdoms of South Arabia (modern Yemen) became the principal source. Frankincense and myrrh, the aromatic resins of the *Boswellia* and *Commiphora* trees, were native to this region, and the Sayhadic kingdoms, particularly Hadhramaut, with its capital at Shabwa, were the starting point for a complex network of overland routes that served the civilisations of the Levant, the Mediterranean and Persia. In the Roman period, demand for incense increased, and new, maritime lines of trade were established that connected India and Arabia with the Red Sea ports of southern Egypt.

This collection of articles examines the ancient incense trade of southern Arabia, focusing on maritime trade in the Roman period, from the 1st century BC. Caroline Singer introduces the topic with a background and overview of the incense kingdoms of South Arabia, charting the history of incense production in the region and the emergence of long-distance trade networks. Maritime trade between Arabia and Roman Egypt is the subject of a geochemical study of ships' ballast by David Peacock, David Williams and Sarah James, which uses chemical and petrographic analysis to investigate the origins of discarded basalt and obsidian from sites on the Red Sea coast. The port of Qana' (Kanê) was the main point of export from where incense was shipped. An account of recent excavations there, and a synthesis of archaeological evidence for the site's chronology, is presented by Alexander Sedov. This is followed by Sunil Gupta's article on the Indo-Arabian-Roman aromatics trade, which discusses the site of Kamrej on the west coast of India. Historical evidence from the Red Sea port of Adulis is presented by Peacock and Lucy Blue; the role of incense in Mithraic ritual is examined by Joanna Bird; and the volume concludes with an article by Myra Shackley on the modern-day incense trade.

Two ancient texts are especially informative on the incense trade in pre-Islamic Arabia. Book 12 of Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* contains passages that detail the cultivation, harvesting and distribution of frankincense and myrrh, as well as the structure and organisation of the trade. The overland route described by Pliny, along the west of the Arabian Peninsula to Gaza, has been seen as the principal direction by which incense reached the cities of the Mediterranean, but from the early 1st century BC, direct maritime links with Arabia were established. Sea trade may have been partly a response to the growing demand for incense in the Roman world, however the journey was only possible once sailors had acquired the skills to navigate between the Red Sea, Arabia and India, exploiting seasonal monsoon winds. The main written source on this maritime route is the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, a sailor's handbook written in the mid-1st century AD, which gives practical information on the geography, languages, cultures and trading opportunities encountered at ports along the way.

Written sources contain many details on the incense trade's organisation and operation, however archaeological evidence enriches and supplements the historical record. Material evidence for the incense trade ranges from the monumental architecture of port settlements

to sherds of pottery and other small finds. Frankincense has occasionally been found at archaeological sites, although it has a low survival rate, and most evidence for its presence is indirect. Ships' ballast is another material consequence of maritime trade. Examination of its origins and distribution provides strong evidence for the routes by which goods were transported, and the weight and nature of cargoes.

The provenance of ballast stones can be determined by geological means. Examination of basalt and obsidian from Myos Hormos, Berenike and other Roman sites on the Red Sea coast, involved collecting samples from likely volcanic outcrops along the south coast of Arabia and the east coast of Africa. Their geochemical composition was analysed, and the results compared with the archaeological finds. The chemically analysed samples were then examined in thin section under the petrological microscope. These experiments established that the obsidian came from East Africa, while all the basalt originated from the southern coast of the Arabian peninsula, with Qana' being the principal source.

The site of Qana' centres on a large, volcanic rock known as Husn al-Ghurāb, which forms a promontory that provides a sheltered harbour, with the settlement located just north of the citadel. Archaeological research has been conducted at Qana' (modern Bi'r 'Alī) since 1972, with systematic excavations starting in 1985. A synthesis of results from this long-running project is presented by Alexander Sedov, in a concise summary of the settlement's topography and chronological development, which describes the various architectural and artefactual features of the site, including the well-preserved remains of a lighthouse, warehouses and other port infrastructure. Three stratigraphic phases are distinguished: the lower sequence dates from the second half of the 1st century BC to the middle or late 1st century AD, and includes Dressel 2–4 amphorae and Eastern Sigillata wares; the middle level is dated from the 2nd to the 5th centuries AD on the basis of pottery and coin finds, and its architecture includes large, multi-roomed dwellings with enclosed courtyards; the upper occupation phase dates from the 6th to the early 7th century, characterised by storage vessels with ribbed bodies and sherds of Gaza, or Late Roman 4 amphorae.

Research at the port of Kamrej on the west coast of India is the focus of Sunil Gupta's article, which refers to an Indian economic treatise, the *Arthashastra*, to argue that Arabian imports stimulated the need for reciprocal supplies. The presence of Indian pottery at coastal sites in Arabia and Egypt confirms the operation of a 'triangular' Red Sea-Arabian-Indian trade network as described in the *Periplus*, which entailed the supply of Indian goods including sesame oil, cloth and iron to Arabia. A third coastal port, Adulis on the southern Red Sea (in modern Eritrea), is discussed in a short article that assesses historical information for this important site, where archaeological fieldwork has recently commenced. The main focus of this volume is on the circulation, rather than the consumption of incense, though Bird explores the role of aromatics in Mithraic ritual, referring to historical and pictorial evidence to consider practical and symbolic aspects of its usage. The continuing value of incense in the modern day, and the operation of the contemporary incense trade are addressed by Shackley, who demonstrates how many features of the trade, from harvesting, distribution routes and use in religious ceremony, have changed little since the time of antiquity.

The information contained in this well-illustrated volume is at the same time detailed and highly readable, and likely to interest a range of disciplines and research fields. Employing different perspectives and a variety of evidence to address trade in a distinctive

commodity allows diversity but retains focus. This thematic approach to the study of ancient trade would be profitably applied to other markets and commodities.

University of Melbourne

William Anderson

J. Pollini (ed.), *Terra Marique: Studies in Art History and Marine Archaeology in Honor of Anna Marguerite McCann on the Receipt of the Gold Medal of the Archaeological Institute of America*, Oxbow Books, Oxford 2005, xxii+266 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 1-84217-148-8

This well-produced volume contains 19 papers on a wide range of subjects, as well as a tribute to Anna Marguerite McCann and a list of her publications. The first 11 papers, on art and archaeology, reflect the honorand's first scholarly interests, especially in Roman sculpture. Here there are several offerings of interest to readers of *AWE*, principally an excellent study of Julio-Claudian portrait heads by John Pollini, which includes a discussion of Egyptian materials and techniques. Catherine de Grazia Vanderpool, on 'Fashioning Plancia Magna', gives insights into the portrayal of rich and powerful, but modest, women of Perge and other eastern Roman cities in the 2nd century AD. Maria Teresa Marabini Moevs explores Dionysiac iconography both at Alexandria and in the 'Campanian' relief plaques of Roman Italy, though this reviewer found the outlook of the paper rather limited. Other papers in this section are to do with archaeological approaches and techniques, and of these the best is 'The eruption of Vesuvius and Campanian Dressel 2-4 amphorae' by David Williams and David Peacock: the authors move effortlessly from geology to history to archaeological materials, a fine example of interdisciplinary scholarship in action (though without any specific East-West relevance, in this instance).

The second section (prefaced by a splendid colour photograph of Anna Marguerite, suited and bottled for a SCUBA dive) is on Marine Archaeology and Technology. Here Robert Ballard begins the section with a short overview paper on 'Deep water archaeology', a prelude to papers by Aaron Brody and Lawrence Stager on Phoenician seafaring, centred upon the two 8th-century BC wrecks found in 400 m depth by Ballard's 1997 expedition off Ashkelon. Both Brody and Stager make full use of literary references and comparative archaeological material to illuminate Phoenician trade and religious practices. These two papers are excellent reading, and are commended to anyone with an interest in the culture and economics of the ancient Mediterranean world. Other papers in this section are perhaps less exciting, though full of information – on a Lycian sunken harbour town, on Roman force pumps and on the economic activity of Cosa in Etruria.

Any classical archaeology student will do well to read the whole volume, for the breadth and the clarity of most of the contributions are highly instructive. Those interested in ancient shipwrecks, Old Testament studies, or Paestinian archaeology, will find important material in the second section of the volume. It is an attractive book to handle and read, and will make a fine addition to the holdings of any library, whether private or institutional. In commending it, your reviewer apologises to publisher and contributors for the delay in producing these comments, which should not affect the success of the publication – something thoroughly deserved by the fortunate recipient of this congratulatory volume.

University of Bristol

A.J. Parker

J. Ray, *The Rosetta Stone and the Rebirth of Ancient Egypt*, Wonders of the World, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 2007, 200 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 10: 0-674-02493-1 / ISBN 13: 978-0-674-02493-9

This little book takes as its main focus the very monument that brought back to us the history and life of ancient Egypt. Although the trilingual text on the Rosetta Stone is historically not amongst the most important documents from ancient Egypt, the stone has captured the imagination and interest of generations, making the Rosetta Stone 'the most famous object in the British Museum' (p. 1). The storyline starts in Chapter 1, describing how the language, and thus the key to the culture of ancient Egypt, was lost at the end of the 4th century AD, and how early scholars such as Athanasius Kircher attempted to unlock the mystery of the hieroglyphic language. In a sometimes tongue-in-cheek way John Ray then unfolds the story of the Rosetta Stone from its discovery in 1799 in the Nile delta to its decipherment, culminating in the famous 'Lettre à Monsieur Dacier' presented by Jean-François Champollion to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres in September 1822. R. not only gives us the achievements and personalities of the two main characters, the English Thomas Young and the French Champollion, he also puts their life in science into the broader scope of politics and history at the beginning of the 19th century. The first, clearly a polymath working in medicine, on the theory of light, principles of life insurance(!), as well as learning ancient languages, and the latter 'the Byron of scholarship' (p. 100) in the Romantic era. It is this embeddedness of early Egyptology into the wider world that I find particularly fascinating. R. also mentions other scholars who participated and contributed, to various degrees, to the decipherment of the Rosetta Stone, such as the Danish Georg Zoëga and, of course, the French Silvestre de Sacy, who was in contact with Young as well as being the teacher of Champollion. It comes, of course, as no surprise to learn that Champollion's decipherment was not unanimously accepted. For instance, Champollion's own teacher, de Sacy, was critical, although his reasoning seems to have come from a belief that he should be 'the only decipherer in town' (p. 98). At the same time Champollion received support from a rather unexpected quarter, the Catholic Church, since Champollion could show that the chronology of ancient Egypt was well in the timeframe of the Bible.

It is hard to imagine which other achievements Champollion would have acquired had he not died of a heart attack or stroke in 1832, within a year of having been appointed to the world's first chair of Egyptology at the Collège de France. Yet his work triggered the development of Egyptology, first in Europe, especially in Germany, and later in the United States. Early Egyptology focused very much on collecting, translating ancient texts, and writing and recreating the history of ancient Egypt. Hence archaeology was a rather late-comer to the subject at the end of the 19th century, and in spite of the arrival of archaeological work this first focus is still very much alive in the modern world of Egyptology at universities today.

In his final chapter, 'Whose loot is it anyway', R. discusses the very sensitive topic of repatriation and 'ownership'. He refers to several examples where, over centuries, possession or ownership of archaeological artefacts has changed. In some cases the political landscape has altered to such a level, as in the referred case of Bangladesh (pp. 156–57), that it seems possible that whole nations might have lost their cultural heritage. It is, of course, also possible that modern countries would not like to be associated with ancient objects, since the

modern inhabitants are not related to the societies that had once occupied the same landscape but disappeared a long time ago. R. introduces the responsibility that comes with the stewardship of objects from ancient Egypt in museums and collections outside Egypt. Although he does not clearly state it, R. seems in favour of leaving the Rosetta Stone in the British Museum, 'a good home' (p. 162), as the real location and custodianship of it and all artefacts is universal.

Suggestions for further reading round off this very well-written, entertaining and intriguing book, unfolding the fascinating story of the decipherment of the language of ancient Egypt. Part of the value of this book clearly comes from R.'s enthusiasm for Egypt, an enthusiasm triggered by the very Rosetta Stone he saw for the first time as a schoolboy.

University of British Columbia

Thomas Hikade

F. Santangelo, *Sulla, the Elites and the Empire. A Study of Roman Policies in Italy and the Greek East*, Impact of Empire 8, Brill, Leiden/Boston 2007, xii+300 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-90-04-16386-7 / ISSN 1572-0500

Federico Santangelo's is a refreshing departure from the existing string of books on the life and times of L. Cornelius Sulla. Although S. evidently cannot forego producing a short biographical outline (pp. 1–10), the overarching premise of the work is an assessment of the parallel development of Italy and the Greek East in the age of Sulla. S. is quite explicit about this choice when concluding the book (p. 225): he explains that 'There are two possible approaches to this problem. The first is the biographical one, which I have intentionally avoided in this study, even if some narrative sections have inevitably been included.' Instead, S. resolutely opts for the study of the interconnections between Italy and the Greek East. This original approach means that the work provides a unique picture of the social and political outcomes of Sulla's policies in these socially and economically pivotal regions of the Roman Mediterranean. The work is not concerned with Sulla's constitutional reforms beyond their impact upon the Italian and Hellenistic elites. In the main, S.'s decision to avoid investigation of the institutional aspects of Sulla's programme is quite sound. Nonetheless, there are some instances where it would have enriched the work. In regard to structure, S. offers a sequence of interconnected case studies grouped under three sections: 'Punishment and Rewards. Sulla and the elites'; 'Between War and Peace. Sulla and the Administration of the Empire'; and 'Sulla, Religion and the Empire'. A particularly distinctive feature is that each of these parts is closed with an interim conclusion.

The first part of the work deals with the role of local elites. S. stresses what he sees as Sulla's role in rebuilding constructive relationships between the elite in the aftermath of the Mithradatic War in the East and the Social and Civil Wars in Italy. While he argues that Sulla believed in the primacy of the elites throughout the empire, he duly cautions against the assumption that Sulla conceived of a central role for the Roman senate (pp. 100–02). He also shows that while the majority of cities in the Greek East lost their autonomy, there was great variance in the status accorded these cities from community to community (pp. 50–65).

In the second part, S. investigates the administrative structures created by Sulla and his partisans. S.'s analysis of the reorganisation of the East (pp. 107–33) considerably informs

discussion of Sulla's use of local elites in the East presented in Part 1. S. next produces a detailed survey of Sulla's reorganisation of post-Social and Civil War Italy (pp. 147–82). Whereas Sulla's colonial foundations and sweeping changes in the civic status of Italian communities are assessed in depth, the consequences of his constitutional changes for these communities are largely unconsidered.

In the final part, S. uses religion as a means of assessing Sulla's contribution to what he terms 'the ideology of empire'. Special attention is given to Sulla's exploitation of the myth of Roman descent from Jupiter/Venus and the Trojan origin. As S. explains, 'these themes had been lingering in the Roman religious discourse for nearly two centuries, but it is with Sulla that they were first used for an explicit purpose, on the wider scene of the empire' (p. 213). This then leads S. to argue that Sulla's political discourse was 'global' (p. 214) and that religion was an important medium for his interactions with the elites in the Hellenistic East.

While the approach and structure employed by S. offer interesting perspectives on the policies of Sulla, his dependence on local elites and his interactions with the cities of the East, they also explain the book's only major weakness; the high degree of interdependence of the arguments made in its different sections. For instance, Chapter 7, 'The Importance of Etruria' (pp. 189–91), is critical to the argument of Chapter 5, 'Etruria: A Contrasting Picture' (pp. 172–82). While S.'s analysis is consistent throughout the work, chapters and parts cannot be read in isolation.

S.'s work presents Sulla's treatment of the elite as part of a coherent policy of re-empowering both Roman and Hellenistic elites. Sulla's punishment of many non-Roman communities, disenfranchisement of post-Social War *municipia* and the suspension of the censorship have often seemed incongruent with his inclusion of Etruscan and Samnite elites into the Roman senate. S.'s analysis forwards a coherent explanation. The outcomes of the two parallel conflicts, the Mithradatic War on the one hand and the Civil War on the other, were undoubtedly largely determined by the actions of Sulla. S. argues that Sulla's overall response to pro-Roman local elites in the East was amicable (p. 214). He presents Sulla's initiatives in both Italy and the East as central to the future interdependence of the empire. A great merit of this book is that it demonstrates many later policies of empire were instituted or spurred by Sulla and that the dictator helped to foster the conceptual empire of the Romans (p. 197). Given its original approach and implications for understanding the long-term impact of Sulla's policies, this study will be of great interest to those concerned with the social and political history of the last century of the Roman Republic, a tumultuous yet defining moment in Western history.

University of Melbourne

Christopher J. Dart

B. Sass, *The Alphabet at the Turn of the Millennium: The West Semitic Alphabet ca. 1150–850 BCE. The Antiquity of the Arabian, Greek and Phrygian Alphabets*, Tel Aviv Occasional Publications 4, The Sonia and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University, The Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology, Tel Aviv 2005, 194 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 965-266-021-3

Benjamin Sass is a true epigraphist who earned his spurs with his publication on the genesis of the alphabet of 1988.<sup>1</sup> In the present monograph he tackles the tricky question of

<sup>1</sup> *The Genesis of the Alphabet and its Development in the Second Millennium BC* (Wiesbaden 1988).



the dating of early Phoenician alphabet inscriptions and the transmission of this type of script to Arabia, Greece and Phrygia.

In doing so, S. takes a critical attitude towards the works of Frank M. Cross and Joseph Naveh, who favoured a high dating of some Phoenician or, more in general, Canaanite inscriptions, especially the ones on arrowheads, and the transmission of the alphabet to Greece. Basic to this endeavour are the radiocarbon or  $^{14}\text{C}$  dates with a bearing on the Canaanite Early Iron Age (pp. 16, 69), which induced Israel Finkelstein to deny the historical validity to the Biblical account of the early period of the kings as embodied by the vicissitudes of David and Solomon, the latter of whom is reported to have been in direct contact with the Phoenician King Hirom of Tyre.

Now, the relationship of radiocarbon or  $^{14}\text{C}$  dates, even when calibrated by a reconstructed sequence of tree rings, to the traditional chronological framework as based on Egyptian and Mesopotamian king lists sometimes supported by astronomically verifiable celestial observations such as the heliacal rising of Sirius, solar eclipses, etc., is a field of study of its own, full of pitfalls and angles. At any rate, it is clear that some calibrated  $^{14}\text{C}$  dates fit perfectly into the conventional framework, like those from the foundation layers of Carthage (late 9th century BC)<sup>2</sup> and Huelva (9th century BC),<sup>3</sup> whereas others are completely out of line, such as for the Santorini eruption at the end of Late Minoan IA or IB (1628 BC instead of *ca.* 1500 BC or 1450 BC) and the destruction layer of Gordion (*ca.* 800 BC instead of *ca.* 700 BC).<sup>4</sup> In the latter two cases, in which the two methods of dating are incompatible, there is, as duly observed by Kenneth Kitchen,<sup>5</sup> no other option, notwithstanding the efforts by Sturt Manning<sup>6</sup> and others, than to choose *either* one based on the natural sciences *or* the conventional one.

In this discussion, then, I must confess that I am convinced that it is better to stick to the conventional chronological framework, which may be wrong by a decade or so when working back to the Late Bronze Age, and a little more when proceeding into the Middle Bronze Age, than to place oneself entirely at the mercy of the natural scientists and to be confronted with gaps in time of more than a century. As a result of this, I am critical of S.'s attempt (p. 16 onward) to disconnect the inscriptions by the Byblian rulers Abibaaal and Elibaaal from the cartouches of Sheshonq I (945–924 BC) and Osorkon I (924–889 BC) in order to be able to lower their dates: the Byblian rulers were all too proud about the honours bestowed on them by the Egyptian pharaohs so that we may readily assume they showed this off immediately. On the other hand, if we follow S. in his argument for disconnection, there is no reason to uphold the intimate framework of connections between the Byblian rulers from the Middle Bronze Age with their Egyptian overlords at the time, so that the foundations of the Middle Bronze Age chronology, including the

<sup>2</sup> See R.F. Docter, H.G. Niemeyer, A.J. Nijboer and J. van der Plicht, 'Radiocarbon dates of animal bones in the earliest levels of Carthage'. *Mediterranea* 1 (2005; issue for 2004), 557–77.

<sup>3</sup> See F. Conzáles de Canales Cerisola, L. Serrano Pichardo and J. Llopart Gómez, *El emporio fenicio precolonial de Huelva (ca. 900–770 a.C.)* (Madrid 2004).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. O.W. Muscarella, 'The Date of the Destruction of the Early Phrygian Period at Gordion'. *AWE* 2.2 (2003), 225–52.

<sup>5</sup> K. Kitchen, 'The Historical Chronology of Ancient Egypt, A Current Assessment'. In K. Ransborg (ed.), *Absolute Chronology, Archaeological Europe 2500–500 BC* (Copenhagen 1996), 6.

<sup>6</sup> S.W. Manning, *A Test of Time: The Volcano of Thera and the Chronology and History of the Aegean and East Mediterranean in the Mid Second Millennium BC* (Oxford 1999).



triple synchronism of the Byblian ruler Yantin-‘ammu with Zimrilim of Mari on the one hand and pharaoh Neferhotep I on the other, which provides the only connection between the Egyptian and Mesopotamian king lists for the given period, would fall into ruin.

Another point of criticism is that S., in what in my opinion is his at least partly justified campaign against the tendency to high dating, creates his own giant enemy. If we look at his Table 4 (p. 73), we are confronted with a ‘traditional’ dating of the given Canaanite or Phoenician inscriptions and of the transmission of the alphabet to Arabia and Greece on the one hand, and with his own dating in the course of his ongoing efforts in the field up till the work under discussion on the other. But if we take a closer look at who is representing ‘traditional’ in this table, it turns out to be Cross and Naveh, whereas his own dating of, for example, the Tekke bowl to *ca.* 900 BC coincides with that of the editor of the find, Maurice Sznycer, and with the view in the matter of no less an authority than Wolfgang Röllig: if these latter two scholars are not representative of traditional dating, then who are?

About the transmission of the alphabet to Arabia, S. argues for a late date well into the 9th century BC. Although I must admit that I am not a specialist in this field, I have, granted the fact that the absence of any inscriptions prior to the 8th century BC (p. 114) forms a serious argument in the discussion, two considerations which make me feel uneasy about the pertinence in this matter: (1). The absence of a reference to the work on the Ugaritic cuneiform alphabet by Manfred Dietrich and Oswald Loretz of 1988,<sup>7</sup> in which the authors draw attention to numerous correspondences in form of the signs from the Ugaritic alphabet, for which the destruction of Ugarit *ca.* 1180 BC serves as a *terminus ante quem*, to counterparts in the Arabian one (see their table on p. 102); and (2). The *hllh*-order of the Arabian alphabet, which, as S. acknowledges, is only paralleled for Bronze Age Levantine counterparts (note in this connection that mnemonic devices may have a high endurance).

With respect to the transmission of the Phoenician alphabet to Greece and Phrygia, I agree with Sass that the absence of any inscriptions before *ca.* 750 BC certainly in the Greek case forms a massive *argumentum ex silentio*, which, given the fact that in general Greece is well excavated, strongly argues for a late dating of the reintroduction of literacy in this region and against suggestions as to a period of writing on perishable material only. However, I regret that the author does not use a wider frame of reference and include (like all his predecessors, by the way)<sup>8</sup> the south-west Iberian script into the discussion. If one does, it so happens that the transmission of the Phoenician alphabet to the south-west Iberians on account of their ‘modern’ form of *kap* with a long hasta, datable to the 9th century BC onwards, and archaic form of *mēm* consisting of a vertical zigzag, which belongs to the period prior to *ca.* 750 BC, clearly antedates the transmission of the alphabet to Greece and Phrygia, where the local scripts from their earliest attestation onwards are characterised by the horizontally drawn *mēm* as first attested in Phoenician for the ‘Baal

<sup>7</sup> M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *Die Keilalphabete, Die phönizisch-kanaanischen und altarabischen Alphabete in Ugarit* (Münster 1988).

<sup>8</sup> But see my contribution on ‘The Transmission of the Phoenician Alphabet in the Mediterranean Region’. *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 34.2 (2006) [2009], 173–84.

of Libanon' inscription from Limassol in Cyprus dating to *ca.* 750 BC (note that S.'s table 2 on pp. 24–25 is deceptive in suggesting horizontal *mēm* for earlier Phoenician or Aramaic inscriptions like the ones by Hazael and from Mesha).

Finally, I would like to point out that the dating of the inscription from Osterio dell'Osa in Latium, Italy, to the 9th century BC (pp. 155–56) is based on a highly arbitrary 14C date within the framework of conventional dating, suggesting that the Latial graves in the form of a hut antedate their ultimate model, the Etruscan chamber tombs, and that its resulting Phoenician interpretation should rather be dismissed.

All in all, I am of the opinion that S. has presented us with a well-written and interesting monograph on the Phoenician alphabet and its transmission to Arabia, Greece and Phrygia, of which the general tendency to a lower dating, with the proviso of our adjustments, should be heeded.

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Fred C. Woudhuizen

E.H. Seland (ed.), *The Indian Ocean in the Ancient Period: Definite Places, Translocal Exchange*, BAR International Series 1593, Archaeopress, Oxford 2007, 94 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-0009-2

The volume contains eight papers. The first, by A. Bjorkelo, J.C. Meyer and E.H. Seland, gives the introduction to the problem; the second, by D.A. Walburton, is on what happened in the Near East *ca.* 2000 BC. This paper discusses the chronology of Mesopotamia, with its four options: high, middle, low and ultra-low (the difference makes some 150 years) – a situation similar to Egypt, where three chronologies compete nowadays. The author is in favour of the ultra-low chronology, which does not fit into the Aegean sequence based mainly on 14C dates. The second part of his contribution is devoted to the exchange trade with metals; here he argues that the prices of metal depended primarily on the exertion of political power and not on the economy. He accepts that climatic changes played some role (it is becoming more and more difficult to reject this aspect), but that in the 3rd millennium prices depended more on political power and in the 2nd the market system became more important. In this he may be right, though this development was, as he points out himself, long-running and there was no sudden change.

A. Avanzini refers to excavations made at Sumhuram, a Hadrami port in South Arabia, which existed from the 3rd century BC until the 5th century AD. It was apparently of importance for the trade between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. She publishes fragments of Eastern Sigillata from this site and imports from India as well.

R.H. Price discusses how much Strabo knew about the Eastern Desert of Egypt and the Sudan. Strabo's *Troglodytiké* and Arabia have no parallels among the ethnic composition of this part of world, so apparently he wanted to arrange his information according to some model of ethnic groups in other parts of the world, which he knew better. J. Krzywinski contributes a paper on water supply in the Eastern Desert. The caravan stations there did not depend on wells alone: in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, systems of water-harvesting and of large cisterns were of importance too. Several cisterns and the *hydreuma* at Samut are described in this paper.

Meyer sums up the evidence of finds of Roman coins in India and Sri Lanka. Those of Roman coins do not coincide with the sites mentioned in the *Periplus*, but they inform us of commercial and political links. Some new and old finds of Roman coins are not discussed by the author, and apparently he made only little attempt to compare the intensity of their appearance. In Sri Lanka, for example, Hellenistic coins are few, with slightly more early Imperial and the bulk of the evidence from late Roman times, especially with regard to the small copper coins known from many sites, which apparently had some meaning even as a part of local currency.

The editor of the volume, Seland, contributes a more general report on the Romans in South India and on the Bay of Bengal, based on Pliny, the *Periplus* and Strabo. At the end she concludes that the trade with eastern India was through middlemen, and that there is no safe evidence that Roman ships did not penetrate this far east – a conclusion which may be correct to some extent, though the question of reloading and reselling in the relay trade made at all times for more problems than direct sailing. New finds even from Thailand and further east show that the evidence of Roman material is increasing, and that some ships from the Roman sphere sailed even beyond Arikamedu and Mantai appears less likely than was believed earlier.<sup>1</sup>

The last paper, that by E. Johansen Kleppe, deals with trade with Zanzibar prior to the 13th century AD. The evidence she presents gives good evidence for early mediaeval trade, some starting from the 5th century AD.

In general, the volume shows that much more can be done in areas little explored archaeologically and that any archaeological evidence only gives a very small fraction of what was really traded, as known from literary sources.

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Jan Bouzek

M.A. Speidel and H. Lieb (eds.), unter Mitarbeit von A.M. Hirt, *Militärdiplome: Die Forschungsbeiträge der Berner Gespräche von 2004*, Mavors 15, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2007, 414 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-515-09144-2

'Military diplomas' is the modern label for the pairs of folding bronze tablets inscribed with an authenticated copy of the privileges granted to individual soldiers in the Roman army – except for legionaries – after, in most cases, at least 25 years' service. (The actual imperial *constitutiones*, in most of which a grant was made to men from a string of units, were displayed in public at Rome.) In 1936, the surviving examples were collected in a separate volume of *CIL*, XVI, edited by H. Nesselhauf, who added a supplement in 1955: there were then 189 of them. The numbers soon steadily increased, prompting Margaret Roxan to edit *Roman Military Diplomas 1954–1977* (London 1978), soon familiar under the abbreviation *RMD*, with two further instalments, *Roman Military Diplomas 1978–1984* (London 1985) and *Roman Military Diplomas 1985–1993* (London 1994), producing a total of 201, numbered continuously. The volume under review publishes a follow-up to a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. now the evidence summed up in my paper 'Roman gems from the Klong Thong district of the Krabi province in Thailand'. *Graecolatina Pragensia* for 2008, in press.

colloquium held at Passau 20 years earlier, with 21 contributors, including Roxan.<sup>1</sup> The new colloquium is dedicated to her memory: she died in 2003, shortly before the appearance that year of *Roman Military Diplomas IV* (London 2003), which she edited jointly with P.A. Holder, adding another 121 diplomas. *RMD* are cited repeatedly here, as are two more recent collections, a fifth volume of *RMD*, edited by Holder (London 2006), and B. Pferdehirt, *Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums*, 2 vols. (Mainz 2004) (cited here as 'RGZM'). There are 15 contributors (details below), seven of whom were at Passau: of these, Dušanić, Lőrincz, Mirković, Visy and Wolff to a large extent present an updated version of their previous papers; the other two, Eck and Lieb offer new topics. New diplomas continue to be published in considerable numbers every year, notably in *ZPE*, *Chiron* and *Acta Musei Napocensis*, with Eck, Weiß and Holder to the fore among their editors. Of course, it is no secret that metal-detecting for profit, resulting in diplomas coming to light through the antiques trade, with no secure provenance, is the main source of the seemingly never-ending appearance of new documents. Around 900 were known in summer 2007, when the editors' preface is dated; they add that Pferdehirt has for this reason offered to play host to a further colloquium at Mainz in the near future.

It should be noted that the organisers of the Passau colloquium hoped to convince Dušanić that his revival of A. von Domaszewski's old theory, that diplomas were 'special grants', only issued as a reward for outstanding military achievements, was not tenable. He was not persuaded then and, as his new paper shows, is still not convinced, although his approach now is to look for special reasons for the choice of date of issue and of the location in which the *constitutiones* were posted at Rome. Most accept the *communis opinio* that, starting with Claudius, all soldiers (except legionaries), and from Trajan onwards only veterans, were eligible for the grant of privileges, especially, for the non-citizen troops, citizenship; all recipients, even praetorians, gained the right of *conubium* with a non-Roman woman. It is still not clear whether each man received a diploma automatically; some believe that they were only made to order (for those who needed one as proof of status). Further refinements are regularly detected.<sup>2</sup> It need hardly be added that these documents are not only a wonderful source for the Roman army, but also for the bureaucracy, imperial titulature, prosopography (new names of suffect consuls and provincial governors) and onomastics. Several questions remain, notably why legionaries did not get diplomas.

It remains to list the papers: F. Beutler, 'Claudius und der Beginn der Militärdiplome – einige Gedanken', pp. 1–14 (with a list of auxiliaries enfranchised before Claudius);

<sup>1</sup> W. Eck and H. Wolff (eds.), *Heer und Integrationspolitik: Die römischen Militärdiplome als historische Quelle* (Cologne/Vienna 1986).

<sup>2</sup> W. Eck, 'Der Kaiser als Herr des Heeres. Militärdiplome und die kaiserliche Reichsregierung'. In J.J. Wilkes (ed.), *Documenting the Roman Army. Essays in Honour of Margaret Roxan* (London 2003) [a colloquium held in May 2002], 55–87, among several other important points convincingly argues that an economy measure during the Marcomannic Wars resulted in virtually no bronze diplomas being issued from AD 168 to 177. P. Weiß, 'Die vorbildliche Kaiserehe. Zwei Senatsbeschlüsse beim Tod der älteren und der jüngeren Faustina, neue Paradigmen und die Herausbildung des "antoninischen" Prinzipats'. *Chiron* 38 (2008), 1–45, makes clearer than ever before just how much Antoninus Pius, that markedly non-military emperor, tinkered with the system.

R. Frei-Stolba, 'Bemerkungen zu den Zeugen der Militärdiplome der ersten und zweiten Periode', pp. 15–53 (with lists of diploma witnesses from AD 52 to 79 and full bibliography); S. Dušanić, 'Three Sidelights on the Early Diplomata Militaria', pp. 55–85; W. Eck, 'Die Veränderungen in Konstitutionen und Diplomen unter Antoninus Pius', pp. 87–104 (with a table showing how the consuls' names were given from Hadrian onwards); P. Holder, 'Observations on Auxiliary Diplomas from Vespasian to Commodus', pp. 105–63 (with tables taking up 44 pages) and 'Observations on Multiple Copies of Auxiliary Diplomas', pp. 165–86 (with ten pages of tables); P. Weiß, 'Von der Konstitution zum Diplom. Schlussfolgerungen aus der "zweiten Hand", Leerstellen und divergierende Daten in den Urkunden', pp. 187–207; B. Lőrincz, 'Die Nennung und Funktion der Statthalter in den Auxiliarkonstitutionen II. Quellen und Forschungen der letzten 20 Jahre', pp. 209–20 (with five tables); B. Pferdehirt, 'Entsandte Hilfstruppen in Provinzheeren und ihre Behandlung in Bürgerrechtskonstitutionen', pp. 221–45 (with several concise tables); Z. Visy, 'Neuere Untersuchungen zu den Hilfstruppenlisten römischer Auxiliardiplome', pp. 247–65 (with bibliography and two tables); S. Gallet and Y. Le Bohec, 'Le recrutement des auxiliaires d'après les diplômes militaires et les autres inscriptions', pp. 267–92 (with tables occupying some 15 pages); M.A. Speidel, 'Honestia missio. Zu Entlassungsurkunden und verwandten Texten', pp. 293–325; M. Mirković, 'Married and Settled. The Origo, Privileges and Settlement of Auxiliary Soldiers', pp. 327–43 (with three concise tables and a map); H. Wolff, 'Die römische Bürgerrechtspolitik nach den Militärdiplomen', pp. 345–72; H. Lieb, 'Dienstaltersangaben. *aut plura – plurave – pluribusve*', pp. 373–88. Finally, there is a full index, 389–414, covering sources (inscriptions, papyri and literary works) as well as names and general topics.

To limit confusion: the volume appears in the series, 'Mavors, Roman Army Researches', founded and edited by Michael Paul Speidel of the University of Hawai'i (himself a contributor to the Passau colloquium), who is the uncle of one editor of this volume, Michael Alexander Speidel.

Vindolanda Trust, Bardon Mill, UK

Anthony R. Birley

Y. Thébert, *Thermes Romains d'Afrique du Nord et leur Contexte Méditerranéen, Études d'Histoire et d'Archéologie*, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome (1ère série) 315, École française de Rome 2003, 733 pp., 172 pls. Cased. ISBN 2-7283-0398-3

This massive work is the fruit of the late Yvon Thébert's long association with Tunisia, and Bulla Regia in particular. Although its title indicates that it deals with the Roman baths of North Africa, its scope is restricted to the francophone parts of North Africa: Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. Libya and Egypt are not included. The division of the book into parts and chapters is complex and the lack of a table of contents makes finding one's way around it difficult. For example the catalogue is not at the end, but in the middle. There are five parts, some of which are further subdivided into chapters. The first part (pp. 5–41) sets the baths into their historical context, and T. restates a theme which is central to some of his other work. Acculturation is not an imposed phenomenon: 'la Grèce ne hellénise personne... Rome ne romanise personne'. Cultural development is essentially an internal process. This

thinking is evident in the first chapter of the second part of the book (pp. 43–74), which deals with bath buildings before the introduction of the hypocaust. Here T. returns to the idea of a cultural *koine* and concludes with the argument that all developed regions of the Mediterranean were involved in the evolution of the bath building, although some centres were more dynamic than others. It is the fact that bath buildings in the Vesuvius region are better preserved that has given rise to the ‘Campanian myth’. In the course of this section T. examines the Hellenistic baths of Gortyn, Gela, Megara Hyblaea and Syracuse, although he does not discuss the rock-cut baths at Cyrene which seem to be of a similar type. He also describes two baths at Kerkouane at the end of Cap Bon in Tunisia, which seem to date to the 3rd century BC. Although they are poorly preserved, they are nonetheless remarkable because Kerkouane was a Punic town (p. 57). More remarkable still, most of the houses also had private baths (p. 62). In the next chapter he goes on to discuss the invention of the hypocaust and its importance, mentioning Coarelli’s discovery of a hypocaust bath at Fregellae (p. 82). This is of considerable importance because Fregellae was destroyed in 125 BC and the building is dated to the first half of the 2nd century BC, making this the earliest known hypocaust in Italy and considerably earlier than Sergius Orata, who is credited with inventing the hypocaust in the late 2nd/early 1st century BC. Unfortunately, the structure is still unpublished. In this section he also gives a comprehensive history, typology and analysis of Roman baths from Pompeii to the Baths of Diocletian, including those of North Africa, and is concerned with the interpretation of ancient authors such as Vitruvius and Lucian.

The catalogue (pp. 125–284) is arranged under a series of headings which are followed consistently: bibliography, date, type and description. Reference is made to the 173 pages of plans. These are garnered from a number of sources and are adequate although many of them are quite small and the style varies. The catalogue is followed by Part 4, a lengthy typology of North African baths (pp. 285–401), in which T. discusses symmetrical, asymmetrical and semi-symmetrical baths, and then goes on to discuss terminology in the light of texts and inscriptions. Part 5 consists of a detailed analysis of North African baths up to the Middle Ages, a discussion of the social and political aspects of bathing, and a chapter on the Latin inscriptions referring to baths. The latter takes the form of a catalogue consisting of 196 inscriptions. This is in itself valuable, but unfortunately no attempt is made to translate or interpret the inscriptions. There are several other deficiencies in this book. There are 173 pages of plans, but no photographs. Reading the bibliography, which is restricted to works cited in the list of abbreviations, one is again reminded of the franco-phone nature of this book. Very few foreign books are cited even by leading scholars in the field of baths and bathing. Finally, as mentioned above, a table of contents is sorely needed to navigate one’s way through a book where things are not always where one expects to find them. However, the indexes, indispensable in a work of such length and complexity, are numerous and thorough. Minor quibbles apart this is an enormous and impressive piece of scholarship which will be an indispensable tool not only by virtue of its exhaustive catalogue, but because of its very full discussion not only of North African baths, but innumerable other aspects of baths and bathing.



A. Tilley, *Seafaring on the Ancient Mediterranean: New Thoughts on Triremes and Other Ancient Ships*, BAR International Series 1268, John and Erica Hedges, Oxford 2004, xi+129 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 1-84171-374-0

In this lively, readable book, the author (by profession an officer in the Royal Navy) gives a tour in time and topic around the ancient Mediterranean. He starts with a discussion of the iconography of ancient ships, proceeds to study triremes and other warships, and goes on to consider what he considers ancient survivals, especially of Phoenician exploration and colonisation, concluding with general remarks on sailing in antiquity and on pre-classical warships. Although some of the topics have been addressed in articles published over the years, this is a coherent and often new presentation of the author's views. As he says, 'Trying to put forward radically new ideas is not easy and sometimes seems heavy going', and one must agree with him that his efforts have not always been treated fairly by journal editors or by other nautical archaeologists. Many of Alec Tilley's arguments are backed by his own personal experience at sea, his practical experiments or his ethnographic observation, and he is also well read and good at handling ancient literature. This well-produced book deserves a wide public, even if in the end one might not agree with just everything T. says!

About half the book is concerned with how to interpret ancient representations of ships. This is for the most part persuasive, and cogently argued. In particular, T. rightly attacks many of the assumptions and procedures adopted in creating *Olympias*, the simulated classical Greek *trieres*: although this was an exciting and colourful project, no one would now disagree that the ship herself was based on insufficient, or inexactlly interpreted, evidence. Conversely, one could argue that, though that project did not realistically recreate 5th-century Athenian fighting ships, experience gained from the design and building of *Olympias* could illuminate the large Hellenistic and Roman warships of whose oar-power, as T. admits, we are much less well informed. In the Archaic and Classical periods, however, one must surely be looking at the 'lightly built racing shells' proposed by Casson and extrapolated from various sorts of evidence by T.

Readers of *AWE* will be interested in the full part which the Phoenicians play in this book. 'Greek brilliance,' declares T., 'was an Afro-Eurasian amalgam of Egyptian, Phoenician and European influences ... The brilliant ones were those who went to sea.' He thus cites with approval those ancient authors who ascribed invention of the trireme to Phoenicians, but he goes further: for instance, he shows enthusiasm for the notion that (for example) modern Maltese boats could have been derived from ancient Phoenician originals, asserting that 'Malta is known to have been a Phoenician colony'. Here, in contrast to his earlier, clear analysis of ancient Greek terminology, his argument is rather woolly, and is distorted by diffusionist ideas which are at odds with his generally rational and practical approach to seafaring. In the chapter on Phoenician exploration and colonisation, etymology which is at times fanciful is invoked to find dispersion of Phoenicians ('in the widest sense'): thus, 'It is difficult to see how the Veneti of Brittany could have been other than Phoenicians' – and, then, 'Clearly (*sic*) the Adriatic Venetians acquired their taste for salt cod from the Veneti of Brittany...!' These colourful remarks could perhaps just be read as spicing up the general theme, were it not that T. then relies on the idea to reinforce his excellent study of sailing to windward in classical antiquity. He considers (perhaps rightly) that pre-Roman Mediterranean ships were incapable of making way to windward, and



relied on oar power to escape from tight situations or get to a destination; Roman merchant ships, on the other hand, had at least two masts and could thus make some headway against the wind. He is impressed by the fact that the Veneti of Brittany had two-masted ships, enabling them to operate effectively in the demanding conditions of the Atlantic coasts, but relies too much on the possibility that this idea (like the taste for salt cod) might have travelled to the Mediterranean and affected developments there: in this argument one detects some circularity, a fault otherwise absent from the book.

*Seafaring on the Ancient Mediterranean* is well illustrated and referenced, and, unlike other BAR retrospective volumes, it makes a worthwhile read from end to end. Not everyone will be convinced by everything the author says, but no one can fail to be stimulated by his lively approach (complete with asides such as 'Until the deplorable invention of the internal combustion engine ...!'). Like all the best nautical archaeology books, it combines scholarship with relevant experience. Years of commanding sailors and of operating ships underpin T.'s alert and often acute reading of sources and commentaries. Nor could anyone with a shred of imagination fail to be stirred by his conclusion: 'If we look at ancient artists' representations of ships and maritime affairs and read the ancient historians with admiration and respect ... they and the heroes they recorded are allowed a brief visit back into the Mediterranean world of warmth and sunshine, to recall the battles they fought and the lovers they won, when their swift ships furrowed the wine-dark sea.'

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A.J. Parker

L. Török, *Transfigurations of Hellenism. Aspects of Late Antique Art in Egypt AD 250–700*, Probleme der Ägyptologie 23, Brill Academic Publishers, Leiden/Boston 2005, xxvii+400 pp., 180 figs., 37 colour pls. Cased. ISBN 90-04-14332-7 / ISSN 0169-9601

After *ca.* AD 250 Egyptian art ceases to play a significant role in most histories of ancient art and culture. The two great artistic traditions and their interactions that dominate discussions of Egyptian art in the Hellenistic and Rome periods – Pharaonic and Classical – seemingly come to a screeching halt, being replaced by a new tradition denominated as 'Coptic art'. Interpretations of the nature of Coptic art and its seeming 'crudities' vary between two poles: either it is a folk art produced by poorly trained artists or it represents a consciously nativist reaction against Classical art by Egyptian artists and artisans. Common to both views is the belief that Coptic art was a provincial Egyptian phenomenon isolated from contemporary movements in the Roman empire as a whole.

These interpretations have not, of course, gone without criticism. So, for example, Thelma Thomas has forcefully argued for almost two decades that 'Coptic art' is best understood as being neither a 'folk' art nor an anti-Classical reaction to artistic traditions originating in Alexandria, but instead the natural continuation of existing artistic trends and produced for the same class of Greek-educated individuals who all along had been the principal patrons of artists in Roman Egypt. In this massively detailed and researched monograph László Török offers a thorough reconsideration of the relationship between 'Coptic' art and Hellenism.

*Transfigurations of Hellenism* consists of nine chapters. The first four are introductory. In the first chapter, T. sets out the problem via a brief analysis of the Coptic Museum in

Cairo before its recent renovation, highlighting the inadequacy of the display programme in which Coptic art was presented as homogeneous entity in flagrant contradiction to the obvious diversity of the objects themselves. T. locates the sources of this problem in the fact that the excavations that produced these objects largely ignored their context and chronology, resulting in a tendency to present Coptic art as a unified timeless entity. Chapter 2 presents an overview of past scholarship with its opposing interpretations of Coptic art as either folk art or nativist reaction against Hellenism. Chapter 3 outlines the methodology of the study, while Chapter 4 describes the historical context in which late Egyptian art developed from the conquest of Egypt by Alexander in 332 BC to early Byzantine times.

The detailed analysis of the corpus of buildings and objects that constitute Coptic art occupies the final five chapters of the book. For the reasons outlined in Chapters 1–3, the treatment is thematic rather than developmental. Chapters 5 and 6 open the discussion, identifying major elements of continuity in late Egyptian art, namely, the survival of Hellenistic Alexandrian architectural forms and the integration of aspects of both the Pharaonic and Hellenistic pasts in late Roman Imperial and early Christian architecture in Egypt. Chapter 7 considers funerary art, particularly the decline of illusionism in funerary art; while Chapter 8 examines domestic art and its place as part of the ‘good life’ both of the upper classes and the less wealthy, with particular emphasis on the rich body of textiles that have survived thanks to Egypt’s dry climate. Especially interesting is T.’s suggestion that the so-called ‘provincial’ character of Coptic art is actually the result of less skilled artisans adapting themes that originated in Alexandrian elite art for prosperous but less wealthy individuals living in the villages and towns of Middle and Upper Egypt, a phenomenon that is well attested in earlier Egyptian history, especially the First Intermediate period (ca. 2200–2040 BC). Chapter 9 rounds out the discussion, analysing the transformation of Coptic art from a predominantly pagan art to a Christian art. In the Epilogue, T. illustrates the continued vitality of Hellenistic themes and style in Coptic art as late as the 8th century AD through a detailed study of the remarkable lintel of the Church of al-Mo’allaqa in Old Cairo.

Revision of existing orthodoxies is central to all good historical scholarship. The study of late ancient Egypt has been the beneficiary of such revisionism during the past quarter of a century, as scholars have increasingly come to view it as a prosperous province that was fully integrated in the culture of the Roman empire as a whole instead of an isolated backwater. *Transfigurations of Hellenism* is an outstanding addition to this scholarship, tracing out in detail the continuity of the Hellenistic tradition in Egyptian art and showing how artists in late ancient Egypt responded to artistic influences originating in the broader Mediterranean world, particularly the Imperial workshops of Constantinople. All scholars of late antiquity will find much of interest in this fine work.

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C. van Tilburg, *Traffic and Congestion in the Roman Empire*, Routledge, London 2007, xxii+238 pp. Cased. ISBN 10: 0-415-40999-3 / ISBN 13: 978-0-415-40999-5

A book entirely dedicated to the subject of traffic and congestion on the roads of the Roman empire is a welcome addition to the scholarship of Roman roads and urbanism. At the heart of the book is the idea of identifying how the awareness of traffic and congestion

could influence planning processes and traffic management. This is achieved through an extensive introduction to the elements related to Roman traffic and congestion and the observation of their interplay with a particular focus on Pompeii, Xanten and Rome. In the first chapter Cornelius van Tilburg reviews Roman road systems as a whole. Here, van T. focuses on the origins and development of the Roman road system, on road typology, jurisdiction and geodesy. A section dedicated to road engineering includes general aspects concerning the construction of roads and of accessory structures such as bridges, tunnels and marsh roads. A substantial part of this section is dedicated to road-width, in its capacity as facilitator of traffic flow (pp. 25–31). This section introduces a key opposition driving much of the approach of the book: that of older, narrow streets and newer ones built in later orthogonal urban foundations and distinguished by the potential for better circulation.

The second chapter is dedicated to users of the Roman road system. Traffic is divided into commuter traffic, connecting the town with the suburbs, service traffic, working at interurban level, recreational traffic and pilgrimages. In this division traffic between town and suburbs is outlined as the most intense, both because of goods transport and the movement of people. It is, therefore, this traffic that is seen by the author as the one with the greatest analytical potential connected to increased movement and likelihood of congestion. The other sections of the chapter describe the *cursus publicus*, the traffic produced by the moving army and the transport of goods. Smaller sections describe the movement of emperors, the transport of wild animals and that of heavy material. Parts of the chapter are also dedicated to estimating the volume of traffic flow produced by the *cursus publicus* and by the transport of goods in and out of towns respectively.

The third chapter considers evidence for traffic congestion by concentrating on elements that would discontinue the flow of traffic: namely, toll points (subsequently given a marginal role) and city gates. The analysis of city gates is central to the chapter and consists of a general introduction followed by the description of gates in Rome, Pompeii and of other sites from the Eastern and Western provinces. Van T. is particularly concerned with the architectural features of city gates, their shifts in size and role in regulating access. These are linked by van T. to the opposition between the narrow-older and newer orthogonal streets underlined in the first chapter and with the more intense town–suburbs traffic noted in the second. Within this framework he portrays the presence of wider city gates in newer orthogonal foundations as revelatory of an awareness of potential traffic issues in the town-planning process. The last section consists of a description of sources mentioning the presence of crowds in Roman urban contexts and a reflection on the consequences for the apparent lack of traffic regulation.

The final chapter of the book is dedicated to traffic policy and divided into sections dedicated to legislation, evidence for traffic circulation and to a reflection on the activity of Roman authority in easing congestion. The first section consists eminently of a collection of written sources mentioning traffic regulation. These sources are also used to demonstrate how authority intervened by regulating traffic instead of altering built space. The section dedicated to material evidence consists of a comparison between the street systems of Pompeii and Xanten. These represent the opposition between the older street system and the newer planned one, in which wider streets improved traffic flow through two-way road circulation showed to be rare in Pompeii. The last section is dedicated to examining how

congestion could be eased through active planning processes. These observations start with examining the missed opportunities planners had of remodelling traffic routes in large parts of Rome after the fires under Nero and Commodus. Then van T. evaluates the hypothesis of ring-roads, proto-roundabouts and alternative routes aimed at relieving congestion on the main streets of a town. The lack of consistent signs of the implementation of such measures is ultimately linked by van T. to the lack of interest of authorities towards activities linked to commerce, the main motor of urban traffic and least honourable among the activities to be undertaken by the 'agriculture-loving upper class' (p. 167).

This book is to be praised for both presenting a wide range of data and for providing a general framework on which to develop further work on the subject of traffic and congestion in the Roman empire. However, it also comes with a number of problems. Most prominent among them is a consistent lack of focus, obvious especially in the first chapter, but present in all. This is caused by the large amount of introductory information which is not strictly connected to the key arguments of the book and is confusing for the reader. Much of this should not have been included, while some would have benefited from more careful scrutiny of its accuracy. One example of the need for the latter is the presence of the long-refuted notion seeing road layers as being bound with mortar (pp. 15–16).<sup>1</sup> Another, though arguably dependent on translation issues (which are generally present throughout this work), is the attribution of the construction of the Servian Wall to the Gauls, following their sack of Rome in 390 BC (p. 91). Secondly, the general framework of the book is based around contemporary ideas concerning traffic, congestion and their management. This is a problem of which the author seems aware (p. 173), yet it emerges particularly strongly in the last chapter, where the attempt to identify contemporary solutions to Roman traffic congestion remains purely speculative. It is surprising that the author would not note with greater care the difficulties of applying to the Roman world elements and categories which, by his own admission, do not appear in Europe before the modern era (pp. 166–67).

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Francesco Trifiló

M. Vegas (ed.), *Cartago Fenicio-Púnica. Las excavaciones alemanas en Cartago 1975–1997*, Cuadernos de Arqueología Mediterránea 4 (1998), Publicaciones del Laboratorio de Arqueología de la Universitat Pompeu Fabra de Barcelona, Carrera Edició, Barcelona 2002, 227 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 84-88236-10-7

This book publishes in Spanish a collection of articles originating in the works of the two German teams working in the excavations of the city of Carthage, the one directed by F. Rakob (German Archaeological Institute at Rome), the other by H.G. Niemeyer (University of Hamburg). For the most part, these works were originally published in German and in German journals. In the first chapter, 'Cartago. La topografía de la ciudad púnica. Nuevas investigaciones' (pp. 15–47), Rakob gives an overview of the topography of Carthage during the different ages from the first attested levels of the city (8th century) until Roman times,

<sup>1</sup> J.P. Adam, *La Construction Romaine* (Paris 1984), 301.

including the destruction levels ensuing its conquest by Rome in 146 BC. As already observed in other excavations, Carthage was a flourishing city in the 50 years before its destruction; the previous levels show, also, the continuous changes in the structure of the city.

The second chapter, by Niemeyer, R.F. Docter and their team ('Excavación bajo el Decumanus Maximus de Cartago durante los años 1985–1995: Informe Preliminar': pp. 47–110), presents the results of ten years of research at a plot placed in a central position within the ancient city. The main interest of this excavation lies in the existence of a complete stratigraphy from Archaic times onwards, including domestic and religious areas as well as a street. In order to cope with the great quantity of pottery, statistical procedures were applied. A selection of the main types of pottery and other items found in the excavation are also presented in this study.

D. Berges, 'Los sellos de arcilla del archivo del templo cartaginés' (pp. 111–32), studies a collection of 4025 clay seals found in the sanctuary excavated by the German team, and whose general outline is given in the first chapter. They were part of the archive of that sanctuary and have been preserved because they were burnt by the fire which raised Carthage in 146 BC. A large part of the imprints belong to scarabs imitating those of the age of Tutmosis III, and perhaps they sought to represent the god Baal Hammon. The oldest seals may date to the 6th century BC and continued in use until the end of the city.

The next chapter, 'La cerámica de importación en Cartago durante el periodo arcaico' (pp. 133–45) by M. Vegas, reviews, studies and catalogues the main categories of imported pottery found in Carthage during the 8th–6th centuries BC: Euboean, Pithekoussaian, Corinthian, Attic, Ionian, Etruscan, Cypriot, and East and West Phoenician.

Also by Vegas is the next chapter, 'Alfares arcaicos en Cartago' (pp. 147–64), in which the production of an Archaic pottery workshop is studied. This comprised all the usual classes in the Archaic pottery of the Phoenician world (red-slip wares, amphorae, lamps, dishes, bowls, etc.). The workshop can be dated to the later 7th century and the first quarter of the 6th century BC.

The next chapter, by Vegas and R. Tomber, 'Cerámica púnica procedente del sector septentrional de Cartago (1986)' (pp. 165–72), deals with two deposits of Punic pottery. Study of the clays shows how these were of local origin. The chronology of the workshops is the 7th century BC. This study is published here for the first time.

C. Briese and Docter write in the last chapter about 'El skyphos fenicio: la adaptación de un vaso griego para beber' (pp. 173–220). It is an interesting study, accompanied by an up-to-date catalogue, of the imitations, in Phoenician centres, of Greek shapes, namely skyphoi and kotylai. The different shapes and decorative patterns of those wares are studied not only in Carthage but also in other West Phoenician sites (Toscanos, Motya, Sulcis). The chronology given by the authors to these shapes is the 7th century BC, although there are items which can be dated to second half of the 8th century and an example dated to the early 6th century.

In sum, this book introduces to the reader of Spanish a series of new studies on the city of Carthage.

Z. Visy (ed.), *Limes XIX: Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies held in Pécs, Hungary, September 2003*, A conference held under the auspices of Ferenc Mádl, President of Republic Hungary and the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology of the University of Pécs, Pécs 2005, 1004 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 963-642-053-X

Limes congresses are popular, successful and durable. Since the XIXth Congress, whose proceedings are reviewed here, a XXth has been held at Leon in Spain (2007) and a XXIst congress at Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 2009 – the 60th anniversary of the first congress, just down the road at Durham in 1949.

The XIXth Congress attracted 240 participants from 27 countries; they enjoyed guided tours during the conference and many also participated in pre- and post-conference tours. The proceedings do not include all the papers delivered (150, plus 20 posters), much less promised. Still, the outcome is an impressive 100 papers – the same as for *Limes XVIII*. As always, one is grateful to those many colleagues who, in addition to researching their topic, have made it more accessible by writing it in one of the conference languages. Three papers are in French, 40 in German and 57 in English.

The results, as always, are mixed. Thematic sessions were organised on 'Epigraphy, History' (10 papers), 'How did frontiers actually work?' (7), 'Roman Frontiers – Barbarians' (10), 'Civilians on Frontiers' (7), 'The Material Culture of the Supply, Preparation and Consumption of Food and Drink' (6), 'Soldiers and Religion' (10), 'Archaeological Research' (30), 'Military Architecture' (9) and 'Material Culture' (9).

Inevitably, papers – especially in the 'Archaeological Research' section – reflect the locale of the conference. Thus, the proceedings of *Limes XVIII* (Amman, Jordan in 2000) included over 20 papers on the eastern frontier and related topics;<sup>1</sup> the Pécs proceedings has just three that are explicitly on some part of the eastern frontier (two on Palestine and one on Arabia), for which we should be grateful to Thomas Parker, a tireless attender and contributor (and David Graf whose Chinese comparisons will be noted below). Many of the papers for this current volume relate specifically to Hungary and the Danube. Sadly not included – though it is singled out for particular praise by the editor (p. 9) – is Otto Braasch's aerial survey and discoveries in the Balkans.

The volume is generally well-presented and – despite so many contributors writing in (for them) a 'foreign language', there are relatively few typos or serious problems. Few papers include a useful preliminary summary, but this is a small quibble. Prof. Visy is to be congratulated for his energy and skill in seeing this immense contribution to Frontier Studies published so swiftly. Nor is it his only contribution on this occasion. Conference participants received a number of publications, not the least of which was Visy's earlier book (2000), now published in an English edition,<sup>2</sup> and his edited volume of 2003.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. Freeman, J. Bennett, Z.T. Fiema and B. Hoffman (eds.), *Limes XVIII: Proceedings of the XVIIIth International Congress of Roman Frontiers Studies held in Amman, Jordan (September 2000)*, 2 vols. (Oxford 2002).

<sup>2</sup> Z. Visy, *The Ripa Pannonica in Hungary* (Budapest 2003). Review in *JRA* 20 (2007), 565–71.

<sup>3</sup> Z. Visy, *The Roman Army in Pannonia: An Archaeological Guide of the Ripa Pannonica* (Budapest 2003).

Merely listing the authors and papers in this volume would absorb my entire word limit. Instead, I shall single out a few papers which reflect my own interests and highlights of the collection; inevitably many fine papers will be passed over in silence.

The volume is launched with the longest paper in the collection – a survey of ‘Romanisation – Grundbegriff oder Fehlgriff’ by the veteran Hungarian scholar, Geza Alföldy (pp. 25–56). The continuing preoccupation with the theme is indicated by no less than 12 pages of bibliographical references, largely from the last 10–15 years during which scholars have wrestled both with the concept and the term itself.

Maureen Carroll organised the session on ‘The Material Culture of the Supply, Preparation and Consumption of Food and Drink’ and offered the stimulating initial paper on ‘The preparation and consumption of food as a contributing factor towards communal identity in the Roman Army’. She explores the neglected subject of preparation, cooking and eating in forts. We are reminded that the soldiers’ staple bread began with grain which had to be milled, prepared and baked; fuel had to be gathered, ovens stoked. Numerous other food items were also provided. In total a great deal of time and effort went into this fundamental activity. Some was organised at unit level, some at century/*turma*, some at *contubernium* of just eight men. With no communal dining halls it was at this lowest level again that most food was consumed. Carroll emphasises the role such daily eating would play in fostering a sense of identity; indeed, the very act of utilising a wide range of cooking and eating vessels daily for 25 years had a role to play in transforming Italian peasant citizen or Batavian tribesman into Roman soldier.

Valerie Maxfield (‘Organisation of a desert limes: the case of Africa’) makes use of some of the thousands of ostraca being published from the quarries, forts and road-stations between the Upper Nile and the Red Sea coast. Like the wooden writing tablets from Vin-dolanda (and a few other locations) and the ostraca from Bu Ngem in Libya they give us an invaluable insight into some of the minutiae of military organisation. Instead of the occasional inscription helping us locate a regiment at a particular point in time, we can read the brief texts sent to named *stationarii* and of the guards at *skopeloi* (watch-posts) illuminating the mechanisms of control. One even speaks of an otherwise unknown raid by 60 ‘barbarians’ on a *praesidium* (p. 204), and other references to, presumably, bandits or nomads, are a reminder of what may well have been a common feature of military life on these frontiers which are largely lost to us though, presumably, at one time extensively documented by the Roman military.<sup>4</sup>

David Graf (‘Rome and China: some frontier comparisons’) looks at similar basic everyday features of military life – but this time from documents of the western Chinese frontier at much the same period as the Roman documents just noted. Thousands of them again involve the minutiae of combat, personnel, duty rosters and everyday control of movement. Once again, though we need to be wary of generalising even from Roman documents from remote locations, we can surely find confirmation in such material of what we would otherwise have to simply guess at: an impressive bureaucratic control, long periods of tedium interspersed with burst of great excitement and risk, vicarious connections to distant, exotic places through contact with traders and travellers.

<sup>4</sup> Add now H. Cuvigny, *Ostraca de Krokodilô: La correspondance militaire et sa circulation (O. Krok. 1–151)* (Cairo 2005). Reviewed in *BMCR* 2007.01.29; *JRA* 20 (2007), 635–38.



Israel Roll pursues his life-long research on the road system of Roman Judaea/Palaestina ('Terrestrial transportation of the Roman army in the East'). In this case he brings together the evidence of the physical remains of different types of road and their dates with pictorial representation of military transport on Roman monuments from Trajan's Column to the Column of Theodosius at Constantinople. Down to the 3rd century AD, although campaigning armies, of necessity, employed pack animals in many cases, within its provinces from preference Rome constructed carriageways for wheeled traffic and often used two-wheeled wagons on campaign. Later, however, there was a shift to wholly pack-animals (mules, horses and camels) for transport and narrower roads were built. In places these involved extensive stepping which was quite unsuited to wheeled vehicles. The basic thesis has been known for a generation but Roll develops it in the light of far more extensive archaeological evidence and makes the important point that some of these stepped roads must have been later developments on routes where there had previously been wheeled carriageways.

Fraser Hunter has added to his growing corpus of insightful research on Scotland in the Roman period. Here, *contra* John Mann who saw the growth of confederacies amongst the northern tribes as a defensive response to overwhelming Roman power, he argues the expected archaeological evidence is absent at the times and places one would expect it. He makes a good case and explanations are required..., but there is still much to be said for the idea of the powerful confederacies that became so much more dangerous in the 3rd–5th centuries being a reaction to Rome. Not just in North Britain, of course, but along the Rhine and Danube and even with the tribal confederations that appeared on the desert frontiers in the Near East.

Of particular interest to this reviewer is the contribution by Parker ('Supplying the Roman army on the Arabian frontier'). As is well-known, Parker has been active excavating on Roman military sites in Jordan for a generation. The scale of his fieldwork has produced significant data sets of all kinds including those that shed light on food supply. For example, both the forts excavated on the Kerak plateau and the excavation at Aila (modern Aqaba) on the Red Sea produced *ca.* 100,000 animal bones in each area. The opportunity for teasing out details of supply and diet are considerable and beyond the scope of his brief summary. Moreover, since then his major two-volume report on his work on the military sites has appeared. It will be more suitable to treat his discussion of supply in the context of a review of that report.<sup>5</sup>

Finally, a brief summary of several interesting and/or useful contributions: Ubl (pp. 107–20) offers a useful survey of the current order of battle for the Roman *auxilia* in Noricum; Reuter (pp. 255–63) on the tombstones (39 examples) of soldiers explicitly recording their death in war (sometimes named); Allason-Jones (pp. 309–13) on the increasingly popular theme of disease – in this case in Roman Britain (*cf.* Dyczek [pp. 871–79] on the growing evidence for hospitals in Roman forts); Oltean, Radeanu and Hanson (pp. 351–63) on a *vicus* in Dacia for which aerial survey has been a significant contributor; and Grüll (pp. 901–07) on a Latin inscription from the Temple Mount in

<sup>5</sup> D. Kennedy review of S.T. Parker, *The Roman Frontier in Central Jordan: Final Report on the Limes Arabicus Project 1980–1989*, 2 vols. (Washington, DC 2006). *JRA* 21 (2008), 669–86.

Jerusalem shedding light both on the possible *damnatio memoriae* of L. Flavius Silva (conqueror of Masada) and the location of the fortress of *Legio X Fretensis* in Jerusalem (and an arch within it).

We may conclude this review with a notice for those concerned with the *auxilia* and the order of battle of the Roman army in the early Imperial period that we now have a fifth volume of diplomas (nos. 323–476).<sup>6</sup>

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K. Vlassopoulos, *Politics: Antiquity and its Legacy*, Ancients and Moderns, I.B. Tauris, London/New York 2010, xxii+168 pp. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-84511-845-7

*Ancients and Moderns*, of which this volume is part, is a not unambitious series of 15 planned volumes on antiquity and its legacy – death, religion, drama, sport, war, sex, medicine, philosophy, etc. – most yet (January 2011) to appear. The aim is to show how antiquity is relevant to our life and times, seeking a non-specialist audience and eschewing jargon to do so. Is the result a short book or a long essay?

Of necessity, it is selective. As the Introduction explains (p. xvii), it was necessary to choose who and what is in and out in order to keep the volume and themes manageable. The Near East is out; and the focus is principally upon Plato, Aristotle, Herodotus, Thucydides and Polybius, ‘mainly due to the topics’ to be examined in the text (p. xvii). There are four chapters, each divided into ancient and modern and constrained by secularism: ‘Who Should Rule?’ (democracy, especially Athenian, oligarchy, tyranny; the complex political structures of Sparta and Rome and the concept of *respublica*; then the territorial kingdoms and city-states; Machiavelli’s twist on the mixed constitution; the potential tyranny of democracy; the English, American and French revolutions, to misname two, one badly described elsewhere as the ‘English civil war’; the many and contradictory forms of what calls itself democracy – a new religion? – in the modern world, and the slide to platitude) and the reception and transformation of the ancient vocabulary; ‘The Exercise of Power: Liberty’ (Constant, the French Revolution and the Terror; Isaiah Berlin; *Leviathan*, and British events and writings of the next half-century; from independent Whigs to American independence and separately into 18th-century French thought – 1688 to 1789!; and egalitarianism, individualism, the rhetoric of equality and rights in unequal societies, and limitations on the tyranny of popular sovereignty through bills of rights, in contrast with the theoretically unlimited power of the Athenian assembly); ‘Politics as Activity: Participation, Deliberation, Conflict’ (Sparta, Athenian democracy, the *Politics*; the Roman concern with civic duty, Livy, Seneca and Tacitus; Machiavelli, Hobbes and Harrington; the Scottish Enlightenment, the French Revolution, Mill; Popper, Plato and totalitarianism; 1968; the limits of rational dialogue; to end bathetically with accountability and Messrs Blair and Bush); and ‘The Ends of Politics: The Good life, A Better World’ – the mirage of Sparta and enforced public virtue, interpretation and misinterpretation of Plato, redistribution of wealth and property as a solution to all manner of social ills (a bit like joining the ‘euro’).

<sup>6</sup> P.A. Holden, *Roman Military Diplomas V* (London 2006).

A brief Epilogue offers observations and conclusions – not least on the erratic nature of the reception of the various competing forms of ancient political thought (and practice), trapped between modernisation and resistance to modernity, and the way this reception has cut across ideological distinctions between modern ‘-isms’, so that no simple, single or linear connection is suggested, rather adoption, transformation and contrast. Resisting a central theme to each chapter in a stab at inclusiveness produces, overall, a degree of confusion – does the pudding lack a theme or is it simply a bit too rich for easy digestion (contrast the aim of the series)? – and the subject does lend itself to polemical observations on the present.

Leeds, UK

James Hargrave

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